



VESPASIAN



TITUS



F. JOSEPHUS



S. R. LESTRANGE K.



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©
T H E
W O R K S
O F
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

Translated into ENGLISH
BY *Sh 1269*
Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE, Kt.

VIZ. 1965.

- I. The Life of *Josephus*. Written by himself.
 - II. The Antiquities of the *Jews*. In Twenty Books.
 - III. His Book against *Apion*, in Defence of the said Antiquities of the *Jews*. In Two Parts.
 - IV. Their Wars with the *Romans*. In Seven Books.
 - V. The Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*. As also,
 - VI. *Philo's* Embassy from the *Jews* of *Alexandria* to *Caius Caligula*.
-

All carefully Revised and Compared with the Original Greek.

To which are Prefix'd
Two DISCOURSES, and several REMARKS and OBSERVATIONS upon JOSEPHUS.

Together with a New Map, Sculptures, and Accurate Indexes.

The Third EDITION.

VOL. I.

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A L I S T O F T H E S U B S C R I B E R S N a m e s .

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 Adam Allan in Chillingham, Northumberland sh.
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B.

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 Charles Banks stabler in Edinburgh
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Alexander Bell in Morpeth

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C.

The Reverend Mr. Thomas Clark
minister of the gospel at Bellibee
in Ireland

Mr. Daniel Cock preacher of the
gospel

Mr. David Carmichael preacher of
the gospel

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James Currie flax-raiser in Col-
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David Cation carver and merchant
in Glasgow

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Patrick Campbel tanner there

Patrick Christie vintner in Hawick

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William Clark in Auchengrough,
Sanquhar p.

John Clark in *ditto*.

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Greenlaw

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in Edinburgh

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 George Edmonston in Lawder
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F.

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 minister of the gospel in the As-
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G.

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H.

Patrick Hafwel officer of excise

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 Teacher of English in Edinburgh
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 Thomas Hay rope-maker in Lieth
 John Hay paper-maker in Glasgow
 Robert Hood hammer man there
 John Hunter tobacconist there
 John Haliday cork-cutter in Carlyle
 James Hume inn-keeper in Bridge-
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 Archibald Ingram merchant in Glas-
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 Cornelius Ingles chirurgion in La-
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 Joshua Johnston merchant in Carn-
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 John Johnston in Shewstones in
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 Culter p.
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 Walter Jackson tenant in Linton p.
 John Jameson weaver in Saltcoats
 Robert Johnston chirurgion in Mos-
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 John Johnston storemaster in Tala,
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 James Johnston smith in Tweedf-
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K.

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 James Ker in Burntoun, New-cum-
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 Thomas Ker mason in Kirkcud-
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 William Kennedy in Muirhill
 Dorsdear p.

Walter

L.

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Tobias Lundie stay-maker there

Robert Leckie joiner there

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William Little in Urce, Ewes p.

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Alexander Lockhart smith there

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John Leich late bailie in Ruth-
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Kirkconel p.

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John Lockhart in Morpeth

William Lorimer of Holme

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John Mitchel book-binder there

John More merchant there

John Millar turner there

John Moubray merchant in Potter-
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William Mitchel book-binder in
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Thomas MacFee writer there

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John Millicane in Holywood

Allan MacLauchland book-binder
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Roger Martin writer there

John MacCaskrie carpenter in Sto-
nerawer

William MacGowan millar in Spec-
dy-miln

James MacGowan millar in Twee-
dy-miln

James Martin portioner in West-
dykes, Evandail

John Marshal portioner in Chapel-
toun

James Meuros merchant in Carn-
wath

Thomas Martin in Castle-mains of
Sanquhar

John MacQueen in Brambles, San-
quhar p.

Robert

Robert MacLean tobaconist on
the Bridge, Newcastle

Robert Mitchel merchant in New-
castle

James Martin Gardiner in Sonnick

John MacQueen clerk of Peebles

James Meek in Carstairs

John Martin travelling merchant

John Mitchel in Old-deare

Hugh Moodie sailer in Irvin

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William Nicol weaver in Lanark

Francis Nicolson Dyfster in Muir-
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James Nielson glazier in Douglass

O.

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William Orr wright in Paisley

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P.

Robert Paterfon brewer in Edinburgh

Richard Pollock baxter there

William Paul tanner in Glasgow

Daniel Paterfon merchant in Dun-
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Thomas Prentice portioner in
Hynshieldwood

William Porteus Schoolmaster in
Glenholm

George Porteus officer of excise in
Lanark

Francis Porteus inn-keeper in
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William Purdie in Candie-mill,
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Mrs Parker in Kilmarnock

John Paterfon in Adam-mill, Crai-
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Andrew Paterfon tenant in Haugh-
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Adam Primrose Coal-grieve in
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James Purves tenant in Leger-
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R.

Mr. James Rae, Agent to his Grace
the Duke of Queensberry at
Wanlockhead

John Rae bookbinder in Perth, 3 *sets*

John Rutherford merchant in
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Robert Roger wright in Hawick

John Ruecastle carrier there

James Ramage in Stevenstoun,
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James Reid book-binder in Leith

John Richie in Finglan, Tweed-
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Robert Reid taylor in Glasgow, 7
sets

John Rob book-binder there, 12 *sets*

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William Reid in Podock-row, Kil-
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John Rannie merchant in Dundee

John Ramsay

George

George Roe merchant in Newcastle
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 George Roe linnen-dropper in Newcastle
 William Reidhead in Farmlingtoun, Northumberland sh.
 William Robinson in Bedlington, Northumberland sh.
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 John Richardson butcher in Northshields
 John Ritchie in Glencragie
 John Richardson merchant near Peebles, 2 sets

S.

Robert Sanders writer in Edinburgh
 Peter Spalding jeweler in Canongate
 Robert Stevenson malt-man in Glasgow
 Robert Smith book-binder there
 George Simpson belt-maker there
 Walter Scot wright in Hawick
 Robert Scot baxter there
 George Shaw brewer in Bathgate
 Alexander Stevenson mason in Douglais
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 David Steil tenant in Dreighorn
 John Smith weaver in Straven, 3 sets
 John Stewart tenant in Malslie
 James Syme merchant in Jedburgh, 5 sets
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 George Scot skinner there
 George Summers maltman there
 William Stewart portioner there
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 James Stark book-binder in Dundee,
 Matthew Smith merchant in Kirkintilloch
 William Scot Gardiner in Longholm

John Semple portioner in Chapel-toun
 Hugh Smith smith in Kirkcudbright
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V.

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 William Vessie shoe-maker in Lanark
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The

W.

The Reverend Mr. Adam Wedder-
ston minister of the gospel at
Noth

Mr. Gavin Weir preacher of the
gospel

Alexander Watson merchant in E-
dinburgh

John Watson Pultryman there

Alexander Watson merchant in
Linton, 3 *sets*

Andrew Watson tenant in Muir-
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Alexander Welsh in Stonehoup,
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William Wilson writer in Hawick

Thomas Winterup writer there

John Weir merchant in Falkirk

Alexander Wilson letter-founder in
Glasgow

Walter Watson tanner there

William Wilson in Crawpeeper

John White merchant in Jedburgh

Mr. Welsh at Hilry-miln

William Wilson vintner in Calet

Thomas White skinner in Kelso

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John Williamson late deacon of the
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Alexander Walker merchant there

John Wright land-labourer in Glams

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Richard Whitly smith in North-
blyth

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William Wilson of Milcraft, Munk-
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Andrew Wood in Lauder

Archibald Williamson in Rigg

John Williamson in Gatefide

John Welsh in Morton-mains

Y.

James Yorstoun cutler in Edinburgh

James Yoement weaver in Peebles

William Young farmer in East-
landbark

John Young merchant in Sanquhar

Mark Young carpenter in Berwick

Z.

John Zuill merchant in Glasgow

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE Reader will expect perhaps, upon the Publication of these Papers, to find somewhat here by way of Preface, and Recommendation, as is usual in such Cases; but the Work being long of itself, I will not make it more tedious than needs must, and therefore, I shall pass over all unnecessary Niceties; As the Time that has been spent upon it, the Books and Friends I have consulted upon the Text, the Difficulties that frequent Troubles and ill Health have thrown in my Way, and several more of the same Kind: To say nothing finally of the Corruptions in the Original, the Bulk and Compass of it, and how careful I have been in the Menage of my Commission. For all Men will at last judge for themselves.

But there is one Thing still which in Honour and Justice I ought not to omit; and that is, to return my hearty Acknowledgments to my worthy Friend, the Reverend Dr. Hudson, Chief Keeper of the Bodleian Library, for his kind and generous Assistance in this Performance: And here I must profess myself particularly obliged to him (as the Common-wealth of Letters is in other Respects) for the Pains he has been pleased to take in Revising and Comparing the Translation with the Greek, and for the learned and critical Remarks placed here and there, at the Bottom of the Page; and many other Advantages of Use and Ornament,

THE PREFACE.

Ornament, towards the Gracing of the Whole. I could wish his more important Affairs had left him at Liberty to take a strict Review of all the Sheets, one after another, as they came from the Press: But I hope however, that reasonable Care hath been taken to prevent either many or gross Errors. And of this, also, the Readers are at Liberty to judge for themselves.

I think myself likewise obliged upon this Occasion, to make a grateful Mention of the late Worthy and Learned Dr. Willes, for his Two Excellent Discourses prefix'd to the Antiquities: And tho' they had not the good Fortune to have his last Hand to them, are now however at length (I presume) by the Care and Skill of Dr. Hudson, digested into a proper Method; with the Addition of such Notes, &c. as highly tend to Illustrate, and render them Compleat.

And I am now, also, to thank my other Worthy Friends, in general, for the good Offices they have done Me towards the Gaining of my Point.

January 28.
1702.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

TWO DISCOURSES
UPON
JOSEPHUS.

DISCOURSE I.

By way of Enquiry into the Life and Religion, of Josephus: Wherein an Account is given of that famous Passage relating to our blessed Lord and Saviour.

IN this Preliminary Discourse I shall principally enquire into the Life and Religion of *Josephus*: Upon the right understanding whereof some Obscurities in him will be clear'd, and that remarkable Passage about our Saviour freed from the Objections that have been made against it.

We have his (a) Life written by himself when he was 56 Years old; in which he relates his being of the Stock and Lineage of (b) *Aaron*, and by his Mother's Side descended from the *Maccabees*, and of the Course of *Jojarib*, the first of the twentyfour Orders of the Priests. He saith that he was born in the first Year of *Caligula*, (A. D. 37.) he made tryal of the three famous Sects that were then amongst the *Jews*; *Pharisees*, *Saducees*, and *Essenes*: And leaving them at 16 Years of Age, he spent three Years in the Wilderness of *Judæa*, with a famous Master call'd *Bani*. *Serrarius* took him for an *Essene*, *Drusius* and the Author of *Jucasin* for a *Pharisee*: But they are all mistaken, since *Josephus* in that very Place distinguisheth him-
B from

(a) As to the Time of its being written, and how 'tis to be plac'd in his Works, See *Valesius's* Notes upon *Eusebius's* Ecclesiastical History.

(b) See the Wars of the *Jews*, Lib. 3. Cap. 14.

from the three Sects he had before made Tryal of. It's more probable that he was one of St. *John Baptist's* or *Christ's Disciples*. The *Talmud* (a) mentions one of *Christ's Disciples* by the Name of *Bani* or *Buni*. But whoever he was, after three Years *Josephus* left him also: And being now 19 Years old return'd to *Jerusalem*; where having spent seven Years, he went to *Rome*, being 26 Years old: And there he became acquainted with (b) *Nicanor* (who was afterwards a *Colonel* in *Vespasian's Army*) and with *Aliturus* one of *Nero's Favourites*, and by his Interest with *Poppæa* the Empress, from whom he receiv'd many Favours. After two Years spent at *Rome* he return'd to *Judæa*, the War being now ready to break forth: In which War *Josephus*, being 30 Years old, and a Governour in *Gallilee*, bravely resisted the *Romans*, till at last being over-power'd he yielded (or as his Enemies say revolted) to them. At this Time he told *Vespasian*, that he should be Emperour of the *Romans*. And when *Josephus* saw his Prophecy fulfill'd, and the whole Nation of the *Jews* conquer'd by him, he took him for the *Messias* and King of the *Jews*, whom the *Prophets* foretold. Upon these Accounts he was much esteem'd by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, and from them took the Name of *Flavius*. And because this is so memorable a Part of the Life of *Josephus*, it may not be improper to read it in his own Words. Nothing so much stir'd up the Minds of the *Jews* to the present Wars, as an ambiguous Prophecy found in their sacred Books; that about that Time one of their Country should be Ruler of the whole World.---By this Oracle the Empire of *Vespasian* was foretold, which began in *Judæa*. Also Chap. XIV. he saith, That God shew'd him in a Dream the Destruction of the *Jews* and their Conquest by the *Romans*, and what should happen to the Roman Emperours. For, being a Priest, he understood how to explain the sacred Books of the *Prophets*, and to interpret Dreams. He often suggested to the *Jews*, that God had forsaken them, and was gone over to the *Romans*; that the *Jews*, in fighting, not only resisted the *Romans*, but God also; and that from the Writings of the *Prophets* it was evident that *Jerusalem* should be destroy'd about that Time, and that God had long since decreed it. From the Waters of *Siloam* being dry'd up, when the *Jews* could come at them, and flowing plentifully when in Possession of the *Romans*, he concluded that God had left the *Jews* and was gone over to the *Romans*. When the War was over, and all Things had happen'd according

(a) *Sanhedrim*, Cap. 6. F. 43. Lib. 1. (b) *Wars of the Jews*, Lib. 3.
 (c) *Wars of the Jews*, Lib. 7. Cap. 31.

according to *Josephus's* Predictions, he resolv'd to make the *History* of it publick: Which he did first in his own Language in *Hebrew*, for the Use of the *Eastern Nations* (a Book long since lost;) and afterwards coming to *Rome* with *Titus*, he there publish'd these Books in *Greek*, which are now extant. But this was not done immediately upon his coming to *Rome*: For first the Triumph of *Vespasian* and *Titus* over the *Jews* was past, which *Josephus* in those Books describes: Many also had publish'd (a) false Accounts of that War, before he publish'd his. And it was after the fourth Year of the Empire of *Vespasian*, which he expressly mentions in his seventh Book of the Wars of the *Jews*; and after the Building of the Temple of Peace at *Rome*, which he also mentions, and which, as appears from *Dion*, was dedicated *A. D.* 75. that is five Years after the War was ended: And yet it was before the Death of *Agrippa*, who highly approv'd of it, and commended it in several Letters written upon that Occasion. *Agrippa* came to *Rome* and receiv'd new Honours from *Vespasian*, and that very Year that the Temple of Peace was dedicated (as appears from *Dion*) besides the Testimony of several Coins. *Eusebius* in his *Chron.* and the *Author* of the *Paschalion* say, that he reign'd 26 Years, that is, till the seventh Year of *Vespasian*, all which I the rather take notice of, because (b) two very learned Men of this Age place his Death in the third Year of *Vespasian*: From hence 'tis evident, that *Josephus* publish'd his Book of the Wars of the *Jews* betwixt the fifth Year of *Vespasian*, when the (c) Temple of Peace was dedicated, and the seventh Year of *Vespasian*, when (d) *Agrippa* dy'd.

He wrote these Books for the Sake of the *Romans*, among whom he liv'd, and from whom he had receiv'd many Honours; for he was made free of *Rome* by *Vespasian*, dwelt in the Palace, and had a yearly Pension allow'd him by the Emperour; and having presented his Books of the *Jewish War* to *Vespasian* and *Titus*, the first took care to have a Statue erected to him at *Rome*, the (e) latter approv'd them with his own

B 2

Hand,

(a) Pref. of his *Antiq.* and the first Book against *Apion*. (b) *Bp. Pearson* and *Mr. Dodwell*. This they were not aware of, but *Dio* seems plain, *Agrippa* therefore with his Sister *Berenice* came to *Rome* *A. D.* 75. *Spanhemius* mentions a Coin with the XXXIXth Year of *Agrippa*. This will end *A. D.* 78. In *Photius* therefore perhaps the better Reading will be *einatoo* instead of *Tritoo*. The IXth of *Vespasian* ends in *Jul.* *A. D.* 78. *H. D.* (c) This Dedication of the Temple of Peace mention'd by *Pliny*, *N. H. l.* 12. c. 19. (d) *Harduinus de Num. Herod.* hath Coins of the 26, 27, 28, 29 Year of *Agrippa*, but no farther. And Coins shew another King *Agrippa*, beginning *A. D.* 80. or 81. and have his 14th Year about *Domitian's* 14th *H. D.* (e) *St. Hierom.*

Hand, and order'd them to be kept in all the publick Libraries. As the *Romans* extoll'd him, so he constantly magnifieth and flatters the *Romans*, and gives wicked Characters of the *Jews*: For which the *Jews* generally condemn his Books as false and partial. (a) *Abarbanel* saith, that he perverted the Truth to magnifie the *Romans*, whom he was afraid to displease; and wrote as they would have him. And tho' these Censures of the *Jews* are very groundless; yet I cannot but observe, that he so far comply'd with the Rites and Customs of the *Romans*, that *Minucius* (b) *Felix* in the very next Age after took him for a (c) *Roman*: *De Judæis scripta eorum relege; vel, si Romanis magis gaudes, Flavii Josephi, vel Antonii Juliani de Judæis require.* i. e. Concerning the *Jews*, either read their own Writers, or, if you would rather read *Romans*, enquire for *Josephus* or *Antonius Julianus*. This latter was undoubtedly the same *Antonius Julianus* that was Procurator of *Judæa* in the very Time of the War, and is mention'd by (d) *Josephus*. He was a *Spaniard* by Birth, a Man of great Eloquence and Learning, and publickly taught Rhetorick at (e) *Rome*. When *Josephus* therefore wrote his Books of the Wars of the *Jews*, he was of Opinion, that *God* had forsaken their Nation, and was gone over to the *Romans*: He had seen his Country ruin'd by a War that had destroy'd above 1100000, the holy City laid waste; and *God's* Temple so utterly destroy'd, as that there was scarcely one Stone left upon another; the sacred Books of *Moses*, and the holy Vessels of *God's* House, first made Part of the *Roman* Triumph, and afterwards furnish'd the Temples of *Jupiter Capitolinus* and that of *Peace*; and the very *Shekels*, which were formerly paid by the *Jews* all the World over to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, were now paid to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. By which, and many other Circumstances, *Josephus* was much confirm'd in his Opinion, that *God* had forsaken the *Jews*, and was become the *God* and Favourer of the *Romans*, and that *Vespasian* was the promis'd *Messiah*. His Opinion about Government was, that no one could be advanc'd to a Throne but by *God's* special Favour, and he makes King *Agrippa* thus speak to the *Jews*. (f) *It's evident that God is now gone over to the Romans: For it's impossible that so great an Empire*

(a) *Com. on Dan.* In favour of their own Forgery under the Name of *Ben. Gorion*: That is extravagant in Praise of the *Jews*. Where therefore the true *Josephus* speaks more likely and modestly, the Latter *Jews* asperse him with Partiality to the *Romans*. *H. D.* (b) *P.* 36. (c) *Josephus* was legally a *Roman*, as far as Incorporation could make him so. *H. D.* (d) *L.* 7. c. 9. (e) *Agellius l.* 19. c. 9. if the same. *Cl.* 1. c. 4. & *l.* 20. c. 8. (f) *L.* 2. c. 16.

Empire should be established without God. For these Reasons *Josephus* thought favourably of the Religion of the Romans, and was pleas'd that many of the (a) *Jewish* Opinions agreed with theirs. The Prodigies, that he saith happen'd before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, would agree better to *Livy* or *Tacitus* than to a *Jewish Historian*. And he could not tell whether he should ascribe his great Deliverance at *Jotapata* to Chance or Providence. And when *Judas* an *Essene* foretold the Death of *Antigonus* at *Strato's Tower*, the Prophecy was not fulfill'd at *Cæsarea*, which was famously so call'd, but at another (b) obscure Place of that Name: Which seems copy'd from the Fable of the Death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus* at *Pandosia*, as it's recorded by *Livy* and others. And what he relates of the (c) Apples of *Sodom* and the *Sabbatical River* is more like a Romance, to entertain his Reader, than any Regard to Truth: And the ridiculous Story of the Root *Baras* (d) seems borrow'd from the *Moly* of *Homer* or *Circea* of *Dioscorides* and *Theophrastus*. The four Colours of the *Veil* of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, he makes to be an Imitation of the four Elements, and the seven Candlesticks a Resemblance of the seven Planets. The flying open of the great Brazen Gate of the Temple, is the same as happen'd at *Thebes* just before the great Battle of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra*, when the great Gates of the Temple of *Hercules* open'd of themselves without any one's touching of them. [*Cic. de Divinat.*] I omit many other Things of the like Nature, from whence it's evident that *Josephus* endeavour'd to greise and shape the History of the Jews as like as he could to those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

And thus I have briefly given his Sentiments when he wrote the *Wars of the Jews*; but he did not write his Books of *Antiquities* till the 13th Year of *Domitian* the Emperour, when he had lost his three great Patrons, two Emperours and a King, and now betook himself to the Favour of *Epaphroditus*, to whom he dedicates his 20 Books of *Antiquities*, his own Life, and two Books against *Apion*. He had now seen his *Messiah* dye, without doing any Thing for the Jews, or answering the Characters given him by the Prophets; by which Means he seems now to have chang'd his Opinion, and to be grown very loose in his Sentiments about the *Mysteries of Religion*; a great *Latitudinarian*, and chiefly addicted to the general Opinions of the Excellency of Virtue and Goodness, and the

B 3

Agree-

(a) *Wars of the Jews*, L. 2. c. 7. (b) *Wars of the Jews*, L. 1. c. 1.
 (c) These are like the Prodigies mention'd by *Jason* the *Cyrenian*, 2 *Macc.* cab. 5. 2, 3. (d) *Wars of the Jews*, L. 7. c. 25.

Agreeableness of true Religion to the Nature of *God*, and such other moral Sentiments: Wherein the wisest of the *Jews*, *Heathens* and *Christians* were agreed, without any religious Esteem of such Things as had been reveal'd to the *Jews* by *Moses* and the *Prophets*. And of this it may be necessary to give some Instances. *Circumcision* was one of the most sacred Rites of the *Jews*, which *God* gave *Abraham*, and by which they were known to be his Seed: And yet when *Josephus* is speaking of the *Antiquity* of it, he leaveth the Matter doubtful betwixt *Herodotus* and *Moses*, whether the *Egyptians* borrow'd it from the *Jews*, or the *Jews* from the *Egyptians*. (a) He expressly saith, that one might worship *God* without *Circumcision*: So that he resolv'd to observe the *Jewish Laws*, that this was far better than *Circumcision*, and that *God* would easily pardon one that did omit it for fear of *Persecution*. (b) And in this it's evident that *Josephus* comply'd with the bad Circumstances the *Jews* were in under the Emperour *Domitian*, by reason of their *Circumcision*; of which *Suetonius* hath these Words: *Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est. Interfuisse me memini cum a Procuratore frequentissimo concilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset. i. e. The Jewish Tribute was severely collected. I remember that I was present when an old Man of ninety Years of Age was in a great Assembly inspected by the Procurator, whether he was circumcised or not.* When *Josephus* relates the miraculous Passage of the *Israelites* through the *Red Sea*, he adds very diffidently, *That he relates every Thing as it was in the Holy Books, and doubted whether the Sea went back of its own Accord, or by God's special Command; and seems inclin'd to think it nothing else then what happen'd to Alexandria's Army at Pamphilia.* In Conclusion he adds (c) *That every one might think of it as he pleas'd.* When he gives an Account of *God's* coming down to (d) *Mount Sinai*: He saith, *Let every one believe of it as he pleaseth; but he related no more than he found in the Holy Books.* When he saith, *That God was the Author of the Law of Moses*, he adds, *But (e) let every one think of these Things as he pleaseth.* And the like Reflections he makes upon *Jonas's* being swallow'd by a *Whale*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* being seven Years in the *Wilderness* with the *Beasts*. In his second Book against *Apion*, he saith, *That Moses from his Justice and Piety might very well judge that he had God for his Guide: and when he was once perswaded of that himself, he did well to perswade the People to think so too, just as the Greeks pretended to have their Laws from Apollo, whether*

they

(a) *Antiq. l. 8. c. 10.* (b) *L. 20. c. 2.* (c) *L. 2. c. 16.* (d) *L. 3. c. 4.* (e) *L. 3. c. ult.*

they really thought so, or thought that the best Way to make them receiv'd of the People. He saith, That the Jews keep their own Law and never censure others, and do not laugh at or speak against those that are thought Gods by others: Of which Place Grotius (a) observes, that he undoubtedly flatter'd the Romans: And long before him Philostorgius made the like Observation (b) that Josephus was like one fearing to offend the Gentiles and taking great Care in his Books not to displease them.

Now the disesteeming the Rites and Ceremonies of the Law of Moses, and setting so great a Value upon the Precepts of Morality, are two considerable Steps that Josephus made towards the Doctrine of Christianity: and whereas of all the Sects of the Jews Josephus gives the best Character of, and seems to have the greatest Esteem for the Essenes, so it's observable, that of all the Sects of the Jews, they came nearest to the Christians. The Essenes were forbidden to keep any Changes of Coats or Shoes, as Christ also forbad his Disciples, Matth. 10. 10. The Essenes were forbidden to swear, as Christ also forbad the Christians. The Essenes excommunicated Persons that liv'd unworthy of their Profession; and of such it was observ'd by them that they usually came to some untimely End: Just as St. Paul observes of those that profan'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in those purest Times of Christianity, that it often happen'd, that they were deliver'd to Satan. The Essenes never troubled themselves with Sacrifices; but fasted often, and readily became Martyrs for their Religion. All which Things are very agreeable to the Precepts of the Gospel. Of the Essenes, Josephus particularly observes that they had the Gift of Prophecy, and could foretel Things to come: and I will add in the last Place of them, that tho' Christ vehemently censures the Pharisees and Sadducees, yet he never spoke one Word against the Essenes. And when Josephus, at the End of his second Book against Apion, makes the Jewish Religion to consist in Piety, Justice, Concord, and observing God and his Providence, he comes very near the Description of Christianity.

And having thus far observ'd Josephus's Sentiments of religious Matters, when he wrote his Antiquities; let us see, in the last Place, whether there is any Thing in that famous Account he gives of our Saviour, that is not very agreeable to Josephus, and the Time when he wrote. The Place is Antiq. Book 18. ch. 4. There was about that Time one Jesus a wise Man, if yet it be lawful to call him a Man: he was a Worker of strange

(a) De Jure Belli & Pacis. p. 606, 607. (b) Suidas voce Phlegon.

THE FIRST DISCOURSE

*Miracles, a Teacher of such Men as would readily embrace the Truth, and had many Followers both of Hebrews and Hellenists; (i. e. Jews and Proselytes :) This was the famous Christ, who upon the Accusation of the principal Men of the Jews was crucify'd by Pontius Pilate; and yet those that first lov'd him did not forsake him: For he appear'd to them the third Day alive again. Their holy Writers have declar'd these and many Thousand other wonderful Things of him. The Race of Christians, which are so call'd from him, remain to this Day. In all which I see nothing but what may agree to a Jew, giving an Historical Account of the Affairs of his own Nation to the Heathens; especially what may agree to Josephus, who (a) frequently tells his Reader, that he did not affirm the Truth of every Thing he related, but faithfully transcrib'd what he found in their Books; and so indifferently related the Opinions of the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and of the Followers of Judas Galilæus, and gives a particular Account of St. John Baptist, and St. James the Brother of Christ. So that it would have been very strange if Josephus should have pass'd by Christ and the Christians, without taking any notice of them, especially at the 13th Year of Domitian, when they were grown so very numerous. At the End of Nero's Reign, Hermas, Clement, Tacitus, Lactantius, and Sulpitius Severus call them a great Multitude; but at the End of Domitian's Reign, most Countries were full of Christians. Orosius (b) calls the Christian Church at that Time, *Confirmatissimam toto Orbe Ecclesiam*, a Church firmly establish'd in all the World. Pliny not long after shews that Pontus and Bithynia were full of Christians; and even at Rome there were so many, that Domitian was afraid of them, and their setting up of Christ's Kingdom: And for that Reason rais'd a Persecution against them. But because too many learned Men have employ'd their Pens to censure this Paragraph in Josephus, as none of his; I will examine it yet more particularly.*

There was about that Time one Jesus (Iesus tis.) This is the proper Language of the Jews us'd by Tryphon in (c) Justin Martyr, (where Christ is called Jesus, Iesus tis) and by Josephus upon other Occasions, as in his Wars of the Jews L. 7. c. 11. and 12. Iesus tis. And even of Zenodorus a Tetrarch, Ant. l. 15. c. 13. Zenodooras tis. He calls Banus, tina Banun: also Hyrcanus, l. 18. c. 8. Theudas, l. 20. c. 4.
A wise

(a) Pref. and Conclusion of his Antiq. Also L. 10. c. 12.

(b) L. 7. c. 10. (c) P. 335.

A wise Man (*sophos aner*) the old Appellation of a Philosopher; and no more than what the same Josephus saith of St. John Baptist, who is called by him a good Man (*agathos aner*.)

If he may be called a Man who was a Worker of Miracles, (*eige andra auton legein Chre.*) Josephus means that he seem'd more than a common Man. So when Pilate wrote to Tiberius, it was *de Christo Deo*. Tertullian and Pliny, that the Christians sang *Christo quasi Deo*. That he did Miracles, is what the Jews own'd, John 11. 47. They said, what do we do for this Man doth many Miracles. In Justin Martyr's (a) Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew, the Jews own that such Miracles seem'd to have been done, but imputed them to Magic; and both Celsus (b) and Porphyry, though bitter Enemies to the Christians, confessed that Christ did Miracles. Phlegon owns that Christ (c) foreknew future Things. Pilate gave the Emperor Tiberius Nero an Account of our Saviour's Miracles: As we are assur'd by Tertullian and Eusebius. And from that Account he understood, that he was a wise Man and (d) Doer of Miracles (*philosophos kai thaumata poioon.*)

A Teacher of such Men as would embrace the Truth. (*didaskalos anthroopoon toon sun hedone te alethe dechomenoon.*) Porphyry quotes many Oracles in the Praise of Christ, that declare him to be religious and immortal: To which Porphyry adds (e) that Christ was pious and carry'd to Heaven, and yet blames the Christians.

Trypho (f) a Jew commended the holy Lives of Christians, and (g) Galen an Heathen saith of the Christians, that they were chaste, much addicted to Prayer and Fasting, abstain'd from Injuries, &c. Nor is it a less advantageous Character that Pliny gives of them in his Epistle to Trajan: And Josephus also in giving an Account of the Martyrdom of St. James highly commends him, and those that took his Part, as Men most just and accurate about the Observance of the Law.

This was the famous Christ (*ho Christos hutos en*) viz. He that was the Author of Christianity: For Josephus wrote those Books to inform Epaphroditus and the Heathens, who (h) knew him best by the Name of Christ: For so he is call'd by Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny, and they say expressly that the Christians were so call'd from him. It's beyond the Sense and Design of Josephus.

(a) P. 296. (b) Origen. contra Celsum. Cyril. contra Julian. lib. 10. Hieron. adv. Vigilant. (c) Orig. contra Celsum, lib. 2. (d) Jo. Malela p. 323. (e) See Euseb. Dem. Evangel. p. 134. (f) Just. Mart. p. 316. & 227. (g) In Abulpharajus, p. 78. (h) Both Jews and Heathens did Miracles by the Name of Christ.

Josephus to expound these Words of true and saving Faith in *Christ*; for *Josephus* was (*toon apistoon Iesu oos Christu*) among those that did not believe *Jesus* to be the true *Messias*, as we are told by (a) *Origen*: But *Josephus* design'd no more but to let us know, that this *Jesus* was the same that was usually (b) called *Christ*, and was the Author of *Christianity*: Thus (c) elsewhere he tells us that St. *James* was Brother *toon legomennu Christu*, to him that is called *Christ*.

He was crucify'd by Pontius Pilate. (d) This is a plain historical Truth recorded also by *Tacitus*, and the *Acts* of *Pilate*: The Truth is, That *Tacitus's* Account of *Christ* is very agreeable to this of *Josephus*: *Auctor nominis ejus Christus qui per Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat.* i. e. *Christ was the Author of the Sect of the Christians, who was crucify'd by Pontius Pilate.* And since it's evident that *Tacitus* had read *Josephus*, (for in his History. l. 5. he saith, *Expansæ repente delubri fores, & audita major humana vox excedere Deos*, which is taken from *Josephus*, l. 1. c. 6. *metabainoomen enteuthen, &c.*) it's more probable that he took his Account from *Josephus* than from the Gospel, and so he will be an early Evidence of the Authentickness and great Antiquity of this Paragraph in *Josephus*.

He appear'd to them the third Day alive again. *Josephus* here doth not relate his own but the *Christians* Faith: And this is what he might not only learn from their Gospels, but even from the Letter which *Pilate* sent to *Tiberius*, and is in Part exstant in *Justin*, *Tertullian*, and *Orosius*: In which we have an express Narrative of *Christ's* Rising from the Dead the third Day: Besides *Celsus* witnesseth that *Christ* appear'd to his Followers after his Death.

Their Holy Writers have declar'd these and many thousand wonderful Things of him (*toon theioon prophetoon tauta te kai alla muria pri autu thaumasia eirekotoon.*) These Words having Reference to them, i. e. the *Christians*, in the former Sentence, ought properly to be expounded of the Writings of the Prophets. Thus *Josephus* reckons the Books of *Macca-bees* among the Jewish Prophets, and the Holy Books of the *Essenes* he calls (*prophetoon apothegmata*) the Doctrine of their Prophets: And this Sense is here much confirm'd by the Word *eirekotoon*, which hath no Relation to the foretelling future Things, but properly signifieth Historically declaring; thus

(a) *Contra Celsum.* (b) The Heathens called him *Christ*, *Lactant.* p. 367. (c) *Antiq. l. 20. c. 8.* (d) The Jews say that *Christ* was *propinquus Regni*, and crucify'd on the Eve of the Passover, which they learned from the Gospel that they had in Hebrew.

thus *Eustathius* upon *Homer* explains *ειροο* by *angelloo*, from whence cometh the Word *Evangelist*. And since the Books of the *Gospels* were now generally received in the Christian Churches, it may not seem strange that *Josephus* should have seen some of them. *Tryphon* the Jew tells *Justin Martyr* that he had read them, and so the modern Jews do now. It's plain that he useth the Language of the *Christians*, and the New Testament elsewhere, as when he calls St. *John* the *Baptist*, and St. *James* the *Brother of Christ*.

So that I see nothing in all this Account of Christ but what may well agree with *Josephus*. And indeed it would be more strange if such an accurate *Historian*, and one that gives so full an Account of St. *John Baptist* and St. *James*, should say nothing at all of *Christ* himself: And when afterwards he calls *James* the *Brother of Christ*, it may very well be supposed, that he had given some Account of *Christ* before. And lastly it may be probably guessed, that, at the writing of his *Antiquities*, he began to think favourably of the *Christians*. He commends St. *John Baptist* and St. *James* as well as *Christ*, whom in his *Wars of the Jews* he never mention'd; and never saith one Word of *Vespasian*, whom he had before magnified as the *Messias*. He thought formerly that the Murder of *Ananus* and *Jesus* were the true Cause of God's Anger against the Jews, and the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. But in his *Antiquities* he makes the Murder of St. *James* the Apostle to have been the Cause of it, if we may give Credit to (a) *Origene* and *Eusebius*. It cannot seem strange that *Josephus* should say so of St. *James*, when (b) *Maimonides* himself declares that *this Jesus, who was put to Death by the Sanhedrim, was the Cause of the Destruction of the Nation of the Jews, and was prophesied of by Daniel*. Now, whereas *Christ* is called by the *Christians*, the *Stone cut out without Hands*, from Dan. 2. 45. (a Place which many (c) *Jews*, and particularly *Tryphon* in (d) *Justin Martyr* confessed to belong to the *Messiah*) *Josephus*, when he comes to speak of the Meaning of it, plainly saith (e) *that it was such as he had no Mind to publish*, and so tacitely hints the owning of *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, tho' he would not openly confess it. But be this as it will, its certain that tho' *Josephus* often condemns the *Sadducees*, accuseth *Theudas*, *Judas*, and others, that set up for *Prophets* to draw People after them, yet never once accuseth *Christ* or the *Christians*.

(a) *Origene* against *Celsus*, p. 35, 36. *Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23.* &c.

(b) *De Reg. c. 11.* (c) *Pirk. R. Eleazer, p. 26.* (d) *P. 254.*

(e) I do not remember this in *Josephus*.

Upon the whole I cannot see the least Reason to think this Passage suppositious, it's quoted in the very same Words by *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, *Isidorus*, *Pelusiota*, *Sazomene*, *Rufinus*, *Sophronius*, *Cedrenus*, *Freculphus*, *Suidas*, *Joan. Sarisb. Hegesippus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Nicephorus*, and many other ancient Writers: It's extant in all Copies and MSS. of *Josephus* in the World, and in all Translations; particularly that made by *St. Ambrose*, and which goeth under the Name of *Hegesippus*, hath it at large twice, viz. in the second Book, and again in the *Anacephalæosis*. So that *Tanaquil Faber*, the great Opposer of this Passage of *Josephus*, seems very assuming, when he says of this *Hegesippus*, that *Josephum eo accusat nomine quod Resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi non meminerit*. i. e. *Hegesippus accuseth Josephus, for not mentioning the Resurrection of Christ*, (a) which is not only absurd upon the Account that *Hegesippus* is nothing else but a Corruption of the Word *Josephus*, and that Book a free Translation of it: But also that this Passage about our Saviour is twice read at large. *Ludovicus Vives* was the first I met with that discover'd *St. Ambrose* to have been the true Author of the Translation that goes under the Name of *Hegesippus*. His Words in his Book *De Tradenda Disciplina* are these: *Hegesippus Latinus factus ab Ambrosio Mediolanensi Antistite*, i. e. The Latin *Hegesippus* was made by *St. Ambrose* Bishop of *Milane*. The old Latin Version of his *Antiquities* made by the Care of *Cassiodorus* hath this Place also. This Version hath been falsly father'd upon *Rufinus*, and tho' the old Copy at *Milane* hath been by some (b) Learned Men thought as old as *Rufinus*, if not the very same Copy: Yet it's evident from (c) *Cassiodorus*, that it was not at all Translated into Latin till 150 Years after *Rufinus* by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. And Lastly the Hebrew Version of some Parts of *Josephus* usually publish'd under the Name of *Ben-Gorion* hath this Passage of *Josephus* about our Saviour; for tho' it be not in the imperfect Edition of *Munster*, which is but Part of that Work, yet it's certain that it was in the complete Copies of that Book. *P. Fagius* in his Edition of the *Tisby* of *Elias Levita*, at the Word *USHK* puts down the whole Paragraph with this Preface to it. *Ego Paulus Fagius interpres hujus Libelli, in honorem Christi & Redemptoris nostri, huc referam quæ Scripta inveniuntur in libro Josephi filii Gorion, cujus hæc sunt verba: Fuit iisdem temporibus Jesus, &c.* i. e. *I Paul Fagius Interpreter of this Book, will relate here, for the Honour of Christ and our Redeemer,*

(a) The same Mistake is in *Spanheim's Dub. Ev. p. 537. 538.* and *Sixtus Senensis. (b) Mabill. lt. Ital. p. 12. & Dr. B. (c) De Instit. c. 17.*

Redeemer, what is found written in a Book of Josephus the Son of Gorion in these Words : There was at that Time one Jesus, &c. and there inserts this whole Passage as it is in the Greek Josephus. Baronius mentions an old Hebrew Copy of Josephus in which this Passage appear'd, but erased : And even our old English Translation of that Book by P. Morisyn hath this Paragraph at large : And moreover (a) Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, that Robertus Canutus (the Fryer of St. Frideswide, who liv'd about the Year 1171, and was well skill'd in Hebrew) declar'd, that he found this Testimony concerning our Saviour in two Hebrew Copies of Josephus ; and that it was erased in others ; as he made it appear to some Jews then living in Oxford.

So that in fine, there seems as much Evidence for the Truth and Sincerity of this Place in Josephus, as of any other in all his Works : And it would have been far more strange, if in his Circumstances and Time when he wrote, he should have said nothing of Christ, than that he saith what he doth. Yet if any one desires to be more fully satisfy'd in this particular, let him consult Andreas Bosius's Exercitationes Histor. Critic. Chr. Arnoldus's Collection of Letters concerning the Testimony of Josephus : Vossius's Chronologia Sacra, cap. 17 : Huetius's Demonstratio Evangel. prop. 3 : Bp. Parker's Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and the Christian Religion, p. 222, &c. and Dr. Cave's Historia Literaria, Part the 2d, p. 17. &c.

DISCOURSE II.

By way of Enquiry into the Chronology of Josephus in his
ANTIQUITIES.

SINCE the Copies of Josephus have been alter'd and corrupted, the best Method that I can propose for the Discovery of his Chronology, is to make an exact Collection of such Passages of Josephus, as were antiently quoted from him within two or three Hundred Years after he wrote, and in those Books remain unalter'd, together with a diligent Perusal of the other Works of Josephus, which, being written upon other Subjects, and not containing the History of the Bible, are not so likely to be alter'd to comply with either Version.

In

(a) See Dr. Cave's Historia Literaria, Tom. 2. p. 18.

In Pursuance of this Method, the first Place that I shall pitch upon is that of *Eusebius* in his History, l. 3. c. 10. where he quotes a large Paragraph out of *Josephus's* first Book against *Apion*, which asserts, that from the Beginning of the World to the Death of *Moses* was almost 3000 Years, his Words are *utroos ho Chronos apoleipoi trischilioon oligon etoon*. Which Words *Valesius* observes to be in all his old MSS. of *Eusebius*. These same Words are also quoted by *Nicephorus* (*Hist. Eccl. l. 1. p. 162.*) and are at this Day to be read in all Prints MSS. and Versions of *Josephus*; nor was this alter'd to comply with Greek and Hebrew Chronology; since it manifestly agrees with neither. Our present Latin *Josephus* translates those Words thus, *Hoc tempus de tribus millibus annorum paululum minus est*. In the Version used by *Bede*, (a) and *Hermannus Contractus*, and which was probably that made by *Epiphanius*, they are translated thus, *Qui paulo minus ad tria millia annorum continentiam gerunt*. The Word *continentia* is used after the same Manner by *Epiphanius* in the Preface to the *Antiquities*. These same Words of *Josephus* are twice quoted by *Bede* in his Book *de Ratione Temporum*, and his *Apologetick Epistle*, and also are in *Hermannus Contractus* A. M. 2493. From all which we have a great Assurance that this was the genuine Text of *Josephus*, and may receive farther Confirmation from *Josephus* in other Parts of his Works. In the Preface to his *Antiquities* he saith, *That the Holy Books of the Jews contain'd the History of 5000 Years*; and that he meant from the Beginning of the World to his Time, appears partly from the Conclusion of his *Antiquities*, where he saith of his whole History, that *it was taken from the Sacred Writings*: And more fully from the Beginning of his first Book against *Apion*, where he saith, *that his Books of Antiquities contain'd the History of 5000 Years*. And to take away all doubt, *Josephus* in (b) three several Places, where all Copies agree, accounts 2000 Years from *Moses* to his Time, as (c) *Philo* doth likewise. Now if we add these 2000 Years from *Moses* to his Time to the almost 3000 Years from *Adam* to *Moses*, it makes up the Sum of almost 5000 Years from *Adam* to the Time of *Josephus*. (d) *Origene* also saith, *That from Adam to the 70th Year of Christ's Oeconomy was 4900 Years*; and tho' he doth not there quote *Josephus*, yet it's manifest that he took it from him. For 1st, That Number

(a) De Nat. rerum. fol. 76. (b) Viz. In the Preface and Conclusion of his *Antiquities*, and in his first Book against *Apion*. (c) In *Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 9.* (d) *Homil. on Matth. 29.*

ber is widely different from the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*, but agreeth with *Josephus*. 2dly, In that same *Homily* he twice quotes the *History of the Jews*, and the *Wars of the Jews*, and undoubtedly meant those of *Josephus*. 3dly, The 70th Year of *Christ's* Oeconomy is the very Time where *Josephus's* Books end. And, to shew that there is no Mistake in that Number of *Origene*, he adds in the same Place, *that it was 4830 Years from Adam to Christ*. From all which it seems evident that *Josephus* accounted almost 3000 Years from *Adam* to the Death of *Moses*, and almost 5000 Years from *Adam* to his own Time.

The next Place I come to consider, is in the same Book of *Origene*, *Hom. 10. f. 25.* where he observes, that it was as long from *Adam* to *Noah* (*i. e.* the *Flood*) as from *Moses* to *Christ*. Now if with *Origene* we assign 4830 Years from *Adam* to *Christ*, and if according to the (a) *Hebrew* we account 1656 Years to the *Flood*, we shall find just so many Years in *Josephus* to *Christ*. And because I would not yet make use of the present Copies of *Josephus*, we may take this Period out of *Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 250.* where he quotes *Josephus* from a yet elder Author that flourish'd under *Antonius Pius*, and so near to *Josephus's* Time, viz, *That from Moses* (*i. e.* the coming out of *Ægypt*) *to David was* (b) *585 Years, from David to the 2d of Vespasian 1179 Years*, both together 1764 Years. Now if from that Sum we take 40 Years that *Moses* was in the Wilderness, and 70 Years of *Christ's* Oeconomy, there will remain 1657 Years from *Moses's* Death to *Christ's* Birth: Which he thus takes from *Josephus*, and which demonstrates that in the Time of *Origene*, *Josephus* before the *Flood* agreed with the *Hebrew*. And if we subtract twice 1656. *i. e.* 3312 out of 4830, there will remain for the Space betwixt the *Flood* and the Death of *Moses* 1518 Years, which is very near what we now read for that Period. And if we put all this together, the Chronology of *Josephus* will stand thus:

From *Adam* to the *Flood* 1656 Years, to the Death of *Moses* 1518, to the Birth of *Christ* 1656, to the 12th of *Nero* 70 Years, in all 4900 Years, or according to *Josephus*, almost 5000 Years from *Adam* to his Time at the 13th Year of *Domitian*.

Before

(a) In the *Samaritane Chron.* from *Moses's Exodus* to the *Æra vulg.* are 1671 Years, if the *Æra Christi* were four Years sooner than it was to that 1657 Years just as *Origene* is. (b) In the first Sum is a small Mistake of 5 for 8, and then both will be 1767.

Before I proceed to a more distinct Consideration of Particulars, it will be necessary to shew what Evidence there is still left in the present Copies and MSS. of *Josephus*, that he follow'd the *Hebrew* before the *Flood*, and the *Greek* after it.

The *Period* before the *Flood* agreeth with the *Hebrew*. 1st, In the Age of *Lamech's* begetting *Noah*, the *Hebrew* is 182, the *Greek* 188, the Difference only in the last Figure. Now all Copies, Versions, and MSS. of *Josephus* have two in the last Place according to the *Hebrew*, and not eight according to the *Greek*. 2^{dly}, In the Age that *Enoch* begat at, the *Hebrew* is 65, the *Greek* 165. Now the Copies and MSS. of *Josephus* here agree with the *Hebrew* against the *Greek*. 3^{dly}, The *Hebrew* accounts to the *Flood* 1656 Years, the *Greek* 2242 Years. Now there are no Copies of *Josephus* that agree with the *Greek*: But they have either 2656, or else 1-56, the Number of Hundreds being wanting; and either Way there are manifest Footsteps of Agreement with the *Hebrew*. Lastly, *Josephus* saith of this *Period*, That he transcrib'd the Years from the *holy Books* with great Accuracy; where, by *holy Books* he meant the *Hebrew*. And so in his *Preface* to his *Antiquities*, tho' the *Seventy* translated the Books of *Moses*, yet there are many more Things in the *holy Writings* (that is the *Hebrew*) which he design'd to explain. And against *Apion*, l. 1. he saith, That he wrote his History in *Greek* from the *holy Books*, i. e. the *Hebrew Books*: And again he saith, That he translated his *Antiquities* from the *holy Books*, as understanding those Letters, i. e. the *Hebrew Books* and Letters.

The *Period* next after the *Flood* agreeth with the *Greek*. For, 1st, Most of the present *Greek Copies* here follow the *Seventy*. 2^{dly}, The old *Greek Copy* of *Epiphanius* here certainly follow'd the *Seventy*: For so *Freculphus* about A. D. 800, in *Chron.* T. 1. l. 1. cap. 35. *De numero Annorum à Diluvio usque ad nativitatem Abraham aliter Josephus atque LXX. interpretes & Eusebius sentiunt quam in Hebraica veritate continetur*; and afterwards adds, that the *Hebrew* has 292 Years, the *Seventy* and *Eusebius* 942 Years, à quibus *Josephus non longe exorbitat*. 3^{dly}, *Josephus* saith, that *Phaleg* was born at the Division of Tongues: But those that follow the *Hebrew* say, that it was at the Death of *Phaleg*, finding 100 Years too few for the Peopling of the World. 4^{thly}, They that follow the *Hebrew* make *Sem* to be *Melchisedech*, as being then alive in the Days of *Abraham* according to their *Chronology*. But *Josephus* (a) saith, that he

(a) Wars of the Jews, l. 7. c. 18.

he was a *Chanaanitish* King, and hath not the least Hint of so strange a Thing, that *Abraham's* great Grand-Father's great Grand-Father's Grand-Father *Sem* should be then alive to bless him. 5thly, Since *Jocktan* in *Josephus* is elder Brother of *Phaleg*, and had 13 Sons at the Building of *Babel* that gave Names to Countries, it's impossible that *Phaleg* should be born in the 30th Year of *Heber*, but must be at least born according to the *Seventy* in the 134th Year of his Father. And lastly, In this Period of Time *Josephus* hath no Intimation that he took his Years from the *Hebrew*, as he had of the Period before the *Flood*. From all which it is very probable that *Josephus* follow'd the *Hebrew* before the *Flood*, and the *Seventy* after it. Yet he seems to have differ'd both from the *Hebrew* and *Greek* in one Instance before the *Flood*, and one after it. In the Period before the *Flood* he differs from the *Hebrew* in the Age of *Jared's* begetting *Enoch*, and inclin'd to the *Samaritan*, and had 62 instead of 162, and thereby made that Number more suitable to the rest, as may appear by this Table.

	<i>Samaritan</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>Septuagint</i>
Adam	130	130	230
Seth	105	105	205
Enos	90	90	190
Kainaan	70	70	170
Maleleel	65	65	165
Jared	62	162	162
Enoch	65	65	165

In this Table the *Samaritan* and *Hebrew* agree in all but the Age of *Jared's* begetting *Enoch*, the *Septuagint* exceed the *Hebrew* by an hundred Years in every one but in that of *Jared*. So that in the *Hebrew* Copies, which they used, it was 62. *Josephus* here made *Jared's* Begetting proportionable to that of his Son after him at 65, his Father at 65, his Grand-Father at 70, and his great Grand-Father at 90. And that this was really the Mind of *Josephus* will appear: 1st, From the adjusting the Particulars to the general Sums I have laid down, and making them to the Death of *Moses* to be almost 3000 Years. 2dly, From *Jos. Antiq. l. 10. c. 10.* where it is said, that the Temple was destroy'd 1957 Years after the *Flood*, and 3513 Years after *Adam*. Taking the first Sum from the second, we leave 1556 Years betwixt *Adam* and the *Flood*,
that

that is one hundred less than the *Hebrew*. And in these Numbers there is a great Agreement of *Greek* and *Latin* Copies : So *Zonaras* read the *Greek* in his Time, and so *Freculphus* read the *Latin* in his Time ; and the Numbers, though false, yet are proportionable, and have just 500 wanting in each of them. 3dly, All the *Greek MSS.* of *Josephus*, even those that follow the *Septuagint*, give but 65 Years to the Age that *Enoch* begat at. They have left out 100 Years from *Enoch*, which should have been taken from his Father *Jared*, as in the Ages after the *Flood* in almost all *MSS.* of *Josephus* : And the Years of *Ragau* and *Saruch* are interchang'd, who are the 6th and 7th Patriarchs after the *Flood*, as *Jared* and *Enoch* are the 6th and 7th before the *Flood*.

In the Period next after the *Flood*, there is no Disagreement of *Josephus* from the *Seventy*, except only in the Age of *Nachor's* Begetting *Terah* ; and here is so great Variety, that it's hard to discover what to follow.

Some Editions of the *Seventy*, as that of *Complutum*

and <i>Rome</i> , have	179
Other Editions of the <i>Seventy</i> have only	79
<i>Theophilus</i> ad <i>Autolycum</i>	75
The <i>Hebrew</i>	29
The <i>Samaritan</i>	79
The <i>Vulgar Latin</i> , and some Copies of <i>Josephus</i> , have	28
The usual <i>Greek</i> Copies of <i>Josephus</i>	120
As Corrected by <i>Vossius</i>	129
<i>Freculphus</i> <i>Lexov.</i> read in <i>Joseph.</i> some Number above	79
<i>Origene</i> in the Place above-cited	109

For since *Origene* accounted 1518 Years from the *Flood* to the Death of *Moses*, and exclusively of the Year of the Death of *Moses* 1517 Years, and the *Seventy* leaving out *Chanaan* the 2d (as *Josephus* did) account only 1487 to that Space, it's evident that in *Origen's* Copy of *Josephus* he read 40 Years more than the *Seventy*, and instead of 79 read 109 *ennaton kai ekatoston*. Amidst this great Variety and Uncertainty, if we read in this one Place, instead of *Origen's* *ennaton kai ekatoston* (with very small Alteration) *ennaton kai eikoston*, which is consonant to the *Hebrew*, *Josephus* will agree exactly with all the Observations I have made : And from *Adam* to the Death of *Moses* will be 2993 Years, i. e. almost 3000 Years.

These Things being consider'd, the Chronology of *Josephus* before and after the *Flood* will stand thus :

Adam

Adam	130	Sem	2	To the Promise made	} 75
Seth	105	Arphaxad	135	to Abraham.	
Enos	90	Sala	130		
Kainaan	70	Heber	134	To the Coming out of	} 430
Maleleel	65	Phaleg	130	Ægypt.	
Jared	62	Ragau	132		
Enoch	65	Saruch	130	To the Death of Mo-	} 40
Methuselah	187	Nachor	29	ses.	
Lamech	182	Terah	70		} 545
Noah	600		892		
	1556				

All three Sums together 2993, and so according to *Josephus utoos ho Chronoos apoleipei trischilioon oligon etoon*, i. e. *This Space is but a little short of 3000 Years*. The Sums of the four first Books (usually printed at the beginning of *Josephus*) have 3093. Now if we cast away One hundred from the Age of *Jared*, which seems to have crept into the Text even before *Origen's* Time, we have this very Sum of 2993 Years.

There are several Things that might incline *Josephus* to follow the *Hebrew* before the *Flood* and the *LXX.* after it: (Which is a Sort of *Chronology* affected by *St. Austin*, *De Civ. Dei.* l. 15. c. 13. and which he most probably took from *Josephus*.) But the Principal are these:

1st. That he being well skill'd in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, and having a great Esteem for both Editions of the *Bible*, did indifferently make use of both, and sometimes followed one and sometimes the other.

2^{dly}. *Hebrew* was his own Native Language: He wrote his *History* of the *Jewish Wars* in *Hebrew* first, and made several Speeches to the *Jews* in *Hebrew* to persuade them to surrender, and in many Places (where all Copies agree) followeth the *Hebrew Bible*, where it differs from the *Septuagint*. As 1st, *Josephus* and the *Hebrew* leave out the 2^d *Chanaan* Son of *Arphaxad*, who is in the *LXX.* 2^{dly}, *Gen.* 46. 22. *Josephus* and the *Hebrew* have 14, the *Greek* 18. 3^{dly}, *Gen.* 47. 27. *Josephus* and the *Hebrew* have 70, the *Septuagint* have 75, and so are quoted by *St. Luke Acts* 7. 14, 15. 4^{thly}, *Gen.* 22. 2. *Josephus* and the *Hebrew* have the Land of *Moreah*, the *LXX.* have *ten gen upselen*. 5^{thly}, *Numb.* 4. 3. *Josephus* and the *Hebrew* have 30 Years Old, the *Greek* 25 Years Old. 6^{thly}, 2 *Sam.* 24. 13. *Josephus* and the *Hebrew* have 7 Years *Famine*, the *Greek* 3 Years. 7^{thly}, 1 *Sam.* 4. 18. *Josephus* and the *Hebrew* have *Eli Govern'd* 40 Years, the *Greek* has 20 Years, observ'd formerly

formerly by Syncellus, p. 176. 8thly, 1 Kings 4. 32. *Josephus* and the Hebrew have 1005. the Greek 5000. 9thly, 1 Kings 15. 2. *Josephus* and the Hebrew have 3 Years, the Greek 6 Years. 10thly, *Esther* 1. 5. *Josephus* and the Hebrew have 7 Days, the Greek 6 Days. 11thly, *Esther* 9. 16. *Josephus* and the Hebrew have 76 Thousand, the Greek 15 Thousand.

3dly, He understood Greek also, had a great Veneration for the Version of the LXX. and relates the whole History of it from *Aristæas*, and frequently made use of it in his *Antiquities*. As 1st, *Gen.* 7. 11. *Josephus* and the LXX. have the 27th Day, the Hebrew and Samaritan the 17th Day. 2dly, *Exod.* 12. 40. *Josephus* and the Greek have the Israelites in Chanaan and Egypt 430 Years, the Hebrew in Egypt 430 Years. 3dly, 1 Sam. 11. 8. *Josephus* and the Greek have Judah 70000, the Hebrew Judah 30000. 4thly, 1 Sam. 15. 4. *Josephus* and the Greek have Gilgal, the Hebrew Telaim. 5thly, 1 Sam. 15. 4. *Josephus* and the Greek have Israel 400000. the Hebrew Israel 260000. 6thly, 1 Sam. 15. 4. *Josephus* and the Greek have Juda 30000, the Hebrew Judah 10000. 7thly, 1 Sam. 22. 18. *Josephus* and the Greek have 305 Priests, the Hebrew 85 Priests, observed by St. Hieron, Tom. 3. p. 71. 8thly, 2 Sam. 8. 13. *Josephus* and the Greek have Idumæans, the Hebrew Syrians. 9thly, 2 Sam. 25. 15. *Josephus* and the Greek have till Dinner-time, the Hebrew till the Time appointed. 10thly, *Esther* 9. 26. *Josephus* and the Greek have Phrurai, the Hebrew Purim. 11thly, *Josephus* relates the Contention of the Jews before Darius about what is the strongest, which is not at all in the Hebrew but Greek *Esdras*.

4thly, *Josephus* many Times differ'd from them both : As 1st, *Gen.* 13. 18. the Hebrew has Plain of Mamre, the Greek the Oak of Mamre, but *Josephus* the Oak of Ogyges. 2dly, *Gen.* 35. 28. the Hebrew and Greek have Isaac dy'd 180 Years Old, *Josephus* saith Isaac dy'd 185 Years Old. 3dly, *Numb.* 3. 39. the Hebrew and the Greek have 22000, *Josephus* 22880. 4thly, 1 Sam. 18. 25. the Hebrew and the Greek have 100 Foreskins, *Josephus* 600 not Foreskins but Heads, *krphalas* : he thus alter'd it to make it more compliable to the Way of the Romans. 5thly, 2 Sam. 3. 14. the Hebrew and the Greek have 100, *Josephus* 600. 6thly, 2 Sam. 15. 7. the Hebrew and the Greek have 40 Years, *Josephus* 4 Years. 7thly, 1 Kings 6. 1. the Hebrew and the Greek have 480 or 440, *Josephus* 592. 8thly, 1 Kings 12. 33. the Hebrew and the Greek the 8th Month, *Josephus* the 7th. 9thly, 1 Chron. 22. 14. the Hebrew and the Greek have 100000 Talents of Gold, *Josephus* 10000 Talents of Gold. 10thly, 1 Chron. 22. 14. the Hebrew and the Greek

Greek have 1000000 Talents of Silver, *Josephus* 100000 Talents of Silver. 11thly, *Neh.* 2. 1. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have the 20th of Artaxerxes, *Josephus* the 25th Year of Xerxes. 12thly, *Neh.* 13. 6. the *Hebrew* and *Greek* have the 32d Year of Artaxerxes, *Josephus* the 38th Year of Xerxes. Not to mention his making Solomon Reign 80 Years, and is therein follow'd by *Theodoret* on 1 Kings 9. 37. and *Procopius* on the same Place, &c.

5thly, To reconcile Numbers that were different he took a middle Proportion. As 2 Sam. 8. 4. the *Hebrew* has 700 Horsemen, the *Greek* 7000 Horsemen, in *Josephus* 5000 Horsemen. 2 Sam. 24. 9. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have *Israel* 800000, but 1 Chron. 21. 5. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 1100000, *Josephus* hath *Israel* 900000.

From all which it's evident that in compiling of his History he had both the *Hebrew* and *Greek* of the *Old Testament* before him; and sometimes made use of one sometimes the other: And when he thought there was Reason, did not scruple to recede from both.

The next considerable Period is, from the Death of *Moses* the laying the Foundation of *Solomon's Temple* in the 4th Year of *Solomon*, 552 Years: To which add the 40 Years in the *Wilderness*, and it will be 592 Years from the coming out of *Aegypt*: And so *Josephus* hath it expressly in the 8th Book of his *Antiquities* and the 3d chap. Again from *Joshua* to *David's* taking *Jerusalem* are 515 Years, *Antiq.* l. 7. c. 3. add 33 of *David* and 4 of *Solomon*, and we have 552 Years. Add the 40 in the *Wilderness*, and they make 592 as before. Again *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11. *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the *Temple* in the Year 470, after its building by *Solomon*, and in the Year 1962 after the coming out of *Aegypt*. Take the 1st Number out of the 2d, and there will remain 592 from the coming out of *Aegypt* to *Solomon's Temple*. Again, the Sum of the 5th Book is 476. of the 6th Book 32. of the 7th Book 40. and 4 Years of *Solomon*. All which make 552. so that if we add 40 in the *Wilderness*, the whole will be 592. *Clem. Alex.* in *Strom.* 1. p. 250. quotes *Josephus* for saying that from *Moses* (i. e. the coming out of *Aegypt*) to *David* are 588 Years. Add the 4 Years of *Solomon* and you have again 592 Years. *Sulpicius Severus* omitting the 4 Years hath for that Period only 588 Years:

Now to make all this more evident I will insert the Particulars thus:

	<i>y.</i>		<i>y.</i>
Moses in the <i>Wildernefs</i>	40	Samuel and Saul	32
Joshua	26	David	40
Othoniel	40	Solomon	3
Ahod	80	In all	480
Deborah and Barach	40	Servitudes under	
Gedeon	40	Cushan	8
Abimelech	3	The Moabites	18
Thola	23	Jabin and Chanaanites	20
Jair	22	Madianites	7
Jephthe	6	Ammonites	18
Ibsan	7	Philistines	40
Elon	10	In all	112
Abdon	8	The 4th Year of Solomon	1
Sampson	30	To which add	480
Eli	40	And the whole will be	592

The *Greek Copies of Josephus* say that *Saul* reign'd 22 Years after *Samuel*, and so *Zonaras* read it, but *Epiphanius* and the *Latin Versions* have only 2. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (*Strom.* 1. p. 238.) saith that *Saul* dy'd two Years after *Samuel*, and *Theophilus ad Autol.* giveth *Samuel* 12 and *Saul* 20, together 32 Years according to *Josephus*. The *Jews in Seder Olam* and other Books give *Saul* only 2 Years, that is, after the Death of *Samuel*. That *Saul* reign'd in all but 20 Years is express'd in *Josephus*, *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 10.

Some few Things may be objected against this Number of Years for this *Period* which must be consider'd.

I. 'Tis objected that after the Death of *Joshua* they were 18 Years without a Prince. *Jos. Antiq.* l. 6. c. 5.

It may be answer'd, that it ought to be read only 8 Years, and is to be understood of their Servitude under *Cushan*.

II. 'Tis objected that according to *Josephus* (*Antiq.* l. 20. c. 18.) from the coming out of *Aegypt* to *Solomon's Temple* are 612 Years, and just so it is read in *Photius* and *Hegeſippus*. l. 2. c. 13.

I answer, *Josephus* here gives an Account of the Time from the coming out of *Aegypt*, to the Dedication of the *Temple*, and the first Priests that serv'd in it and left off the *Tabernacle*. Now that was just 20 Years from the *Foundation* of it laid by *Solomon*. (Compare 1 *Kings* 9. 10. and 2 *Chron.* 8. 1. and the *Septuagint*, 1 *King* 8. 1.) So that if to the 592 Years to the laying the *Foundation* of *Solomon's Temple* we add 20, we have this very Sum of 612 Years. So also *Sulp. Severus* p. 187. *Cæptum Templi opus vicesimo anno explicuit.*

The

The next *Period* is from the Foundation of the *Temple* to its Destruction by *Nebuchad.* viz. 470 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. *Josephus* is express as to this, *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 10. in which Place also from the Children of *Israel's* going out of *Aegypt* to the Destruction of the *Temple* are 1062 Years. Take out thence the Space to the Building of the *Temple*, 592 Years; and there will remain for the Duration of the *Temple* 470 Years: And the Reading of that Place is confirm'd by *Zonaras* and *Freculphus*. Again *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 10. the *Kings* of the Race of *David* reign'd 514 Years 6 Months and 10 Days: From which Number take away 40 of *David* and 4 of *Solomon*, and there will remain 470 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. Again *Antiq.* l. 11. c. 4. the *Kings* reign'd 533 Years, take away for *Saul* 20, *David* 40, and *Solomon* 4, there will remain from the Foundation of the *Temple* to the *Captivity*, 470 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. There is (I confess) a small Difference in the *Latin Edition*, and in that of *Freculphus* and the *Greek* of *Zonaras* p. 126. who have but 532 Years 6 Months and 10 Days.

The Particulars of this Sum we may make up from several Parts of *Josephus* most easily thus.

From <i>Solomon's</i> laying the Foundation	}	77 Years.
of the <i>Temple</i> to his Death. <i>Jos.</i> l. 8. c. 7.		
From <i>Rehoboam</i> to the <i>Captivity</i> of the	}	260 Years, as it
<i>ten Tribes.</i> l. 9. c. 15.		
From thence to the <i>Captivity</i> by <i>Ne-</i>	}	133 Years, Correct-
<i>buchadnezzar.</i> l. 10. c. 11.		
		ed so by <i>Vossius</i> :

In all 470 Years.

In most of the present Copies of *Josephus*, l. 9. c. 15. there is 240 instead of 260. and in l. 10. c. 11. we have 130 instead of 133.

Again the Sum of the 8th Book 163 Years	}	So <i>Vossius</i> , the
of the 9th Book 177 Years		
of the 10th Book 203 Years		
		Greek 182, the
		Latin 230.

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Take away three Years of <i>Solomon</i> ,	}	73
and 70 Years of the <i>Captivity</i> ,		

There remains from the Building	}	470 Years.
to the Ruin of the <i>Temple</i>		

It may be objected, that *Antiq.* l. 20. c. 18. we have from Solomon's Temple built to its Destruction 466 Years.

To which is answer'd, That the Translation by *Ambrose* had in this Place of *Josephus* 460 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. It should be 450 Years 6 Months and 10 Days, and there are to be accounted from the Dedication of the Temple 612 Years after the coming out of *Ægypt*.

It is observable that whensoever *Josephus* gives the Time of the Burning of the Temple, whether from Solomon's building it, from the Flood, or from Adam, yet still he adds to the Sum 6 Months and 10 Days: Whereas it is certain that the Temple was burnt the 10th Day of the Month *Ab*, which is the 5th Month. *Josephus* therefore is to be understood according to the Order of the Months among the Romans, for whose Sake he wrote, and so calls *Adar* March, *Nisan* April, *Fiar* May, *Sivan* June, *Tamuz* July, *Ab*. August, or *Sextilis*, the 6th Month among the Romans; and therefore in his *Wars of the Jews*, l. 7. c. 9. he saith the Temple was burnt August the 10th, and in his *Wars with the Jews* April is *Nisan*.

In *Josephus* (l. 10. c. 11.) the Greek and Latin Copies say that from David 21 Kings reign'd to the Captivity, 514 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. Take away 44 for David and Solomon, and there are 470 Years 6 Months and 10 Days.

Vossius p. 126. saith that the old Paris MSS. of *Josephus* hath from Adam to the Burning of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* 4000 Years. According to my Account it comes to 4015, and perhaps the odd 15 may be in the MSS. tho' omitted by *Vossius*.

From the Burning of the Temple to the first of *Cyrus*, *Josephus* hath 70 Years: For,

1st, *Antiq.* l. 11. c. 1. The first of *Cyrus* is the 70th Year from the beginning of the Captivity. Now the Captivity began at the Burning of the Temple. For (l. 10. c. 11.) the 23d Year of *Nebuchadnezzar* is the 5th Year of Israel's Captivity.

2dly, *Antiq.* l. 17. c. 18. Seventy Years after the Burning of the Temple they return'd from *Babylon*, and that undoubtedly was the first Year of *Cyrus*.

3dly, *Antiq.* l. 11. c. 1. From *Isaiah* to the Burning of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* 140 Years: From *Isaiah* to the 1st of *Cyrus* 210 Years: Therefore from the Burning of the Temple to the 1st of *Cyrus* are 70 Years.

4thly, *Antiq.* l. 20. c. ult. From the Burning of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* to the first of *Cyrus*, when the Jews return'd from Captivity, are 70 Years.

5thly, *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 11. The Temple lay Desolate 70 Years, and they ended the first of *Cyrus*.

6thly, Jo.

6thly, *Josephus* (*Antiq. l. 10. c. 12.*) hath the Particulars thus: *Nebuchad.* 43 Years. *Evilmerodoch* 18 Years. *Niricollassar* or *Egressarius* 40 Years. *Labosadarchus* 9 Months. *Balthasar* or *Nabonidus* 17 Years. *Cyrus* 1. In all, 119 Years and 9 Months. So that if we take out 17 Years of *Nebuchadnezzar*, there will be left for the Captivity 102 Years 9 Months, which is certainly (a) false, and should be thus: *Nebuchadnezzar* 43 Years. *Evilmerodoch* 12 Years. *Niriglissor* 14 Years. *Labosadarchus* 9 Months. *Nabonidus* 17 Years. *Cyrus* 1 Year. In all 87 Years and 9 Months. If we then take out 17 Years of *Nebuchadnezzar*, there will remain 70 Years and 9 Months. So that the first Year of *Cyrus* was the 70th of the Captivity: And this Account, tho' false, yet agreeth with *Josephus*, and was taken thence by that Anonymous Author, whom *Sulpicius Severus*, *l. 2. c. 31.* hath transcrib'd thus: *Nebuchadnezzar* 43. *Evilmerodoch* 12. (b) *Belthazar* 14. *Darius Medus* 18. *Cyrus* 1. In all 88.

From the first Year of *Cyrus* to the Time of *Alexander's* conquering *Darius* (i. e. the whole Space of the *Persian Monarchy*) *Josephus* hath 246 Years. So *Antiq. l. 12. c. 10.* from the Prophecy of *Daniel* in the first Year of *Darius* (who with *Cyrus* took *Babylon*) to the Destruction of the Temple by *Antiochus* are 408 Years, as 'tis quoted by *Cedrenus*, p. 191. Now that Profanation by *Antiochus* was in the 145th Year of *Seleucus* (*Antiq. l. 12. c. 10.*) which Era began the 18th Year after *Alexander's* Conquest of *Darius*. If we therefore take 144 and 18. (i. e. 162) from 408, there will remain 246 Years for the Duration of the *Persian Monarchy*.

2dly, *Antiq. l. 20. c. 18.* From the first of *Cyrus* to *Antiochus Eupator* are 414 Years, which Words are quoted from *Josephus* by *Photius* and *Hegeſippus*. Now *Josephus* saith of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, that he, dying in the 149th Year of *Seleucus*, left the Kingdom to *Eupator*, *Antiq. l. 12. c. 13.* and *Eupator's* first Year was the 150th of *Seleucus*, to which add 13 from the Conquest of *Alexander* over *Darius* (i. e. in all 168) and take that out of 414, there will remain for the *Persian Monarchy* 246 Years.

3dly, The Sum of the 11th Book is 253 Years, and contains the Space from the first of *Cyrus* to the Death of *Alexander*.

(a) *Josephus* enumerando Reges Bab. (si tamen ipse sic scripsit, & non codex fallit mendosus) scribit *Neh.* 43. *Evilm.* 18. &c. ut habet *Hermannus Contractus* in *Chron.* sic & *Freſculphus Lexov.* & *Beda de Nat. Rerum.* fol. 76. (b) *Cyprian* in *Comp. de Pasch.* p. 68. differs only in giving *Balthasar* but 4 Years, an Error of the Copies.

der. Now from *Alexander's* conquering *Darius*, and putting an End to the *Persian Monarchy* were 7 Years; if therefore we take 7 from 253, there will remain for the *Persian Monarchy* 246 Years.

Now it is certain that the Duration of the *Persian Monarchy* was not so long, but *Josephus*, taking him to be *Xerxes*, in whose Time *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem* and built the Walls of it, (making *Nehemiah* Cup-bearer to *Xerxes*) it was necessary for him to make him reign above 32 Years: Which we find mention'd *Nehem.* 13. 6. *Josephus* mentions the 9th Month of the 38th Year of his Reign, and added 20 Years to his Reign, as he did 40 to *Solomon's*. The *Chronology* of *Josephus* as to those *Persian Kings* seems to have been thus:

Cyrus	30	Darius	19
Cambyfes	6	Artaxerxes	46
Magi	1	Ochus	21
Darius	36	Arfes	2
Xerxes	41	Darius	4
Artaxerxes	41	In all	247

All these are agreeable to the *Canon Ptolomaicus*, except one Year wanting to *Cambyfes* and the *Magi*, and 20 added to *Xerxes*. So that if we cast away the first of *Cyrus*, which was accounted to the 70 Years *Captivity*, there were just 246 Years.

Some old Authors make the Empire of the *Persians* to last 248 Years, including the first of *Cyrus*, and so *Euseb. Dem. Ev. p. 393.* but they were to be understood of the whole Space from the first of *Cyrus* to the first of *Seleucus* or the *Æra Seleuci*.

From *Alexander's* conquering *Darius* to his own Death are 7 Years: For if we take 246 (the Duration of the *Persian Monarchy*) out of 253 (the Number of Years from *Cyrus* to the Death of *Alexander*, as in the Sum of the 11th Book) there will remain 7 for the Number of Years betwixt the End of the *Persian Monarchy* and the Death of *Alexander*.

From *Alexander's* Death to the Beginning of the *Æra Seleuci* are 11 Years, as is evident thus. *Josephus* gives from the first of *Cyrus* to *Antiochus Eupator* 414 Years, and his first Year was the 150th Year of *Seleucus*. Now if we take the 150 and 253 (from the first of *Cyrus* to the Death of *Alexander*) out of 414, there will remain 11 Years betwixt the Death of *Alexander* and the Beginning of the *Æra Seleuci*.

From

From the *Æra Seleuci* to the *Maccabees* 146 Years; for so we read in *Antiq. l. 12. c. 7. and c. 8.* that *Mattathias* and *Judas Maccabæus* began to prevail in the Year of *Seleucus* 146.

From the *Æra Maccab.* in the Year of *Seleucus* 146, to the *Beginning* of *Herod* are 126 Years, as *Antiq. l. 14.* at the End: Or if the *Æra* of the *Maccabees* began the next Year after, *i. e.* in the Year of *Seleucus* 147, then *Josephus* assigns them but 125 Years, as *l. 18. c. 8.* which therefore must end in the Year of *Seleucus* 272, for *Herod* was made King at *Rome* in the Year of *Seleucus* 273. and yet *Josephus* makes these end at the Death of *Antigonus* (in the Year of *Seleucus* 276) and so accounts three or four Years short, as is evident to any one that shall add the Particulars.

Aristobulus (*Joseph. l. 14. c. 18.*) began to put on a *regal Diadem* 471 Years after the Return from the *Captivity*, so likewise in his *Wars of the Jews, l. 1.* in *Freculphus* it is falsely read 475, in the present *Greek* and *Latin Copies* 480. But the 471 Years are thus made out, *viz.*

From the first of <i>Cyrus</i> to the <i>Æra Seleuci</i>	264 Years.
Thence to <i>Jonathun's</i> High Priesthood	160 Years.
To <i>Simon's</i> High Priesthood	(a) 10 Years.
<i>Simon's</i> High Priesthood	(b) 7 Years.
<i>Hyrceanus's</i>	(c) 29 Years.
	In all 470
<i>Aristobulus</i> began in the Year	471

From the *Beginning* of *Herod*, after the *Death* of *Antigonus*, to the *Destruction* of the *Temple*, in the second Year of *Vespasian*, are 107 Years, *Jos. Antiq. l. 20. c. ult.*

These last Sums put together stand thus :

From the first of <i>Cyrus</i> to the <i>Æra Seleuci</i>	264 Years.
From the <i>Æra Seleuci</i> to the <i>Maccabees</i>	146 Years.
The <i>Duration</i> of the <i>Maccabees</i>	126 Years.
The <i>Duration</i> of the <i>Herods</i> to the 2d of <i>Vesp.</i>	107 Years.
	In all 643 Years.
	The

(a) 1 *Macc. 13. 41.* *Jos. Wars of the Jews, l. 1. c. 1.*

(b) 1 *Macc. 16. 14.*

(c) In *Josephus* 31.

The Sums of the 10 last Books are thus :

	y	m	d		y	m	d
11th Book	253	5	0	16th Book	12		
12th Book	170			17th Book	14		
13th Book	82			18th Book	32		
14th Book	32			19th Book	3	6	10
15th Book	18			20th Book	22		

In all 638 y 11 m 10 d.

From the 12th of Nero to the 2d of Vesp. 4 compleat Years.

The whole Sum 642 y. 11 m. & 10 d.

The Sums in the old Latin *Josephus* are almost the same, and differ but in 3 Years and 5 Months.

The whole *Chronology* of *Josephus* will be thus :

From Adam to the Death of Moses	2993
To the Building of Solomon's Temple	552
To its Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar	470
The Babylonish Captivity	70
From the 1st of Cyrus to the 12th of Nero	639
	Sum total 4724
From the 12th of Nero to the 13th of Domitian	28
	In all 4752

And that Sum *Josephus* accounted *numerus rotundo* to be 5000 Years. There are also in *Josephus* many Sums of Years which are certainly false, as *Antiq. l. 7. c. ult.* From David to Hyrcanus's opening of his Sepulchre, when Antiochus besieged Jerusalem, are 1300 Years: And so *Freculphus* also read it, *T. 1. l. 3. c. 3.* and yet this was but 884 Years. *Josephus* (against *Apion, l. 2.*) saith, that the Jews had been a free People, under the Maccabees to Pompey's taking Jerusalem, for 120 Years. It's plain that it should be only 102 Years: For it was in the Year of Seleucus 230, which was 102 Years after Judas's defeating of Antiochus, and purging the Temple in the Year of Seleucus 148.

A N

A P P E N D I X

T O T H E

Two foregoing Discourses.

Besides the Reason already given, there are many other that make the *Chronology* of the *Septuagint* in the *Ages* after the *Flood* more probable than the *Hebrew*.

1st, It is not probable that the seven first *Patriarchs* after the *Flood*, who liv'd 300 and 400 Years, should beget at 30, or thereabouts, as the present *Hebrew* is : And yet the following *Patriarchs*, that did not live half so long, should not beget their First-born till double the Age : *Terah* at 70, *Abraham* at 87, *Isaac* at 60, *Jacob* at 84, *Levi*, *Chaath* and *Anfram* at about 60 each of them : For from the Birth of *Levi* to the Birth of *Moses* the Son of *Amram* were about 180 Years.

2^{dly}, It is not probable that *Noah*, who liv'd 600 Years before the *Flood*, should see *Ten Generations* succeed each other after the *Flood*, and live till the 58th Year of *Abraham* : That *Sem* should see *Nine Generations* after him successively die, and live many Years after the Death of *Abraham*, the 9th Person Lineally descended from him ; who yet dy'd in a good old Age, an old Man, *Gen.* 25. 8. That *Sala* should outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech*, *Nachor*, *Terah* and *Abraham* for six *Generations* Lineally descended from him ; and even the last of them liv'd to be an old Man : That *Heber* should outlive, *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech*, *Nachor*, *Terach*, *Abraham* and *Isaac* seven successive *Generations* that descended from him, and yet *Abraham* and *Isaac* should both live to be old Men, *Gen.* 25. 7. and 35. 29.

2^{dly}, It is not possible that *Joktan* should have 13 Sons when *Phaleg* was born, at the *Division* of *Tongues*, if *Phaleg* was born at the 34 Year of *Heber*, as it is in the *Hebrew*. And to fancy *Phaleg* first call'd so at the Time of his Death is ridiculous, and expressly contrary to *Josephus*. At the *Division* of *Tongues* we are told that *Mizraim*, *Chanaan*, *Sidon*, *Elam*, *Assur*, *Aram*, &c. gave Names to Countries, and yet they dy'd

dy'd before *Phaleg*. *Sem*, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Heber*, &c. according to the *Hebrew*, were alive when God instituted *Circumcision*; and yet none of them order'd to be *circumcis'd*, which was then the Sign of being in *Covenant* with God.

But however evident it may seem, that the *Septuagint* are in this *Period* to be preferr'd to the *Hebrew*: Yet I foresee several Things that may be objected, and which it may be necessary to consider.

1st, 'Tis objected, that it is not probable that the *Antediluvian Patriarchs*, who liv'd to be 900 Years old, should beget their *First-born* at 60 or 70 Years old, as it is in the *Hebrew* and in *Josephus*; and yet those after the *Flood*, who did not live half so long, should not beget their *First-born* till about 130 Years old.

It may be answer'd, that if we were sure that these mention'd after the *Flood* were the *First-born*, the Objection would be of great Moment. But it's much more probable that they were not. For *Sem* was younger than *Japhet*, *Gen.* 10. 27. and therefore *Japhet* takes the first Place in the *Genealogies*, *Gen.* 10. 2. and *1 Chron.* 1. 5. *Arphaxad* younger than *Elam* or *Assur*, *1 Chron.* 1. 5. *Gen.* 10. 2, 6, 21. *Phaleg* younger than *Joktan*, who at *Phaleg's* Birth had 13 Children, *Gen.* 10. 25, 26. &c. *Abraham* younger than *Haran*, *Haran* born at the 7th, and *Abraham* at the 130th Year of *Terah*, *Gen.* 11. 27, 28, 29, 32. *Acts* 7. 4. and *Abraham* marry'd *Haran's* Daughter.

It's very probable that it was so also in the other *Patriarchs* tho' we cannot prove it from *Scripture*, (where the *History* we have of them is very short) because God kept on this *Method* afterwards. *Isaac* was younger than *Ishmael*, *Jacob* than *Esau*, *Judah* than *Reuben*, of whom it is observ'd, *1 Chron.* 5. 1. Now the Sons of *Reuben* the *First-born* of *Israel*. (For he was the *First-born*, but because he defiled his Father's Bed, his Birthright was given to the Sons of *Joseph*, and the *Genealogy* is not to be reckon'd after the Birthright, &c.) *St. Austin* de Civ. Dei. l. 15. c. 15. observes of the *Patriarchs* after the *Flood*, that *magis credibile est non hic primogenitos commemoratos, sed eos per quos successionis ordo duceretur.*

2^{dly}, 'Tis objected, that the *Jews* were so exact in transcribing the *Law*, that if ever the *Hebrew* had agreed with the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint*, they would not have alter'd it.

I answer, that the Words of *Philo* (in *Euseb. Præp. Ev.* l. 8.) and of *Tryphon* (in *Justin Mart.*) are certainly to be understood of the *Septuagint*, and not of the *Hebrew*. And what *Josephus* saith to the same Purpose must either be understood of the *Septuagint*, or understood in so large a Sense, as that
according

according to him the *seventy Translators* were *Prophets*, and did not change or alter any Thing. And indeed whatever is to be met with in other Books to this Purpose is taken from *Deut.* 4. 2. and 12. 32. and is to be understood of their not adding to or diminishing the Precepts of the *Law of Moses*: And it's evident that the (a) *Version* of the *Septuagint*, the (b) *Targum* of *Onkelos*, the Books of *Irenæus*, *Eusebius's* *Chronicle*, and *Rufinus*, had solemn Adjurations added to them of not altering or changing any Thing: And yet it's certain that they have been much corrupted. The *Rabbies* mention 13 Places chang'd by the *seventy Interpreters*, and not one of them relates to the *Chronology* of the *Patriarchs*. The present *Hebrew Bibles* in 26 Places leave a Space to shew that something is wanting, which is supply'd by the *Seventy*. The *Marginal Readings* differ from the *Text* in 848 Places, and they are usually accounted the truest. *Ezra* 7. wants one whole Verse which is in 1 *Chron.* 6. tho' the *Genealogy*, *Neh.* 7. is only a *Transcript* of that we find *Ezra* the 2d: yet it's very different from it. And in *Psal.* 105. betwixt ver. 13 and 14. is a whole Verse wanting, as appears by the *Alphabet* in that *Psalms*, which was in the *Text* when the *Seventy* translated it. So that it's evident that there are Corruptions of the *Hebrew Text* of the *Bible*, and many of them since the Time that the *Seventy* translated it. And since it's evident that in the Time of *Origene*, when he compil'd his *Hexapla*, the *Hebrew Text* was the same as now, it's certain that these Alterations were made in the *Hebrew Text* before that Time, and as it seems most probable about the Time of *Adrian* and *Antonius Pius*. The *Hebrew* of the *Bible* was at and after the Time of our *Saviour* a learned Language, and not understood but by *Scholars*: The common Language of the *Jews* being at that Time *Syriack*, intermix'd with *Chaldee*: And the *Jews* admir'd how *Christ* understood *Letters*, having never learned, *John* 7. 15. And, *Luke* 10. 26. *Christ* said to one of the *Scribes* (as being his peculiar Skill) *How readeest thou?* And there was no usual Reading of the *Law* in *Hebrew* in the *Synagogues*, without an *Interpretation* of it, which they read also. Now their *Scholars* and *Bibles* were generally destroy'd by the *Persecutions* that came upon them in the *Ages* after the *Apostles*. *Vespasian* destroy'd 460 (c) *Synagogues*. And *Trajan* forbid the *Jews* the (d) Reading of their *Law*. And in his Time *R. Ananias* was

(a) See *Aristæus*.(b) See Dr. *Lightfoot* on 1 *Cor.* p. 85.(c) *Selden de Success. Prelegom.* p. 22. (d) *Juchasin apud Cassanum*, p. 126.(e) *David Ganz.* p. 103.

was burnt and the (e) Book of the Law with him. *R. Akiba* had 2400 *Scholars* kill'd by *Adrian*, in the (a) *Rebellion of Cochab*: And *R. Simeon* the Son of *Gamaliel* had (b) 250000 *Scholars* kill'd, not one remaining. And the reading of the *Law* had been lost, had not *R. Juda* the Son of *Baba* with the Expence of his own Life preserv'd (c) Five, by hiding of them. For *Adrian* made a *Law*, by which it was Death to (d) ordain *Doctors*, and continue their Schools; and Learning was at the same Time so much destroy'd at *Babylon*, that two of *Juda's* *Scholars* were sent thither to instruct them: And the very Reason why *R. Juda* collected the *Traditions* into the Book of the *Misna*, was, that *Learning* was likely to be (e) lost, and the *Law* made void. Most of the *Mosaick* Rites ended with the *Temple*, and thereby the Book of the *Law* was less valu'd and the *Jewish Learning* was become little else than a Multitude of idle *Traditions*. *R. Juda* took great Care that, in all the Cities of the Land of *Israel*, there should be such as (f) taught *Traditions*. *Alting*. tells us, that *Tanta fuit Misnæ auctoritas, etiam vivo Auctore, ut, sepositis Codicibus propheticis, in hoc uno explicando, & interpretando omnem operam collocaverint*; So that here was a very fair Opportunity for the few *Scholars* that were left to alter the *Hebrew Text* as they pleas'd, and for the few *Hebrew Copies* that were then extant to be corrupted. The *Jews* in their *Dispersions* generally acquainted themselves with *Greek*, and in their *Synagogues* us'd *Aquila's Version*, and the *Hebrew* was in a great Measure neglected. And to make all this plain, I will give some Instances of the *Jews* altering the *Text*, and changing their Opinions, as to the Matters I am speaking of, after the *Destruction* of the *Temple* and before the *Composing* of the *Misna* in the Time of *Antonius Pius*, or at least before *Origene* publish'd the *Hebrew*.

1st, *Gen. 2. 24.* The *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* have the Word *Two*; and *Matth. 19. 5, 6.* our *Saviour* presseth the Force of that Word upon the *Pharisees*: And they, tho' they understood *Hebrew*, were not able to answer the Force of the Argument; which sheweth, that it was then in the *Hebrew*, tho' not now; and probably left out by *R. Akiba*, in the Age I am speaking of, (g) who allow'd the *Jews* to marry any Woman they saw fairer than their own Wife.

2dly,

(a) *Id. p. 99.* (b) *Lightfoot H. N. T. p. 185.* (c) *Ganz. p. 103. Gem. San. p. 261.* hath the Account of *R. Juda ben Baba* ordaining five *Rabbies*. (d) *Lightfoot H. N. T. p. 115.* and *Alting. Hist. Acad. p. 142.* (e) *Ganz. p. 107.* (f) *Lightfoot H. N. T. p. 87.* (g) *Hist. Acad. p. 43.* (g) *Misna in Gittin. c. 9.* and *Lightfoot in Mat. p. 79.*

5. 2dly, *Psalms* xxii. 16. *They pierc'd my Hands.* So the *Septuagint*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, *Æthiopick* and some few *MSS.* of the *Hebrew*. *Aquila* read it so also, for he *Translates* it by a *Verb*: But the *Rabbins*, to avoid such a plain *Prophecy* of our *Saviour's* *Crucifixion*, alter the *Word* of the *Text* and read as a *Lyon*.

3dly, *Josh.* 15. v. 59, &c. There are two *Verses* in the 70 that shew *Bethlehem* to be in the *Tribe* of *Juda*, wanting in the *Hebrew*. *St. Jerom*, on *Micah* the 5th, thinks them erased by the *Jews*, since the *Time* of our *Saviour*, that it might not appear that *Bethlehem* was in the *Tribe* of *Judah*.

4thly, After the *Destruction* of *Jerusalem*, and before the *Seder Olam Rabbah* was made by *R. Jose* in the *Days* of *Adrian*, the *Jews* so curtail'd the *Persian Monarchy*, as to make *Daniel's* *Weeks* to begin with the *Babylonish Captivity* and end at the *Destruction* of the *Temple*. *Josephus* knew of no such *Chronology* in his *Time*, and it could not be *Chance* but a *Contrivance* of the *Jews* after the 2d of *Vespasian*, that with the *Loss* of 200 *Years* made *Daniel's* 490 *Years* exactly end at that *Time*.

5thly, The great *Difference* of the *Opinions* of the *Jews* before and after the *Destruction* of the *Temple*. Before that *Time* the *Version* of the 70 highly esteem'd by *Philo* and the *Egyptians* (who kept a *Feast* yearly in *Memory* of it) and the *Jews* in all the *Greek Dispersion*, and at *Nazareth*, *Luke* 4. 16, 17, 18, 19. and by those of *Jerusalem* as appears by *Josephus*, who magnifieth it, and the *Account* given by *Aristeas*. In *Adrian's* *Time* the 70 were rail'd at (a) by the *Jews*, and the *Jews* kept a *Fast* upon the *Day* it was translated, viz. *Tebeth* the 8th, and made another *Greek Version* to oppose it, and deliver'd it as a *Tradition* that *Darkness* overspread the *World* for three *Days* after the *Version* of the 70 was made; and that it was as ill a *Day* to the *Jews* as when the *Golden Calf* was made.

6thly, *Phaleg* was born at the *Division* of *Tongues* saith *Josephus* according to the *Opinion* of the *Jews* that then prevail'd; but the following *Rabbins* tell us, that he dy'd at that *Time*.

7thly, *Melchisedech* was a *Chanaanitish* *King* saith *Josephus*, according to the *Opinion* of the *Jews* of that *Age*, and 'tis agreeable to *St. Paul*; but the following *Jews* fancy'd him to be *Sem*.

8thly, *Daniel's* *Weeks* according to *Josephus* ended at the *Desolation* of the *Temple* by *Antiochus*, which was according to
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(a) *Just. Mart.* p. 294, 297.

him 408 Years from the first Year of *Darius*: To which add the 70 Years from the *Burning* of the *Temple*, and it comes very near to *Daniel's* Number: But the following *Jews* curtail the *Persian Monarchy*, and tho' they begin the Weeks at the beginning of the *Babylonish Captivity*, yet they end them at the second of *Vespasian*.

Some will object, What End or Design should the *Jews* have in shortning the *Period* betwixt the *Flood* and the *Birth* of *Abraham*.

1st, It may be answer'd, That it might be for the easier bringing down their pretended *Traditions* from *Adam*, *Noah*, &c. for so the *Jews* boast, in *Seder Olam Rabbah*, that seven Men measure the World, *Adam*, *Methuselah*, *Sem*, *Jacob*, *Amram*, *Ahajah*, (a) *Salonites*, and *Elias* who is still alive: When as, according to the *Chronology* of the *Samaritan*, *Septuagint* and *Josephus*, there must be added at least *Heber*, *Saruch*, and *Abraham*, betwixt *Sem* and *Jacob*; and even so *Saruch* would be but eight Years old at the Death of *Heber*, and *Jacob* but fifteen Years at the Death of *Abraham*: So that there would be need of two more Persons to be inserted for carrying on their *Traditions*, and so from *Sem* to *Jacob* would be as many Persons as they made in all the World. 2^{dly}, That it might be done to obviate the *Prophecy* of the House of *Elias*, that *Christ* should come at the beginning of the 4th *Millenary*. Now since the 4th *Millenary*, according to the *Jews* present Account, ended *A. D.* 242. it's evident that this curtailling their *Chronology* was long before that Time, in which they expected the *Messiah*. But when they found themselves mistaken also in the Account, they took up that Saying, (b) *Cursed is he that numbereth the Times*. 3^{dly}, That it might be done to answer the Argument that *St. Paul* press'd against the *Hebrews*, that *Melchisedech's* Priesthood was above *Aaron's*: Which we find urg'd also by *Justin Martyr* against *Tryphon*, by *Tertullian* and other early *Christians*. For if *Melchisedech* be *Sem*, then *Aaron*, who was *Lineally* descended from him, inherited his *Priesthood* also, and so *St. Paul's* and the *Christian's* Argument of a *Superior Priesthood* to the *Aaronitical* would be destroy'd. And here it's probable, that as the old *Rabbies* talk'd much of the Schools of *Sem* and *Heber*, and that *Jacob* studied in them: So at first they design'd *Heber* to be *Melchisedech*, and cut off the Years only of the *Patriarchs* after him; for the present *Hebrew* saith that he liv'd after he begat *Phaleg* 430 Years, where the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* agree in the Number of 270 Years:

(a) *Al. Silonites.*

(b) *Lightfoot in Matth. p. 25.*

270 Years : And, if after *Heber* we follow the present *Hebrew*, *Heber* liv'd to the 105th Year of *Abraham*. And to this agreeth what *Epiphanius* tells us in the *Herefy* of the *Melchisedechians*, that some *Hebrew Copies*, from the Birth of *Sem* to the Time that *Melchisedech* met *Abraham* in the 8th or 9th Year of *Abraham*, have about 628 Years, thus :

<i>Sem</i>	102	<i>Ragau</i>	32
<i>Arphaxad</i>	100	<i>Saruch</i>	30
<i>Sala</i>	100	<i>Nachor</i>	29
<i>Heber</i>	150	<i>Terah</i>	70
<i>Phaleg</i>	030	<i>Abraham</i>	85
In all 628.			

But this Project not taking, they chose rather yet to shorten this *Period*, and make *Sem* to be *Melchisedech*. For since the *Chaldee Paraphrase* saith that *Rebecca* consulted the *Schools* of *Sem*, and the *Rabbies* added that *Jacob* studied in the *Schools* of *Sem*, they the easier concluded that *Sem* was alive in the Time of *Jacob*. Now that this was contriv'd after the *Destruction* of the second *Temple*, appears in that, not only *Josephus* tells us that he was a *Chanaanitish* King, but that it is impossible for the *Samaritan* or *Septuagint*, or such as used either of those *Pentateuchs*, to take him for *Sem*. Indeed all the early *Fathers* that mention him (*Irenæus*, *Hippolytus*, *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Hieronymus*, *Theodoret*, &c.) agree with *Josephus* in making him a *Chanaanitish* King ; and *St. Paul*, when he wrote to the *Hebrews*, seems never to have heard of this Fancy of making *Melchisedech* to be *Sem*, but all along takes it as a Thing agreed on, that he was not concern'd in the *Genealogy* of *Aaron* ; and so according to the *Laws* of the *Jews* could have no Right to the *Priesthood*.

Some others of the *Jews* endeavour'd to avoid *St. Paul's* Argument, by making *Melchisedech* an *Angel* : an Opinion that *Origene* and *Didymus* borrow'd from them, and which *St. Ambrose* (*de Fide* l. 3. c. 5.) calls *Judaicum Ludibrium*.

But the Subterfuge, which chiefly prevail'd among them, was the Curtayling the *Period* of the *Post-diluvian Patriarchs*, and making *Sem* to be *Melchisedech*, and then *Aaron* Lineally descending from him to inherit his *Priesthood* also. And to make this probable, it may not be improper to observe what Pains the *Jews* have taken to pervert the *History* of *Melchisedech*, and answer *St. Paul's* Argument taken from him.

1st, They tell us that *Melchisedech* was a *Bastard* ; and, because his Name was not inserted in the *Genealogies*, therefore

said to be without *Father*, &c. (See *Epiphanius* of the *Here-sie* of the *Melchisedecians* §. 7.) But how this will agree with his being *Sem*, I do not understand.

2dly, They deny'd *Melchisedech's* Priesthood, and translated KVTV *Prince*; contrary to the Opinions of the 70 *Jews* that translated it *iereus*, to *Eupolemus* in *Eusebius's* *Præp. Ev.* l. 19. c. 17. to *Philo* the *Jew* in his *Book of Abraham*, to *Josephus* in *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 18. to several *Jews* in *Epiphan.* T. 1. p. 473. and to *St. Paul* in his *Epistle* to them, c. 7.

3dly, They make *Sem* elder than *Japhet*, and to inherit the *Priesthood* by Right of *Primogeniture*, contrary to the 70. *Gen.* x. 21. and to *Josephus*, l. 1. c. 14. who calls *Sem* the third Son of *Noah*.

4thly, They expound the *Text* so as to make *Melchisedech* pay Tythes to *Abraham*; contrary to the *Septuagint*, to *Josephus*, *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 18. to (a) *Philo*, and *St. Paul*, *Hebr.* vii. 2.

5thly, They corrupted the *Text*, *Psalms* cx. 4. where by adding a *jod* they apply it to *David*, contrary to the *Septuagint*, to *St. Paul*, *Heb.* v. 6. and vii. 17. and to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* who expounded that *Psalms* of the *Messiah*, *Matth.* xxii. 42, 43.

Upon all which Accounts it may not seem improbable, that as *Aquila* made his *Version* of the *Bible* in the Time of *Adrian*, to oppose *Christianity* and depreciate the *Version* of the *Septuagint*, which was used by the *Christians*: So the few learned *Jews* that liv'd about that Time did agree to make some Alterations in the *Hebrew* also, in order to oppose the *Christians* and magnifie their *Traditions*. And then the true *Chronology* of the *Hebrew* will be that preserv'd by *Josephus* in his *Antiquities*, which followeth the shorter Account before the *Flood*, and the longer after it.

(a) See *Selden's Review*, 450.

T H E
L I F E
O F
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

Written by his own Hand.

S E V E R A L Nations value the Honour and Dignity of Birth and Extraction, upon several Accounts ; but with Us, nothing more Illustrates a Family, than a Lineal Succession of Holy Men in the *Sacerdotal* Dignity : And, in that Respect, I may assume to myself the Advantage of somewhat better Blood in my Veins than Ordinary, as I derive my Original through a long Train of religious Ancestors ; and not only in a regular Descent from Men in sacred Orders, but from Priests of the first Rank of the Four and Twenty, which is yet a higher Advancement by so many Degrees. I might write myself also by my Mother's Side, of the Stock of Kings ; for the Kingdom, and the Priesthood went a long Time together in the (a) *Asmonæan* Family, from which she was descended. But now to take the Succession in Order ; *Simon*, otherwise called *Pfellus*, was my Great-Great Grandfather, who lived when *Hyrchanus* the Son of *Simon* the High-Priest, and the first of the Name, had the Pontificat. This *Pfellus* had nine Sons ; *Matthias* for one, surnamed *Aphlias*, who in the first Year of King *Hyrchanus* marry'd the Daughter of *Jonathan* the High-Priest, and had by her *Matthias*, surnamed *Curtus*, who in the ninth Year of the Reign of *Alexander* had a Son *Joseph*, from whom came

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Matthias,

(a) *Gr. Asamonæan.*

Matthias, in the Tenth of *Archelaus*; and from him, in the first Year of *Caius Cæsar*, came I myself; who have likewise three Sons; *Hyrchanus*, the *Eldēst*, was born in the fourth Year of *Vespasian*; *Justus* the Second, in the Seventh; and *Agrippa*, the Youngest, in the Ninth. This is a short, and a true Account of my Extraction, as it stands upon Record, beyond all Contradiction, and in Defiance of Envy and Detraction.

My Father *Matthias* was greatly esteemed in *Jerusalem*, from the highest to the lowest, not only for the Honour of his Descent, but much more still for his Probity and Justice. I had a Brother of my Father's Name, and we two were train'd up at School together from Children. Now having a tolerable Sense of Things, and an excellent Memory, I made so early a Progress in my Studies, that at fourteen Years of Age, the *High-Priests* and *Elders* would do me the Honour now and then to advise with me, even upon some intricate Cases of Law. At my Entrance into Sixteen, I began to inform myself in the Doctrines and Opinions of the three Sects I have spoken of elsewhere; the *Pharisees*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Essenes*; propounding to myself to take a Taste of them all, and stick to what I lik'd best. So I pass'd through all Three, one after another, with much Labour and Mortification. And I did not rest there neither; but hearing of one *Banus*, that led the Life of a *Hermite*, in Caves and Solitudes, I made a Tryal of his Way also. He wore no Covering but of the Bark of Trees: His Food was only what the Earth and the Woods brought forth of their own Accord; and bathing himself Night and Day in cold Water, to allay the Heat of unruly Appetites. When I had kept him Company in these Austerities for a Matter of three Years, and satisfy'd my Curiosity in the Experiment, I return'd to the City; and being now nineteen Years of Age, apply'd myself to the Business of a civil Life, in the Way of the *Pharisees*, which is much after the Humour of the *Stoicks* among the *Greeks*.

There fell out a very particular Occasion, in the Six and Twentieth Year of my Age, that carry'd me to *Rome*; and this was it. *Felix*, being at that Time Governour of *Judæa*, had sent several Priests, many of them worthy Men, and my particular Friends, Prisoners thither, upon a very frivolous Pretence, to clear themselves of what should be objected against them before *Cæsar*. They behaved themselves with so generous a Constancy, choosing rather to suffer any Thing, than to depart from their Duty, that upon this Consideration

tion I resolv'd to run any Risk in the World to relieve them ; So I embark'd for *Rome*, and falling into a desperate Storm with a Matter of 600 Persons in Company, we were cast away, and the Vessel lost in the *Adriatick Gulph* ; only Eighty Persons of the whole Number by a wonderful Providence preserv'd, being taken up early the next Morning, by a Ship of *Cyrene*, when we had kept ourselves above Water a whole Night by Swimming. After this Deliverance, I came acquainted at *Dicæarchia*, (or *Puteoli*, as the *Italians* chuse rather to call it) with one *Aliturus*, a mimical Comedian, and a Jew born ; for whom *Nero* had a great Kindness. This *Aliturus* brought me to the Knowledge of the Empress (a) *Poppæa*, who immediately upon my Request, got the Priests set at Liberty : And so I went back again into my Country, not without considerable Presents over and above. Upon my Return I found Mischief a-brewing, and the People dangerously dispos'd to a Revolt ; whereupon I did what I could to bring the Mutineers to better Reason. I bade them consider well what they were about, and the Circumstances of the Enemy they had to do withal ; a martial, a politick a well-disciplin'd, and a fortunate People, and so much an Over-match for them to all Purposes, that they must be worse than Mad-men to venture Life, Limb, Liberty, and Estate ; Wives, Children, and all that could be dear to them, upon so unequal Terms. At this Rate I ply'd them with Arguments, Counsels, and Importunities, to divert them from an Outrage that was likely to be attended with so many mortal Consequences. But this was only so many Words cast away ; which, in Truth, did more Hurt than Good ; and instead of composing them one Way, hazarded the Enraging of them another. For my pressing the same Thing over and over again, so often to them, look'd all this while like a siding with the Enemy, which upon the least Freak of Jealousy, (that I had Reason enough to apprehend) would in all Probability have cost me my Life. The Faction being already possess'd of the Fort *Antonia*, I had nothing to do but to take Sanctuary in the *Inner-Temple*. From thence, upon the Fall of *Manahem*, and the Ring-leaders of the Conspiracy, I betook myself to the High-Priest, and the eminent Men of the *Pharisees* : Whom I found directly at their Wits End what Course to steer ; for the People were all in Arms, and what to do with themselves, they knew not. When we saw that thwarting

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and

(a) *Gr. Pompeia.*

and diswading would do no Good, we went a Middle-way to Work, betwixt closing with them and dissenting; pretending, upon the Main, to be of their Opinion; but yet under such Cautions, that we advis'd them not to be too hasty; but let the Enemy draw off a little; for *Gessius* had a considerable Force, and would be with us Time enough to put an End to that Tumult. *Gessius* came back indeed, to his Cost, for he was totally defeated; most of his Troops cut to pieces; And this Blow, in fine, proved the utter Ruin of our Nation. For the Faction had the Vanity, after this Defeat, to flatter themselves, that they should with as much Ease run down the whole Power of *Rome*. But there happen'd at this Time a terrible Outrage, which was as follows.

The *Syrians* and the *Jews* living promiscuously together in several great Towns bordering upon *Judæa*, the *Syrian* Inhabitants took their Opportunity, and cut the Throats of all the *Jews*, Man, Woman, and Child, that liv'd with them in those neighbouring Cities; and all this, without any Sort of Provocation or Offence: For there was nothing of a Conspiracy, or so much as a Disaffection to the *Romans*, charg'd upon them. But above all the rest, the Barbarity of the *Scythopolitans* was the most inhumane and impious. For they not only forced the *Jews* of the Place, that were their *Fellow-Citizens*, to bear Arms against those of their own Tribe that came before it, (a Thing expressly forbidden by our Laws) but when they had worsted the Enemy by their Assistance, without any Regard to Gratitude, Justice, or common Faith, they put them all to the Sword, without Mercy, or Distinction, to the Number of several Thousands. The *Jews* at *Damascus* were treated much at the same Rate too; but in our History of the *Wars of the Jews* we have discours'd this Matter more at large. Neither would it be worth the While to mention it over again, if it were not to give the Reader to understand, that we did not undertake this War upon Choice, but that we were driven upon it by the Force of an extreme Necessity.

After this Overthrow of *Gessius*, the Leading Men of the *Jews*, finding themselves weak and unarm'd, and in danger of a powerful, turbulent Faction, they thought it high Time now to look about them, and provide for their own Security. So that considering how *Gallilee* was divided, and Part of it for the *Romans*, Part against them, they were pleas'd to make Choice of myself for One, and two other Priests, *Joazar* and *Judas*, (very good honest Men) to send as Com-
missioners

missioners thither, to try if we could prevail with the seditious People there to lay down their Arms; not so as to part with them quite; but only to deposite them for the present in the Hands of their Governours, till they should have Occasion to use them; but not to do any Act of Violence till they should be better inform'd what the *Romans* intended to do.

With these Instructions, I went my Way into *Gallilee*, where I found the *Gallilæans*, and the *Sepphorites* at hard Words, and ready to come to Blows upon this Point. The *Gallilæans* press'd upon the *Sepphorites* to make an Inroad into their Country; and the Ground of the Quarrel was, Their Standing up for the *Romans*, and their Adherence to *Senius Gallus*, then Governour of *Syria*. The *Sepphorites*, on the other Hand opposed them, in defence both of their Country, and of their League and Duty: But I found a Way to set the *Sepphorites* Hearts at rest, and to quiet the *Gallilæans*, by getting them a Licence to send as often as they pleas'd to *Dora*, a City of *Phœnicia*, to their Hostages there that they had given to *Gessius*.

As for the People of *Tiberias*, I found them all in Arms, and this was the Quarrel. There were three Parties in this City: The one consisted of Men of Honour and Integrity; and *Julius Capella* was the Head of them; who was join'd by *Herod*, the Son of *Miarus*, *Herod* the Son of *Gamalus*, and *Compfus* the Son of *Compfus*: But as for his Brother *Grissus*, that *Agrippa* the Great had made Governour of the Town long since, he liv'd at this Time upon his own Estate beyond *Jordan*. These were all for the King, and the People of *Rome*: *Pistus* being the only Man of the Nobility that went the other Way, in a Compliance with a popular Humour of his Son *Justus*. The second Faction was a Kind of a Rabble of mean People: And the Head of the Third was *Justus*, the Son of *Pistus*; who, though he would not give his Opinion Point Blank for a War, did most undoubtedly wish for one in his Heart, upon the Prospect of advancing his own Fortune by the Confusion. In order to this End he prepar'd the People for his Purpose, by a skewing Discourse upon the Matter then in Question, giving them to understand, "That their City was always reckoned to belong to *Gallilee*; and in the Days of *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, who was the Founder of it, reputed the Capital of the Province; and by him kept in Subjection. This Right of Precedency was never so much as question'd from the Time of *Agrippa* the Father till the Government of *Felix*; when *Nero* gave it away to the younger *Agrippa*.
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"The People of *Sepphoris*, in fine, never claim'd any Privilege above their Neighbours till the Subjecting of themselves to the *Roman Yoke*, and the removing of the Records and Treasury, upon *That Revolution*." *Justus* went on at this Rate, tampering and enflaming the People against the King, till he found them at last in Tune for Mischief, and then he told them in plain Terms, That since the *Sepphorites* were so obstinately devoted to the Interest of the *Romans*, that there was no taking them off, they had no other Way in the World to vindicate their Rights and Liberties, once for all, but immediately to take up Arms, and join with the rest of their Companions to oppose the *Sepphorites*, wherein they needed not doubt to be well seconded, against so hateful a Sort of People. With this popular and plausible Way of *Paradoxing* soberer Men than himself out of their Senses, he did his Business. Beside that he was so far Master of the *Greek Tongue* as to write the History of those Times; palliating and disguising the Truth of Things, as he found it most for his Purpose. But I shall now give a more particular Account of the Malice and Wickedness of this Man; and how near he and his Brother went to the total and irrecoverable Destruction of their Country, in the following Discourse. When *Justus* had gain'd over some of the Citizens by Persuasion, and others by Force, to take up Arms, he marched out with them in a Body, and set Fire to the Habitations of the *Hippenians* and *Gadarenes*, about *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*.

To pass over now from the State of *Tiberias* to That of *Gischala*; *John* the Son of *Levi*, finding several of his Fellow-Citizens so violently impatient of the *Roman Yoke*, did all that in him lay to keep them within the Compass of good Faith and Duty: But his Endeavours were to no Manner of Purpose, for the People bordering thereabouts; as the *Gadarenes*, the *Gabaraganeans*, and the *Tyrians*, joining their Forces together, attack'd the Town, and took it by Force; burnt and destroy'd all before them, and so went their Way back again. *John* was so exasperated with this Outrage, that he drew his Troops together, march'd against him, fought, and defeated him; and after that, Rebuilt the Place, and for better Security encompass'd it with a strong Wall.

But the People of *Gamala* stood firm all this while to the *Romans*, as will be seen in what follows. *Philip* the Son of *Jacimus*, King *Agrippa's* Lieutenant, having made a wonderful Escape out of *Jerusalem*, while the Enemy was before the Palace, fell into another Hazard of being destroy'd by *Manahem*, and his Cut-Throat-Companions; but was yet pre-

preserv'd by some of his *Babylonish* Relations, which were then at *Jerusalem*; and upon the 5th Day after his coming off, he put himself into a Disguise by a Cap of false Hair, and so shifted away till he came to a certain Village of his own, near the Castle of *Gamala*, where he sent for a considerable Number of his Subjects to come to him. In this Place he was seized with a sudden Fever, which by a wonderful Providence prov'd the Occasion of Saving his Life. For upon falling into this Distemper, he wrote to *Agrippa* and *Berenice* by a certain Freeman of Trust and Credit; with Order to deliver his Letters to *Varus*, to whom the King and the Queen had at that Time committed the Care of the Palace, they themselves being upon a Journey at that Time to *Berytus*, to meet *Gessius*. When *Varus* came to understand, upon the Receipt of the said Letters, that *Philip* had made his Escape, he took it exceedingly to Heart to find that he was at Liberty, for fear the King and the Queen should discharge him of their Service upon the other's Return: So that *Varus* expos'd the Messenger to the People as an *Impostor*, and one that had brought him a Sham-Story: For *Philip*, he said, to his Knowledge, was at that Time at *Jerusalem* with the *Jews*; making War against the *Romans*; and upon this Calumny he caus'd him to be put to Death. When *Philip* had waited a good while, and no News either of the Freeman, or of the Letters, he dispatch'd away a second Messenger with another Pacquet, to enquire what was become of the Former; and the same Pretence did his Business too as well as the others. Now the *Syrians* of *Cæsarea* had put a Conceit into *Varus's* Head, that the *Romans* would certainly revenge themselves upon *Agrippa* for this Rebellion of the *Jews*, and that upon his Death, the Crown would naturally come to him, as a Branch of the Royal Line from *Sohemus* the *Tetrarch* of *Libanus*. *Varus* was so puff'd up with this Persuasion, that he intercepted the King's Letters; Way-laid all the Passes, that no Body should get at him with Intelligence, and did all that was to be done, in fine, to keep him a Stranger to the whole Matter. He put great Numbers of the *Jews* to Death, to make an Interest with the *Syrians* of *Cæsarea*; and so likewise for the *Jews* in *Ecbatana*, which they call *Babylonians*, he propos'd the Engaging of the *Trachonites* of *Batanea* with him in a War against them too. In Order to the Prosecution of this Design, he sent for Twelve of the principal *Jews* in *Cæsarea*; and dispatch'd them away in his Name with this Message to their Friends at *Ecbatana*; That *Varus* had been told of a Conspiracy a-foot among them against
their

their King, which he was not willing to believe, but however required of them to lay down their Arms, as the most demonstrative Proof they could give him of their Innocence, and that the Report was false; adding to this, that they should send him *Seventy* of the most eminent Men of their Party, that might be ready to answer all Objections on the Behalf of the Rest. The *Twelve Deputies* went accordingly, and acquitted themselves of their Commission; but upon a strict Enquiry at *Ecbatana* among the People of their own Tribe, not finding the least Colour for any such Rumour, they took, according to their Instructions, *Seventy* of the best Men of the Place along with them, and so went their Way all in Company together towards *Cæsarea*: *Varus* in the mean Time having planted himself in the Passage with a Guard of the King's Troops about him; who fell upon them on the Way, and cut off every Soul of them to one single Man; after which, he advanced upon his Design against the *Jews* at *Ecbatana*. But by a strange Providence, the Person that escap'd the Massacre got thither before him, with the News of this abominable Treachery; whereupon the Inhabitants immediately put themselves in Arms, and with their Wives and Children withdrew into the Castle of *Gamala*, leaving their Goods, and Cattle behind them, to a mighty Value. So soon as ever *Philip* heard of this Adventure, he went thither to them; where he was welcom'd with the universal Acclamations of the People, and with the Tender of their Lives and Fortunes at his Service, in a War against *Varus*, and his *Cæsarean* Abettors, if he would but do them the Honour to Command them: For it was now bruited about, that the King was slain. But *Philip* did all he could to compose them, by putting them in Mind of the generous Obligations the King had laid upon them; the formidable Power of the *Romans*; with the desperate Hazards of a Rebellion: Insomuch, that they were brought in the Conclusion to better Reason. When the King came to understand what had pass'd, and that *Varus* had taken up a Resolution of putting to Death all the *Jews* in *Cæsarea*, with their Wives and Children, to the Number of a great many Thousands, he removed *Varus* from his Government, and made (a) *Equus Modius* his Successor; as we have said elsewhere: *Philip* keeping *Gamala*, and the Country bordering upon it firm to the *Romans*.

Upon my coming to *Gallilee*, being given to understand by certain Intelligence, the Condition of this Affair, I wrote
to

(a) *Ekouos Monodioss, & Ekouos Modioss.*

to the Council at *Jerusalem*, to receive the Honour of their Commands ; and the Answer they sent me was an Order to stay in *Gallilee*, and to provide the best I could for the Security and Defence of the Place, and to keep my Collegues still about me, if they thought fit. Now having by this Time gather'd up a considerable Sum of Money that was in Arrear for the *Priests Tenths*, they were bethinking themselves of going home again ; but upon my Request to stay a little longer with me, till Things might be put in some Sort of Order, they agreed without any Difficulty. So we went altogether from *Sepphoris* to *Bethmaus*, a Place within some four Furlongs of *Tiberias*, from whence I sent a Messenger to summon the Senate of *Tiberias*, and some of the Principals of the People to come over to me. Upon their Arrival, and *Justus* among the rest, I told them that I was order'd by the Council of *Jerusalem*, together with my Companions, to confer with them about the demolishing of the Palace which *Herod the Tetrarch* had erected there, and adorned with several curious Images and Figures of Living Creatures, being a Thing absolutely forbidden by our Laws ; earnestly desiring that it might be done out of Hand. *Capella*, and the People of his Faction oppos'd it a long Time ; but at last after a hard Contest we carried the Point : Now while this Controversie was a-foot, *Jesus* the (a) Son of *Saphia*, at the Head of a scandalous Crew of *Tarpaulins*, and other beggarly Fellows, with the Help of a Band of seditious *Gallilæans*, set Fire to the *Palace Royal*, in Expectation of a considerable Booty ; for every Thing they saw, was rich and gilded : And in Effect, they spoil'd and carry'd away a great many good Things, in despite of all could be done to hinder it. So soon as this Conference with *Capella*, and the Governours of *Tiberias* was over, we betook ourselves from *Bethmaus* into the *Upper Gallilee* ; at which Time the Faction of *Jesus* put all the *Greeks* in *Tiberias* to the Sword, and all others likewise that had been Enemies to them before the War. Upon the News of this Outrage, I went in a great Passion to *Tiberias*, to try what I could save or preserve, of the King's Goods upon this Pillage ; as there were several rich *Candlesticks* of *Corinthian* Work ; Precious *Tables* ; a great deal of *Silver* in the *Moss* : And in fine, resolving all this while to deposite what Goods soever I seiz'd, for the King's Use : So that sending for *Ten* of the chief *Senators*, and *Capella* the Son of *Antillus*, I deliver'd all the rich Vessels and other Things of Value into their Custody, with a Charge

Charge Express not to part with them to any Body but myself. I went from thence with my Companions to *Gischala*, to inform myself what *John* intended to do; whom I found manifestly engag'd in the making of a Party; and setting up for himself. The Emperour had several Magazines of Corn up and down in the *Upper Gallilee*, and *John* would fain have had the Exporting, and the Vending of it, with an Intent, he said, to employ the Profit upon the Building of Walls and Fortifications. I found what he would be at, and told him plainly, that it was a Thing I could not give Way to. For being obliged by Virtue of my Commission from *Jerusalem* to take care of all Things within that Jurisdiction, I could not dispose of those Stores any other Way than either to the Service of the Emperour, or the Good of the Province. When he found I was not to be wrought upon, he apply'd himself to my Collegues, who, betwixt Want of Foresight and the Love of Money, were brought over by Bribes and fair Words to comply with his Demands; and being two to one, they must needs carry it. *John* had no sooner gained this Point, but he bethought himself of another Invention. The Inhabitants of *Cæsarea-Philippi* were complaining to him, he said, for want of pure *Virgin-Oyl*, and desired him to supply them; the *Greek Oyl* being forbidden them, and the King's Prohibition barring them from going out of Town to fetch it. Now this was not so much *Religion* in him, as *Interest*; for he knew that this Oyl bore forty Times the Price at *Gischala* that it did at *Cæsarea*; so that he sent away all the Oyl from one Place to the other, under a Colour of my Licence. Now the Truth of it is, I did so far licence the Transporting of it, that I durst not pretend to hinder it, for fear the People should stone me; and so far only I yielded to it. This, in short, was an Advice that *John* made a great Advantage of.

From this Place I sent my Collegues back again to *Jerusalem*; and after that, made it my whole Business to arm, fortify, and in short, to provide the best I could for the Defence of my Province. The *Free-Booters* I found were not to be reduced by Force; and so I put the People upon trying what might be done by Composition; whereupon we enter'd into a Treaty with several Leading Men among them to take them into Pay; being all convinced, that the Charge of the Pension would not be comparable to the Spoil they'd make by Rapine and Pillage. We came, in fine, to an Agreement; and I took their Oaths for Performance of Articles, and so dismiss'd them. The Conditions were these; That they should not offer any Violence, either to *Romans*

or *Natives*, nor ever set Foot into our Country, but when they were call'd, or else behind Hand in their Pay. But above all other Things, it was my Care in the first Place, to keep *Gallilee* quiet; and in order to that End, I made Choice of *Seventy* of their best Men to go along with me, whom I made use of, both as Companions, Councillors, and Assistants: Nay, and I govern'd myself in a great Measure too, by their Advice, saving an inviolable Respect all the while to Integrity and Justice: So that under the Appearance of *Friends*, they serv'd me likewise in the Quality of *Hostages*.

I was now in the *Thirtieth Year* of my Life; an Age wherein all the Virtue and Precaution in Nature is not able to secure a Man from the Lash of Envy and Detraction; especially in a Post of Honour and Power. But I can say this for myself however, That I was never charg'd with any Misdemeanour, either in Matter of Women, or Corruption. I wanted nothing, and I coveted nothing: Nay, I was so far from taking any Thing that did not belong to me, that I refused my very Tenths, though properly due to me as a Priest, even when they were offer'd me. As for the Spoils upon the Defeat I gave the *Syrians*, it is very true, that I sent Part of that Booty to my Kindred at *Jerusalem*; and so after *Two Overthrows* given to the *Sepphorites*; *Four* to the People of *Tiberias*; the *Gadarenes* once at my Mercy, and *John himself*, after several treacherous Practices, made my Prisoner, I pass'd it all over without taking any Revenge, either of the one or the other; and God, that saw the Innocence of my Heart in this whole Matter, was so gracious as to deliver me from the Snares of my perfidious Enemies; and not upon that Occasion only, but divers Times afterwards, as will be seen in its proper Place.

The People of *Gallilee* had all of them such a Respect and Tenderneſs for me, that though they saw their Towns destroy'd, and their Wives and Children hurry'd away into Captivity before their Faces, they had much a greater Concern yet for my Hazards and Sufferings than their own. *John* was ready to burst all this while with *Envy* at the Thought of my being so popular; and under the Pretext of a present Indisposition, he wrote to me for Leave to go to the *Hot Baths* of *Tiberias* for his Health; which I not only granted him at first Word, without so much as dreaming of any Trick in the Bottom of it, but gave him Recommendatory Letters also to provide for the Entertainment of himself and his Train, with Meat, Drink, Lodging, and all other Conveniences,

veniences, and to take care that they wanted nothing. I
 was at this Time in a Village of *Gallilee* call'd *Cana*. *John*
 was no sooner come to *Tiberias*, but he fell presently to Work
 upon debauching the Inhabitants into a Sedition, and in-
 veigling them over into his Party. There were a great ma-
 ny among them forward and factious enough, to hearken to
 any Thing that might lead to a Change; and glad at Heart
 too, of such an Occasion: As among others, *Justus*, and
 his Father *Pistus*, who immediately closed with the Propo-
 sition, and join'd Interest with *John* against me. But by
 God's Providence the Plot was seasonably disappointed; for
Silas, my *Deputy-Governour* of *Tiberias*, sent me the whole
 Story of it from Point to Point, how the Case stood at that
 Time, and what they intended: Advising me by all Means
 to hasten thither all I could, and prevent the Mischief be-
 fore it was too late; for the Government would be quickly
 in other Hands else. Upon Reading this Intelligence, I
 posted away for *Tiberias* with 200 Men; sent a Messenger
 before, to let my Friends know I was a-coming, and so tra-
 velt the whole Night. The People, early in the Morning,
 came out of the Town to meet me upon the Way, and *John*
 himself among the rest; but so cut of Countenance and
 confounded, that he betray'd his Guilt in his Face. Being
 now conscious to himself that his Neck was at Stake if he
 was discover'd, he made a hasty Reverence, and that Instant
 withdrew to his Lodging. In the mean Time, away went I
 to the publick Place of Exercises, where I discharg'd my
 own Train, all but one Man and ten Soldiers that I kept a-
 bout me. After this, I mounted a high Standing that I took
 up there, from whence I made a Discourse to the *Tiberians*
 upon the Subject of good Faith and Allegiance; the Honour
 of a generous Constancy; and the dangerous Consequences,
 as well as the actual Baseness, of Betraying a Trust; for one
 Treachery, I told them, would most certainly be avenged
 upon the Head of the Traitor by another, and that after
 one Act of Perfidy, their Credit would be lost for ever. The
 Words were hardly out of my Mouth, but I heard some
 body call fiercely and earnestly to me immediately to [*Come*
down, and provide for my own Security, for my Enemies were
just upon me; and that this was no Time for Speeches.]
 Now the Truth of it was, that having me at an Advantage,
 in a Place where I was little better than alone, *John* drew
 a select Number of Men out of the Thousand that he com-
 manded, with Orders to fall upon me there by Surprise:
 And they were already advanc'd within a very little of
 Executing

Executing their Design; which they had certainly done, if I had not leapt down that very Moment by the Help of one of my own Guards, whose Name was *Jacob*, and one *Herod of Tiberias*, who led me off to the Lake; where, by great Providence, I found a Vessel ready that carry'd me off to *Taricheæ*, beyond all Expectation, and out of the Reach and Power of my Enemies. The People of the Place were so enrag'd at the *Tiberians* upon this Story of their barbarous Treachery, that they betook themselves to their Arms, and begg'd of me in a Body, only to march in the Head of them against those perfidious Wretches, that they might do me Right upon them for so horrid a Villany. The Report of this Outrage was quickly spread all over *Gallilee*, with an Invitation to come in and join with them against *Tiberias*, and to remit themselves to the Direction and Conduct of their Governour, to do whatever he should think fit. The *Gallilæans* gather'd together presently in great Numbers; and with great Earnestness entreated me to assault *Tiberias*, and upon the taking of it utterly to demolish it; and to expose the Inhabitants with their whole Families to Sale for Slaves at a publick Outcry. And this was not the Sense of the *Gallilæans* alone, but my very Friends that came to me out of *Tiberias* were of the same Opinion too. But I was so tender of making myself the Author and Beginner of a civil War, that I could not bring myself to resolve upon those Extremities: And, in Truth, I was very desirous to put a Stop to the Dispute before it came to Blows: Beside that I press'd it as their own Interest also, not to fall to Cutting one anothers Throats for a Spectacle to the *Romans*, that were to stand looking on. By this Means I took off the Edge of the *Gallilæans*, in the Conclusion; though not without much ado. When *John* found that all his juggling Practices against me still fail'd him, it was high Time now, he thought, to look to himself: So that taking along what Men he had about him, he quitted *Tiberias* and went to *Gischala*, and from thence he wrote me a kind of an Excusatory, Acknowledging Letter: Setting forth, That it was indeed a very ill Thing done, but without any Privity of his, as he call'd God to Witness. He begg'd of me, that I would believe him, with most hideous Oaths and Imprecations in his Letter, to the Truth of what he told me, to a Syllable. But this did not satisfy the *Gallilæans* at all; for they knew him too well, for a perjur'd Wretch, to believe one Word he said, ever the more for his Swearing it: So that they press'd me still, (being a mighty Body of Men got together)

to lead them on to the Assault, that they might destroy him, and *Gischala*, the Place of his Nativity, both at once. I gave them a Thousand Thanks for the Respect and Goodwill they had shew'd me; and assur'd them of all the best Offices I could do them in Requital: But at the same Time, I advis'd them by all means to be temperate, and patient, and to give me leave to try a little if the Quarrel might not be taken up without Blood, and to their liking too, before it came to further Mischief. The *Gallilæans* yielded, and they came soon after to *Sepphoris*. The Inhabitants, being resolv'd to keep Faith with the *Romans*, were not without some Apprehension upon my Advance, and so contriv'd for their own Security, how they might give me a Diversion some other Way. *Jesus*, the Head of the *Out-laws*, was at that Time upon the Borders of *Ptolemais*, with a Body of 800 Men under his Command; and they could not do better, they thought, than presently to dispatch a Messenger to him with the Promise of a considerable Sum of Money to make War upon us. The Temptation prevail'd; and the Way he pitch'd upon was to take us at unawares, and unprovided; and so to do the Work by Surprize. Upon this, he sent Word to me by a Messenger, that he should be glad if I would give him leave to make me a Visit. I made no Difficulty of doing it; for I had no Jealousy in the World of soul Play: So that he took a Troop of his Robbers, and hasten'd his Journey all he could. But the Design miscarry'd: For upon his Approach within a little of the Town, I had Intelligence brought me by a Defter from him that came over to me, of the whole Contrivance. Upon this Information, I went directly into the Market-place, as if I had known nothing of the Plot upon me; and I was there attended with a numerous Train of *Gallilæans* in Arms, and several *Tiberians* among them. I gave Order then for the Guard of the Passes, and to the Porters of the Gates, to let in only *Jesus* himself, with some few of his Followers, and then shut the Gates upon the rest: Or if they should attempt to break in by Violence, they should repel them with Blows too. They did as they were order'd, and admitted *Jesus* with some few of his Train, and then shut the Gates upon the rest. So soon as he was in, I bad him throw down his Arms, or expect to die; which he did, finding himself surrounded with a Guard of Soldiers. Upon this, those of his Men that were shut out, hearing how it was with their Leader, betook themselves immediately to Flight. So calling *Jesus* apart, I told him somewhat to this Purpose: *I have you now in my Hands, you see; I knew all*
your

your Contrivances, your Counsels, and your Advisers; and yet after all these Provocations, if you will pass your Word now to be an honest Man, and a good Subject, for the Time to come, all that you have hitherto done shall be forgiven, and forgotten. He promised he would, and so I gave him his Liberty, and his Men again, leaving him as I found him. And for the *Sepphorites*, I only charg'd them to be quiet and peaceable for the future, at their Peril.

There came to me at the same Time, two Noblemen, and Subjects of the King of *Trachonis*, with Horses, Money, and Arms. The *Jews* were absolutely against the receiving of them, unless they would be *circumcis'd*; but I told them that every Man was to worship God according to the Rules of his own Conscience, not of another Man's; and therefore I was utterly against the giving of them any Trouble upon that Account: Beside that it would be an inhospitable Rigour, to make People that came to them for Sanctuary in their Distress, repent the good Opinion they had of their Charity. Upon discoursing the Matter, the Multitude were all of the same Mind, and so I gave them an Entertainment suitable to the Circumstances and Occasion.

King *Agrippa*, in the mean Time, sent (a) *Equus Modius* with a considerable Force to take in the Castle of *Magdala*. He was not in a Condition to lay Siege to it; but all that he could do was to post *Guards* upon the *Avenues*, and so to block up *Gamala*. *Æbutius*, the *Decadarch*, that had the Command of the Great Plain, understanding that I was come to *Simonias*, a Village upon the Skirts of *Gallilee*, and a Matter of sixty Furlongs off from the Place where he was; he drew out a hundred Horse that he had then about him, near two hundred Foot, and some Auxiliary Troops from *Gaba*, and making one Night's Journey of it, came up to the Village; whereupon I fac'd him with a Body of the best Men I had. He was too strong for me in Horse, and would fain have drawn me into the open Field; but my Strength consisting principally in Foot, I found it would not be safe to venture myself upon that Odds of Ground, and so kept to my Station. *Æbutius* did what he could to force me from my Post; but when he saw it was not to be done with Horse he quitted his Design, and march'd off to *Gaba*, with the Loss only of three Men in the Action. I follow'd him immediately upon the Heel, with a Body of 2000 Men, and when I came to *Besara*, a Town upon the Border of *Ptolemais*, and some 20 Furlongs from

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from

(a) *Gr. Ekmoos Modioos.*

from *Gaba*, where *Æbutius* at that Time was, I took Possession of all the Passes about it, to secure my Quarters, and in the mean Time carried off the Wheat, and other Grain, to a prodigious Quantity, that had been taken from the Neighbouring Villages belonging to Queen *Berenice*, which was there laid up in Store. This Provision I caus'd to be transported to *Gallilee* upon a Multitude of Camels and Asses that I brought thither on Purpose. So soon as this Work was over, I offer'd *Æbutius* Battle, but when we saw he durst not venture upon an Engagement, I bent my Course toward *Neapolitanus*, who was then in Garrison with a Body of Horse at *Scythopolis*, and committing Ravage in the Country about *Tiberias*. By this Means I deliver'd *Tiberias* from any farther Vexation from this Enemy: And my whole Care was in the next Place how to provide for the Settling of *Gallilee*.

Now *John* the Son of *Levi*, being, as you have heard, at *Gischala*, was gall'd at the very Soul to see Matters go so well with me, and to find how much I was belov'd by my People, and fear'd by my Enemies: And in the Rancour of this Envy, propos'd to himself how he might turn the Hearts of my Subjects against me, soliciting the *Tiberians*, and the *Sepphorites* to join against me, and flattering himself, that he might get the *Gabarenes* to fall off too; these being the most considerable People in *Gallilee*; insinuating, how much easier their Condition would be under his Government than they found it in mine; and reckoning upon it all the while, that just so much Advantage, or Reputation as I got, he himself lost. The *Sepphorites* were, in Truth, neither for him, nor for me, but for the *Romans*. The *Tiberians* would not be persuad'd to Revolt, but promis'd however to entertain an amicable Correspondence with him; only the *Gabarenes* clos'd with him to all Purposes, by the Means of *Simon* an eminent Citizen, and a peculiar Friend and Companion of *John's*; and they were not altogether barefac'd neither in their new Alliance, for fear of the *Gallilæans*, of whose Friendship, and Respect to me they had seen so many Experiments, but they never fail'd however, of coming in for a Part in any underhand Practices against me; and it was very narrowly that I escap'd them upon one particular Instance. There was a Party of *Dabarittenians*, a Parcel of bold young Fellows, that upon Intelligence that the Wife of *Ptolemy*, the King's *Intendant*, Travelling with a pompous Train of Horse and other Equipage over the *Great Plain*, out of the King's Jurisdiction into a Province of the *Romans*; Way-laid, and set upon the Company, forc'd the Lady to shift for herself,

self, and made Prize of what she had. This pass'd, while I was at *Taricheæ*, and thither they brought four Mules laden with rich Clothes and other precious Furniture, a great Number of Silver Vessels, and 500 Pieces of Gold. Now these being the Goods of *Ptolemy*, a Man of my own Tribe; (and our Law not allowing us so much as to rob our very Enemies) I told the People that brought them, that they were by any means to be preserv'd, till they could be sold to the best Advantage, and the Money then to be laid out upon Repairing the Walls of *Jerusalem*. These *Russians* laid it so to Heart to be disappointed of a Booty, they thought themselves as good as sure of, that they gave it out up and down all about *Tiberias*, that I had a Design in my Head to betray the Province to the *Romans*. I pretended indeed, they said, to employ the Profit of the Purchase upon Rebuilding the Walls of *Jerusalem*; but upon the whole Matter that my Business was to restore it to the former Master: And they were not much wide of the Matter; for after the Departure of the young Men, I call'd two Citizens to me of the first Quality; that is to say, *Dassion*, and *Jannæus* the Son of *Levi*, both in great Esteem with the King; and order'd them to make Restitution of the Prize; and upon Pain of Death not to discover the Secret to any Mortal. The Rumour was by this Time spread all over *Gallilee*, that I was in a Conspiracy to deliver them up to the *Romans*; and all People were tamper'd against me to take a Revenge. The Men of *Taricheæ* among others, gave so much Credit to the Story, that they dealt with several of my Guards, and other Soldiers, to steal away from me in my Sleep, and come into the *Circus* to confer there with other People concern'd, how to dispose of the Government: When they came thither, they found a huge Concourse of People gotten together before-hand; all with one Voice calling out for Justice upon the Traitor: But the Ring-leader of the Tumult was *Jesus*, the (a) Son of *Saphias*, who was at that Time the Head-Magistrate of *Tiberias*; and one of the falsest, and the most seditious Wretches under the Sun. He presented himself with the Two Tables of *Moses* in his Hand, and pressing into the Crowd, he spake to them after this Manner. *If so it be, says he, that you have no Regard at all to your own Good and Safety, let it be recommended to you however to preserve a Reverence still for these holy Laws, which that same Joseph your Governour, has made no Difficulty to betray, and consequently to render himself so odious to all good Men, that no Punish-*

(a) *Sapitha pars. Gr.*

ment can be too exemplary and severe. These Words were entertain'd with Acclamations and Applauses: So that the People gathered together, and taking Soldiers along with them; hurry'd away immediately to my Lodging, with a full Determination to take away my Life. And there lay I, quite tir'd and fast asleep, without so much as the least Sense or Thought of a Tumult. But at last, all on a sudden, *Simon*, one of the Guards, and the only Man that stay'd with me, upon the Sight of a Crowd of People pressing in upon me, rous'd me up and wak'd me; shew'd me the Danger I was in, and advis'd me in one Word, rather to suffer a generous Death from my own Hand, than to be insulted upon at the Will and Pleasure of an insolent Enemy. Upon this Advice I committed myself to Providence; chang'd my Cloaths; disguis'd myself in Black; put on my Sword; and out I went thorough the middle of the Throng; and so by a By-way, where I was sure to meet none of my Adversaries, I shew'd myself in the *Circus*, where I fell upon my Face, weeping and wailing in so moving a Manner, that the Generality of the Multitude themselves could not but pity me. When I found the Humour of the People in some Measure wrought upon, and soften'd, I did what I could to divide them in their Opinions of me, and of my Condition, before the Return of the Soldiers from my Lodgings. I did not deny it, I told them, but that there was somewhat indeed of Truth in the Matter that was objected against me. I desir'd only that they would first understand the Fact, and what Use I intended to make of that Booty; and then, if they thought me worthy of Death, let them take my Life in God's Name. The Multitude were for Hearing me, and bad me speak on; only the Soldiers being just now return'd, they were for Cutting me to Pieces out of Hand: But upon the Clamour of the common People, and second Thoughts, they were prevail'd upon to respite the Execution; taking for granted, that after the Discovery, and Confession of the Treason, and that I did really intend to reserve that Money for the King, they should have a better Excuse and Pretence for going thorough with the Work at last; and so do the same Thing that Way as well as the other. Upon this, they gave me the Hearing, and Silence being proclaim'd, that which I said was short, and to this Effect.

Men and Brethren, if it shall be your Opinion that I have deserved to die, so let it be; provided I may but give you a true State of the Case I suffer for, before I go. I have ever look'd upon this City as a Sanctuary to Strangers; and indeed so great,
and

and general a Comfort to Mankind, that betwixt the Conveniencies of the Place, and the agreeable Manners and Conversation of the Inhabitants; Multitudes of People have been prevail'd upon to quit their native Soil, and transplanting themselves hither, to take their Fortunes, Good or Bad with the Country: And what's my Crime now, but the Dedicating of a Sum of Money, out of a Zeal to the publick Service, toward the Repairing of your Walls? This is, in short, the Ground of your Displeasure. The Taricheans and Foreigners, with infinite Thanks and Encouragement, bad me go on, and fear nothing; but the Gallileans and Tiberians, on the other Hand, were as untractable and outrageous: So that it came to a direct Feud betwixt them; the one Side plying me with Menaces and hard Words; and the other undertaking for my Security and Protection. But upon promising the Tiberians to do as much for them too, and so likewise for other Towns, where the Situation would bear it, they let fall the Contest; took my Word for the Performance, and slipt every Man away, one after another to his own Home: After which unexpected, and wonderful Deliverance, I returned with some Friends, and a matter of twenty Soldiers, to my own Quarter. The Ruffians, and the Heads of this seditious Tumult, finding themselves now in some Danger to be call'd to an Account for what they had done, gather'd together a matter of 600 of them, and marched right-out to the House where I lodg'd, with a Resolution to set Fire to it. Having Notice of their coming, and of their Purpose, it would have look'd scandalously Methought, to fly before them: So that I rather chose to shut the Doors against them and make the best of a bad Game. Upon this, I call'd to them out of my Window; that if Money was their Business, they had no more to do then, but to appoint any Body they thought fit to receive it, and never trouble their Heads with any further Squabble for the Matter. So they sent over a Party to fetch the Money, and upon their entring the House, finding one particular Person to be more insolent and troublesom than the rest of his Companions, I order'd him to be seiz'd, whipt; one Hand cut off, and hang'd about his Neck, and so turn'd out again, to tell his Tale to those that employ'd him upon this Errand. The whole Company was so surpriz'd at this Treatment, that taking for granted I had a strong Guard in my House, they all scour'd away immediately for fear of being serv'd with the same Sawce, and by this Stratagem, I brought myself off for this Bout. After this Disappointment, they had Recourse to another Invention (as they would never

be without some Pretext or other to move the Multitude.) They pick'd a Quarrel with the two Noblemen, that apply'd themselves in their Distress to me for Sanctuary. They were Spies and Poisoners, they said, and not to be protected in any Place where they would not conform to the Fashions of the Country. This popular Way of Hint and Insinuation, put the Multitude into their Freaks again; but upon hearing which Way it wrought, I told them plainly that it was not either generous or discreet to provoke, and to insult upon People that cast themselves upon us for Succour; for we did not know how soon their Case might come to be our own. And then to fancy their coming hither to poison us, nothing could be more ridiculous; for what should the *Romans* be at the Charge for, of maintaining so many Legions in Arms, and in Pay, when there would need no more, if they were that Way given, than a *Spell*, or a *Bolus*, to do the Work? This pacify'd them a little for the present; but their Choler was up again immediately: Inasmuch that away they went with a Band of desperate *Russians* together to *Taricheæ*, to beset the Lodgings of these Strangers and fall upon their Persons. In the very Instant of hearing what they were about, I got what Men I could together, and so posted away with all possible Speed to prevent the Mischief; for the Sufferance of so barbarous an Inhumanity would have made me odious to Mankind. Briefly I made a Shift to get up Time enough to shut the Door and make good the House till I could run a Trench from the Backside into the Lake there at Hand, where I took a Boat, and so crossed over to the Borders of the *Hippenians*, with my two noble Guests aboard, where I allow'd them the Value of their Horses, which in such a Hurry they could not take along with them: And for a Farewel, earnestly besought them to bear their present Lot with Constancy and Honour. It went to the very Heart of me to do a Thing so like Treachery, as to deliver up any Man to the Mercy of an Enemy's Country that had thrown himself into my Arms, in Confidence of good Faith and Protection; but of the two, I rather chose how hazardous soever, to leave them to Providence one Way, than to a certain Destruction by the Perfidy of my own People, the other. But after all this, they were preserved at last; *Agrippa* pardon'd them; and this was the End of these Broils.

The *Tiberians* having it now in their Heads to go over to King *Agrippa*, offer'd him their Service by Letter, provided he would furnish them with Troops sufficient to protect them. Upon the first Notice of this Overture, I went to look

look after them; and upon my Arrival, they minded me of my Promise for the Rebuilding of their Walls, being informed, it seems, that I had been as good as my Word at *Taricheæ*, already. I told them it should be done, and gave Orders for the providing of Materials, and Workmen to go in Hand with it immediately. After three Days stay there, I made a Journey to *Taricheæ* some *Thirty Furlongs* off. In which Time it so happen'd, that certain *Roman Troops* being upon their March within Sight of *Tiberias*, the Inhabitants took them to be *Agrippa's* Party, falling presently into the highest Admiration of the King in the World: And at the same Time reflecting upon me as bitterly and contemptuously as was possible. The next News I heard, was brought me by a Messenger in great haste, that the People were upon the very Point of a Revolt, which put me to my Wits End what to do. For the *Sabbath* being now at Hand, I had dismiss'd the Soldiers from *Taricheæ* for the quieter Celebration of the Festival: Beside that I seldom kept a Guard about me in that Place, in Confidence of the try'd Loyalty, and good Affection of the People: So that having only seven Soldiers, and some few Friends about me, I found myself in a great Perplexity what Course to take. It would have been to no Purpose to recal my Troops now in the Evening, which I could have no Use at all of the next Day: And then, for the People of *Taricheæ*, Strangers and all, if I could have engag'd them to my Assistance, as perhaps I might, by the Hope and Promise of Pillage and Booty, they would not have been sufficient yet at last to have done my Business: And there was no Room for Consideration or Delay, for fear of the Enemies prepossessing the City in the interim, and shutting me out, so that I bethought myself of this Invention: I gave it in Charge to some of my particular and trusty Friends, to keep a strict Eye upon the Gates, and not suffer any Creature to pass out of the Town. They were likewise to appoint the Heads of the chief Families in the City, every Man to mount his Boat and put out into the Lake, with only one *Mariner* to every Bark, and so to follow me, while I myself with seven Soldiers, and some few of my Friends, in another Boat, stood away to Rights for *Tiberias*: where the People were by this Time inform'd of their Mistake, and that there were no Troops of the King's at Hand, as they imagin'd. The Inhabitants seeing the Lake however cover'd over with Vessels, and surmising nothing less than an Army aboard ready to break in upon the City; betook themselves, upon this Fright, and second Thoughts,

to other Measures. For they laid down their Arms, and coming out with their Wives and Children, and with all the Submission in the World, they joy'd me of my Arrival, wish'd me Success in my Undertakings, and invited me into their City : Little dreaming all this while that the Plot was discover'd. Upon drawing near the Shore ; I gave Order for all my Followers to come to an Anchor so far from Land, that the People might not discern this formidable Fleet at such a Distance to be only an Amusement of empty Boats. In the mean Time, I came up myself to the very Key ; and after a Rebuke severe enough, for the Wickedness and Folly of their Breach of Faith, I was content yet in the End to pass it all over, upon Condition that they should send me aboard ten of the best Men they had for a Caution; which they did at first Word : And by this Trick I got the whole *Senate*, and a great Part of their principal Citizens, one after another by little and little into my Hand. The Remainder of the Multitude reflecting upon the Condition they now were in, cast the Fault wholly upon one *Clitus*, a bold, hot-headed Fellow among them, as the chief Incendiary, and desir'd me that I would command Justice to be done upon him. I could not in Conscience put a Man of my own Tribe to Death ; and yet lying under an absolute Necessity of making him Exemplary, some way or other, I commanded one *Levi*, a Soldier in my Guards, to cut off one of his Hands. The Fellow durst not venture upon it alone, for fear of the People ; and I was as much afraid on the other Side, lest the People should take notice of his boggling at the Execution. So that without any more ado, I call'd out to *Clitus* myself. *Come*, said I, *Thou basest of Men, I do here condemn thee to the Loss of both thy Hands for thy Ingratitude and Treachery, and, as much as in thee lies, to be thine own Executioner ; wherefore be quick and dispatch, or thou shalt not come off so.* The Man beg'd hard to be excus'd for one of them, and after some seeming Difficulty having obtain'd it, he forthwith cut off his left Hand with his Right, to save the other ; and this put an End to the Tumult. From hence I return'd to *Taricheæ* ; leaving the *Tiberians* in great Admiration at the putting of a Stop to so furious an Uproar without Bloodshed. Matters being now quiet, I sent for the *Tiberian* Prisoners to eat with me ; *Iustus* and his Father *Pistus* among the rest. I was saying, in the Freedom of Table-Discourse, that I look'd upon the *Romans* as the greatest People under the Sun ; but yet, in regard of the present Faction I had to do withal, I reckon'd it

it good Discretion to keep my Thoughts to myself; and it would be well if they did so too, I thought, till Times should be better; and in the mean while to live quiet under my Administration; for they should never find any Governour easier to them than myself. So I minded *Justus* of the *Gallilæans* cutting off the Hands of his Brother upon a Pretence of Forgery, and before my coming from *Jerusalem*; and likewise how the *Gamālites* upon a Dispute they had with the *Babylonians* after *Philip's* Departure, put his Kinsman *Chares* to Death: Whereas I had not treated his Brother-in-Law *Jesus*, I told him at that barbarous Rate. This was the Substance of what pass'd at Supper; and the next Morning early, *Justus* and his Companions were all discharg'd.

It was a little before this, that *Philip* the Son of *Jacim*, went away from *Gamala* upon this Account. News being brought him of the Revolt of *Varus* from *Agrippa*, and *Modius Equus*, his very good Friend, put in his Place, he gave *Modius* to understand by Letter, how it was with him, and the present State of his Affairs, with a Pacquet also for the King and the Queen, who were then at *Berytus*. *Modius* was overjoy'd to find him in Health, and in so good a Condition, and sent away the other Pacquet according to the Address. So soon as the King perceiv'd by these Letters, that the Story of *Philip's* putting himself in the Head of the *Jews* against the *Romans*, was a false Report, he sent for him to Court by a Party of Horse; and taking him into his Arms upon his Arrival with great Honour and Kindness, told the Commanders about him, that this was the Person they heard was gone off from the *Romans*. He sent him, soon after this, with some Troops of Horse to the Fort of *Gamala*; with Instructions to bring away all his Family; re-settle the *Babylonians* in *Batanæa*, and to take all possible Care to keep the People quiet. *Philip* had no sooner receiv'd his Orders, but away he went immediately upon his Commission. About this Time, up started a kind of a *Quack Doctor*, whose Name was *Joseph*, with a Crew of mad young Rogues at his Heels, and not without some considerable Citizens in the Medly, for the better countenancing of the Tumult. The Business of this *Mountebank* was to debauch the People from their Allegiance, by encouraging them to take up Arms, and with Sword in Hand to assert their ancient Rights and Liberties. The Faction grew quickly to such a Head, that it was certain Death to oppose them; as in this Riot they kill'd *Chares*, and his Kinsman *Jesus*,
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with the Sister of *Justus of Tiberias*, of whom we have spoken already. They wrote to me after this, to send them Troops for a Garrison, and Workmen to run up a Wall about the Town; which I agreed to, both the one, and the other.

At the same Time the Country of the *Gaulanites* fell off from *Agrippa* as far as the Village *Solyma*. I wall'd-in *Sogannis*, and *Seleucia*, two very strong Places by Situation; and I fortify'd several Towns in the *Upper Gallilee*, as *Jamnia*, *Amerytha*, and *Charabe*, among the rocky Mountains. In *Gallilee* I fortify'd the Towns also of *Taricheæ*, *Tiberias*, and *Sepphoris*; and the Villages of the Cave of *Arbela*, *Bersabe*, *Selame*, *Jotapata*, *Capharath*, *Comosogona*, *Næpapha*, and the Mount *Itabyr*. In these Places I had my Magazines of Corn and Arms.

This prosperous Course of my Affairs was such an Eyesore to *John the Son of Levi*, that he took up a Resolution some way or other, at what rate soever to destroy me: So that after the Walling-in of *Gischala*, he sent away his Brother *Simon* with a Hundred Men to *Simon the Son of Gamaliel*, at *Jerusalem*, to try if he could get the Council of the City to remove me from my Government, and to substitute *John* in my Place. Now this *Simon* was a Citizen of the first Rank; by *Seet*, a *Pharisee*, and consequently a strict Observer of the Laws of *Moses*; a Person of extraordinary Prudence, and no Man better qualify'd for the obviating of any Difficulty at a Pinch: Over and above that, he was *John's* ancient and particular Friend, and at that Time known to be my Enemy. He was, in short, so far wrought upon by Sollicitation and Intreaty, that he put it in the Head of the *High-Priest*, *Ananus*, and *Jesus the Son of Gamala*, with others of the Party, to have a Care of me betimes, before I got up to be too strong for them; for they were highly concern'd, he said, to have me turn'd out of the Command of *Gallilee*, and to see it done without Delay too, before the Design could take Air, for fear of my preventing the Execution of it, by falling in upon them with a powerful Army. *Ananus the High-Priest* told him, on the other Hand, that I had so many of the *High-Priests* and *Heads* of the People, that could bear Witness to the Conduct and Justice of my Administration, that it would be a hard Matter to obtain a Vote against me: Neither would it appear reasonable to proceed to a Judgment upon any Man, without assigning his Crime. So *Simon* desir'd them to make no Words at all of what had pass'd, but leave it to him to take Care for
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the Displacing of me some other Way. Upon this he apply'd himself to the Brother of *John*, and propos'd the Distribution of Money and Presents among the Friends of *Ananus*, as the most likely Course he could take for the gaining of his Point. By this Method, in fine, *Simon* compass'd his End; for *Ananus* and his Companions, upon the receiving of these Bribes, laid their Heads together immediately how they might depose me from my Government; and, without making so much as any one Man beside privy to the Counsel: The Way they pitch'd upon was to employ four Agents upon the Commission; two of them Noble, and the other two private Persons; but all four equally qualify'd, for their Learning, and Skill in the Law: As there was (a) *Jonathan*, and *Ananias*; both *Pharisees*, for two of them: (b) *Jozar*, a Man of a *Sacerdotal* Family, and a *Pharisee* also, for a Third; and then the Fourth was *Simon*, of the *Pontifical* Line too, and the Youngest of the Four. These Men had their Instructions given them to Reason the Matter at the next Meeting of the *Gallilæans*, with the Members of the Assembly, and to Expostulate, why they should chuse me before another. If they should say, because I am a Native of *Jerusalem*; it might be answer'd, So were they: And then, for my Knowledge of the Laws, the same Thing might be said for them too; or if they should say, they did it out of a Respect to the Priesthood; they might make Answer, that two of their Number had the very same Pretence. With this Lesson, and 40000 Pieces of Silver out of the publick Treasury, *Jonathan*, and his Companions, went away about their Business. There came at this Time one *Jesus* a *Gallilæan*, with a Band of 600 Soldiers to *Jerusalem*; with whom these Commissioners agreed for Three-Months-Pay-Advance to follow *Jonathan*, and his Colleagues, and to obey them, and their Orders; joining to these Soldiers 300 *Mercenaries* more out of the City. With this Train the Deputies went their Way, and the Brother of *John* with his Company of 100 Men along with them. Their Order was this; in case I should Voluntarily lay down my Arms, to take me Prisoner, and send me alive to *Jerusalem*; but upon any Opposition, they were to kill me out of Hand; and their Order should bear them out in it. There were Letters dispatch'd away to *John* also to be in Readiness to make War upon me. And the *Sepphorites*, the *Gabarenes*, and the *Tiberians*, were likewise engaged to fall in with the Party. Now *Jesus*

(a) Gr. *Ionathas*.(b) Gr. *Tozoros*.

Jesus the Son of *Gamala*, that wish'd me well, and was privy to the whole Contrivance, sent my Father Word, it seems, from Time to Time, of every Thing that pass'd, and from him I receiv'd a particular Account of the whole Matter. It went to the Heart of me to consider the Ingratitude, and malicious Practices of a Faction in the City against me; and my Affliction was not much less neither to find the Trouble my Father was in for my Sake, and with what Earnestness he press'd me to come over to him, upon a Suggestion that it was only to see me yet once again before he dy'd. I took my Friends into Counsel with me upon this whole Affair, and told them, that I had resolv'd within the Compass of three Days to lay down my Command, and go back again into my Country. They all fell into Tears and Lamentations upon the Hearing of it; begging of me, not upon any Terms to leave them to the Certainty of perishing when I was gone. But my Life being at Stake on the one Hand, against their Prayers and Importunities on the other, I still persisted in my Purpose. The *Gallilæans* had such an Apprehension of being over-run and destroy'd by the Thieves and Out-Laws, after my Departure, that they presently sent Notice up and down through the whole Province that I was upon the Point of leaving them. This News brought a World of People together, with their Wives and Children, into the Great Plain (a) *Asoch*, where I then was, to try if they could get me to stay; not so much out of an Affection to me, perhaps, as for fear of the Danger they were in themselves; for they reckon'd all to be safe so long as I was among them.

It was a wonderful *Dream* I had that very Night. As I was in my Bed, my Heart sad, and my Head extremely troubled. Upon the Receipt of these Letters from my Father, I had the *Vision* of a Man at my Bed Side, and a Voice speaking to me after this Manner. *Comfort thy Heart, Good Man, and fear nothing; for all these Calamities will blow over, and only lead to thy greater Advantage and Satisfaction; not only for the Present, but likewise for the Time to come; wherefore stand firm, and remember that I told you beforehand, that you were to have a War with the Romans.* Upon waking out of this *Dream*, I got up with an Intent to go out into the Air, and I had no sooner shew'd myself at the Door toward the Plain, but a World of the *Gallilæans* Men and Women, and Children, cast themselves down upon their Faces at the Sight of me, and with Tears

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(a) *G. Assocheis.*

and Supplications besought me not to leave them in this Extremity, at the Mercy of their Enemies. When they found Prayers and Importunities would do no Good, they press'd me with Adjurations not to forsake them, and with many a heavy Curse upon the People of *Jerusalem*, that would never let them be quiet. This to me was so sad a Hearing, and so rueful a Spectacle, that it made my very Heart bleed to consider the Distress of so many Thousands of miserable Creatures, and brought me over, in the End, to a Resolution of running any Hazard whatsoever for the Service of so vast a Multitude of forlorn, harmless People: So that in the Conclusion, I was over-persuaded to stay. Upon this, I bad them draw me *five Thousand Men* out of their whole Number, and furnish them with Arms and Victuals for a March, the rest immediately to depart every Man to his own Home. So soon as *this five Thousand* was ready, I join'd them with *three Thousand* more that I had of my own, and *eighty Horse*; and so advanced with them to *Chabolo*, a Village upon the Borders of *Ptolemais* where I took up my Station, as if my Design had been to fall upon *Placidus* whom *Cestius Gallus* had sent into those Parts with a Troop of Horse and two Companies of Foot, to burn all the Villages of the *Gallileans* thereabouts. *Placidus* intrench'd himself not far from the Walls of *Ptolemais*, while I lay at the same Time a matter of sixty Furlongs toward *Chabolo*. We drew out several Times on both Sides, with a Countenance of pushing it immediately to a Battle; but there pass'd only some few Skirmishes, and that was all: For the more I press'd the bringing of it to a Combate, the more the other declin'd it; not daring to shew his Head out of Protection of the Town.

While Matters were in this Posture, *John* and his Companions came into those Parts, the Persons who as I told you, were sent to *Jerusalem* by the Faction of *Simon*, and *Ananus* the *High Priest*: And the Plot was now how to compass their Ends by Treachery, which they durst not attempt by down-right Force. To this Purpose they laid their Heads together, and sent me this following Letter.

Jonathan and his Deputy Colleagues from the Council at Jerusalem, to Joseph, Greeting.

WHereas our Principals are given to understand that *John of Gischala* hath been engaged in several perfidious Practices against your Person, they have sent me in their Name to give him

him a severe Reproof for so doing, and to require him for the future to pay all Respect and Obedience to your Commands. And to the End that we may agree upon some better Provision for the Regulation of Things hereafter; we make it our Request that you will come hither to us with all Speed; the Village is but small; and therefore we desire you will not bring any great Train along with you, for fear of being scant'd for Rooms.

This Letter was a dangerous *Dilemma* upon me: For If I trusted myself without a strong Guard, they might take me up, and use me as they pleas'd: and on the other Hand, if I marched with the Formality of Military Troops, I might be liable to be prosecuted as a Rebel. This Letter was brought me by a *Horseman*; a daring young-Man, that had been formerly in the King's Service. It was now pretty late in the Night, and being at Supper with some of my Friends, and several *Gallileans* of Quality about me, Word was brought me at the Table, of a certain *Jew* on *Horse-back*, that desir'd to speak with me; I bad he should be call'd in; and accordingly he came, and without any Manner of Respect to the Company, he deliver'd me the Letter, which he brought, he said, from the *Jerusalem-Deputies*, and it requir'd an immediate Answer: for he was to be back again presently. The Company were all amaz'd at the Confidence of the Soldier; but however I spake to him to sit down, and take Part of a Collation with us; but he excus'd himself, and so keeping the Letter in my Hand, without opening it, I took Occasion to while away Time with my Company upon Discourses by the By, and passing now and then out of the Door, as in Civility to some of the Guests that were going to Bed, I took the Opportunity, when I was out of Sight, to break up the Letter, and run it over with my Eye so as to guess at the Contents of it; and then instantly folding it up again, I held it still in my Hand, as before; without discovering that I had read it. The Company was now all gone but four intimate Friends, and a Boy to fill the Wine. I gave the Soldier *twenty Drachma's* for a Gratuity, and he was so wonderfully thankful for it, that I found the Love of Money was his weak Side, and so I resolv'd to attack him on that Quarter. Come, said I, if you will drink with us, and do as we do, you shall have a *Drachma* for every Cup you take. The Fellow was very well content to drink upon the Terms, of the more Drink the more Money, and swill'd himself so brutishly drunk, that out came the whole Mystery of the Villany, without so much as pumping; for he told me of his own Accord,

Accord, that there was a Snare laid for me, and a Sentence of Death pronounc'd against me : Upon which Discovery, I gave him this following Answer to his Letter.

Joseph to Jonathan, and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting.

I Am very glad to hear that you are in Health, and that you are come into Gallilee : and the rather, because I am disposing myself for a Journey into my own Country, which I have been a long Time thinking of ; and this will be a fair Opportunity for my delivering up the Care of the publick Administration into your Hands. I should think myself happy to wait upon you, not only at Xallo, but a great deal farther, even without any other Motive to invite me to it. But alas ! I am not now at Liberty for such a Journey, being forced to stay at Chabolo to observe the Motions of Placidus, and keep him from breaking into Gallilee ; and therefore I think it more advisable, upon the Receipt of this Letter, for you to come hither : And so I bid you farewell.

This Letter I deliver'd to the Soldier, and order'd 30 Persons of the best Quality among the *Gallilæans* to go along with him, giving them Orders only to do their Reverence to the *Deputies*, without mentioning one Word of Business : And I set one of my own Soldiers that I could best confide in, for a Spy upon each of the other, to watch them narrowly if they entertain'd any private Conversation with Jonathan. After the Departure of these People ; the *Deputies* finding that their first Plot did not Take, wrote a second Letter to me to this following Effect.

Jonathan, and his Colleagues to Joseph, Greeting.

THIS is to require you to appear within three Days from the Date hereof, before us at (a) Gabara, without any Guard of Soldiers to attend you, to make good the Charge that you have exhibited against John of Gischala.

After the Reception of the *Gallilæans*, and the Writing of this Letter, they went to Japha, one of the largest, strongest, and most populous Villages of Gallilee. They were no sooner

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enter'd

(a) Gr. Gabaroth.

enter'd the Place, but the People were all up with open Mouth, Men, Women, and Children, crying out to bid them be gone again, and to let them alone, while they were well; for they would never own any other Governour than *Joseph*. This was the Voice of the whole Multitude, one and all. So that the *Deputies* finding that was not a Place for their Turn, went their Way to *Sepphoris*, the fairest City of all *Gallilee*, and a People well affected to the *Romans*. Many of the Citizens went out of the Town indeed to receive them; but without one Word speaking of me, either good or bad: And from thence they went (a) to *Asoch*, where they had the same Entertainment as before at *Japha*. These Contempts made them so outrageous, that they order'd the Soldiers to quiet them, with Clubs and Cudgells: They went forward to *Gabara*, where they were join'd by *John* with a Body of 3000 Men to second them. Now being forewarn'd of the Practices that were a-foot against me, I drew out 3000 Soldiers, and took them along with me to *Jotapata*, some forty *Stadia* from the Place, to be within Distance of communicating upon any Occasion with the rest, which I left behind me in the Camp, under the Command of a trusty Friend. And from thence I wrote the *Deputies* this following Letter.

If you find it so absolutely Necessary for me to come to you; there are four Hundred Cities and Villages in Gallilee, name any one of the four Hundred, and I will meet you there, saving only Gabara, and Gischala; the one of them is the Place of John's Nativity; and the other of his Allyance. The *Deputies* gave over writing, upon the Receipt of this Letter, and conferr'd Notes with their Friends, *John himself* being one of the Council, how to do my Business some other Way. *John* was for sending circulatory Letters to all the Towns and Villages of *Gallilee*, upon a Presumption of finding some one or more in every Place that would be forward enough to do me any ill Office, and easily suborn'd to join in an Information against me as a publick Enemy: Now there would need no more toward the gaining of the Citizens of *Jerusalem* over to the Opinion of my being an Enemy to the *Gallileans*, than to send them these Attestations well certify'd, which would undoubtedly have put me out of Credit with that People. The Resolution being taken, *Sacchæus*, a *Deserter*, brought me a particular Account late at Night of the whole Transaction.

I found

(a) *Eis Asochin.*

I found I had now no Time to spare ; so that I call'd for *Jacob* immediately (a brave Man and my true Friend) and sent him away with 200 Men upon the Scout, betwixt *Gallilee* and *Gabara*, with Instructions to take up what Passengers he thought fit and send them to me in Custody : Especially if they had any Letters about them : And at the same Time I dispatch'd *Jeremy* (my particular Friend too) with 600 Soldiers another Way, to watch the Passes from *Jerusalem* into *Gallilee*, and with Orders to seize all *Letter Carriers*, committing the Men to Prison, and bringing me their Papers. I sent abroad my *Mandates* also through the whole Province of *Gallilee*, requiring all Persons to attend me at *Gabara* the next Morning, with their Arms and three Days Provisions. The Soldiers I had about me I distributed into four Bodies under the choicest Officers I had to command them, with a strict Order not so much as to admit a strange Face into their Company. About Eleven next Day, coming to *Gabara*, I found the whole Plain before the Town, cover'd with armed Troops out of *Gallilee*, to my Assistance ; beside a confused Multitude of Country People. Just as I was beginning to say somewhat to them, my Mouth was stop't with such Outcries of Rejoicing, that there was nothing to be heard but Shouts and Acclamations at the Sight of their Benefactor, and Preserver, as they thought fit to call me : And this was the unanimous Voice of the whole Company. I gave them my Acknowledgments for this Instance of their good Will and Respect, but desired them at the same Time to make an innocent, and a temperate Use of their Power, without wronging any Creature, either in their Persons, or their Goods. They had Provision enough I told them for the present Occasion ; and there was nothing my Heart was so much set upon, as to put an End to the Tumult without Blood.

The People I had employ'd to way-lay the Roads, had the good Fortune, the very first Day they went out, to intercept *Jonathan's Messengers* in their Way toward *Jerusalem* ; together with their *Pacquets*. They made the Men Prisoners, according to my Order, and brought me the Letters ; which I found upon the Perusal to be stuff'd with calumnious and scurrilous Invectives against myself. I took no Notice at all of the Matter, but kept on my Journey directly toward them, as if nothing had been. So soon as ever they understood I was upon my March that Way, they retir'd every Man of them, *John* and all, into the House of *Jesus* ; a large and a strong Place, and built much after the Manner of a

Cittadel. They kept a Party of Soldiers privately in the House; all the Gates shut but one, and the Guards order'd, that upon my coming thither (as they expected a Visit from me) to take me in alone, and not one Man of my Train to follow me: By which Means they made no doubt of getting me absolutely into their Power. But by great Providence, having some Light and Jealousy of the Treachery, I went immediately upon my Arrival, to a Lodging over against the House, and so the Plot was disappointed. I pretended to be weary and sleepy, and the Deputies depending upon it that I had laid myself to rest, went out into the Plain to debauch the Multitude, and to possess them with both an Envy, and a Hatred of me and my Administration. But Matters wrought quite another Way than they imagin'd; for the *Gallilæans* had no sooner got Sight of the *Deputies*, but they fell foul upon them with Clamours and Reproaches: *They had done no wrong*, they said, *and they would take none*; and so bad them begone about their Business, and meddle with what they had to do withal. *As for their Governour*; *they had a very good one already*, they said, *and him they were resolv'd to stick to*. Upon this Encouragement, I took the People in the good Humour, and went out into the Field to understand what *Jonathan* and his Complices had to say. The Multitude had no sooner set Eye on me, but they came thronging about me with all the Demonstrations of Joy, Satisfaction and Acknowledgment, in their Looks, Words, and Actions, imaginable; amplifying upon the Obligations I had laid upon them, to such a Degree, that *Jonathan* and his *Fellows* could not think themselves safe under so violent a Prejudice. They would fain have slipped away, I perceiv'd; but upon my Entreaty they stay'd; (that is to say in Truth, there was no getting off:) So that there they stood in an Amazement, like so many Stocks without Sense or Reason. Upon this, I quieted the Noise, set *Guards* of the best Men I had upon all the *Avenues* for fear of any Incurſion or Surprize; and so with my People about me in Arms, I address'd myself to the *Deputies*. I minded them in the first Place of a Letter they had sent me; pretending a Commission from *Jerusalem* to hear and determine upon certain Matters in Controversy betwixt *John*, and *myself*, producing the Letter at the same Time in proof of my Suggestion. Now put the Case, said I to *Jonathan*, that you and your Companions had any Pretence to call me to an Account for the Manage of my Government, upon *John's* Information or Complaint, would not you yourselves pronounce me In-

nocent,

nocent, upon the clear Testimony of two or three Witnesses of unquestionable Probity, in my Justification? But what will you say now, if I appeal, not only to two or three competent Vouchers; but to every Soul that is here present, whether I behav'd myself or not, both in my private Conversation, and in the Exercise of my Function, as became a Person of Honour and Justice? *As for you, good People of Gallilee, speak the Truth and the whole Truth, I adjure you, as if you were sworn Evidences in the Cause, and these Men the Judges. Pray tell them, and spare not, the worst you know of me.* The Words were hardly out of my Mouth, but the whole Multitude with one Voice and Consent made a frank open Declaration of the Comforts and Benefits they had enjoy'd under my Care and Protection, as their Benefactor and Defender; and that they were so well satisfy'd with me for what was past, that they wish'd no more than the Continuance of the same Goodness for the Time to come: Affirming also with Oaths, that I had been likewise as tender, of either offering, or suffering any Violence, upon the Persons of their Wives and Daughters, as I had been of invading the common Freedom and Propriety of the Subject. I read, after this, in the hearing of a great many *Gallileans*, the two *intercepted Letters* of *Jonathan*, that were brought me by my Scouts. They were false, scandalous and impudent, to the highest Degree, and giving me the Character of a Tyrant rather than a Governour, with a great deal of shameless Ribaldry over and above. I was not willing to let my Enemies know that I had their Messengers in Custody, for fear it should hinder them from sending that Way some other Time: So that I pretended they were brought over to me voluntarily by the Messengers themselves. The Insolence and Villany of these two Letters put the People into such a Heat and Outrage, against *Jonathan* and his *Fellows*, that they were ready to tear them to Pieces; and they had undoubtedly done Execution upon them, if I had not in the very Height of their Rage prevented it. So I gave the Deputies their Liberty, and their Pardon, both together; upon Condition that they would repent and mend; which they promis'd to do, and so I dismiss'd them to their own Homes again; bidding them speak no otherwise of my Government, than as they found it. With these Words, I gave them their Discharge: But taking for granted beforehand, that they would never do as they said. The People were so implacably bent upon the Ruin of these Men, that all the Skill and Interest I had was little enough to prevent it.

How did they beg of me, only to be turn'd loose upon them ! But when a Sedition is once a-foot, no Body knows where it will stop : So that I did what I could to divert them ; but in the Rage of this Impatience, they took up a Resolution, one and all, to fall upon *Jonathan* in his Quarters.

When I saw there was no restraining them, I took Horse immediately, and bad them follow me to *Sogane*, a Village of *Arabia*, some *forty Stadia* Distance ; and by this Artifice I escap'd the Scandal of making myself the Author of a civil War. When we were advanc'd within a little of the Place, I order'd my Troops to make an Halt ; and after a few Words of necessary Precaution to them, not to be intemperate and vindictive, I made a Cull of a Hundred of the best Men for Quality and Understanding that I could pick out of the whole Number, and bad them prepare themselves for a Journey to *Jerusalem*, with a Complaint against the seditious Heads, and Ring-leaders of these Broils. I gave them moreover in Charge, that if they found the People well-inclin'd, and easy to me, they should endeavour to procure me a new Commission for my Continuance in the Command of *Gallilee*, and to get *John* recall'd. With these Orders I dispatch'd them away on the third Day after this Meeting, and gave them 500 Soldiers for their Convoy. I wrote also to my Friends at *Samaria* to grant my Commissioners a safe and free Passage through their Country ; for the City was at that Time under the Power of the *Romans*, and this was the shortest Cutt to make a *three-Days Journey* of it to *Jerusalem*. I conducted them myself to the Frontiers of *Gallilee*, and set such Watches upon the Way, that there was little Notice of this Expedition : After which I made a short Stay at *Japha*.

Jonathan and his *Companions*, finding themselves wholly disappointed, sent back *John* to *Gischala*, and they themselves went in the mean Time to *Tiberias*, in hopes to prepossess themselves of that Place : *Jesus* being the chief *Magistrate* there, and having undertaken by Letters to bring the People over to their Interest : In Confidence of having this made good to them, they undertook their Journey. But *Silas*, my *Lieutenant* there, sent me Word from Time to Time how every Thing proceeded, and press'd me back again by all Means with what speed I could. I follow'd his Counsel, and by so doing fell into a Strait that had like to have cost me my Life,

Jonathan

Jonathan and his *Companions* having made a dangerous Faction against me in *Tiberias*, were not a little startled upon my coming thither; but gave me the Compliment however of a Visit, joying me over and over of the Reputation I had gotten in the World by the Conduct and Justice of my Administration in *Gallilee*; and not without assuming to themselves some Share in the Honour of it, both as their Fellow-Citizen, and in some sort their Disciple; professing all along that they had much a greater Kindness for me than for *John*; advising me, without any more ado, to go back again, and depend upon them for the delivering of *John* into my Hands very suddenly; and to this they bound themselves with Oaths and Imprecations, so sacred and dreadful, that I must have been a Villain not to believe them: After which, they desired me by all Means to draw-off to some other Place, suggesting, for the better Countenance of the Matter, that the *Sabbath* was coming on, and they should be very sorry to have the People fall into any Disorder on that Day. Upon this Pretence, I went my Way to *Taricheæ*, not suspecting any Thing; but yet for better Security Sake, I planted my *Spies* and *Informers* up and down in the Town to watch and hearken-out what was said and done concerning me: And I had my Agents all along the Road too from *Taricheæ* to *Tiberias*, to bring me the Intelligence. On the Day following, the People met together in the *Oratory* a Place of publick Worship, and large enough to hold a vast Number of Persons; and thither came *Jonathan* among the rest. It was a Thousand Pities, he said, that this City had no better Governours: And there he stopt; for he durst not put them down-right upon a Rebellion at first Dash: But *Jesus*, the Head-Magistrate, came a little homer to the Point, and told them, without any more Ceremony, that it was infinitely better for them to have four Rulers than One; especially if they were Men of honourable Extraction, and known Prudence, as those Persons were; pointing to *Jonathan* and his *Companions* that stood by. *Justus* was of the same Opinion too with *Jesus*; and he brought over a great many more to be of the same Mind: But the common People were so violently bent another Way, that without all Dispute, it would have come to a desperate Tumult, if the Hour of the Day had not parted them; for it was now Twelve at Noon, which is the *Sabbath Day Hour* for all our People to go to Dinner: So the *Deputies* put off the Debate till the Day following, without coming to any present Issue. Upon the first Notice of this Proceeding, which was as ear-

ly as Hands could bring it, I took up a Resolution to be going the next Morning by Break of Day toward *Tiberias*; and there did I find all the People gotten together in the fore-said *Oratory*, without so much as understanding the true Reason or Intent of that Meeting. The *Deputies* did so little expect to see me there at that Time, that the Surprize put them to a Stand what to do next; till at last it came into their Heads to raise a Sham-story of a Body of *Roman Horse*, that were seen near *Homonea* some *thirty Stadia* from the *City*. This Rumour was so improv'd, by the Inventors of it themselves, that the People were presently in an Uproar, bawling and clamouring what an intolerable Scandal it was to have their Country burnt and destroy'd under their Noses, and they to stand still all the While looking on. Now the true Intent of this *Stratagem* was to draw me out of the Town to encounter the Enemy, and in the mean Time get Possession of it themselves by turning the Hearts of the *Citizens* against me. I saw well enough what it was they aim'd at; and yet for fear of appearing less solicitous for the Good of the *Tiberians*, than I ought to be in Case I should have declin'd the Undertaking, I found myself under some kind of Necessity to comply with the very Design of my Enemies: So that I march'd away immediately to look after these Troops according to the Intelligence. But discovering upon the Place, that there was no such Body to be seen or heard of, I made all the Haste back again that was possible; and there did I find the *Senate* and the *People* close at it in *Council*; and the *Deputies* in the Middle of a bitter, tedious Inyective against myself; representing me for a Man that minded his Pleasure more than his Business, and taking no Care at all for the Defence of the Publick. Upon this Occasion, they produced four Letters, which they pretended to receive from four of the most remote Parts of *Gallilee*; setting forth the Danger they were in, and the Necessity of a present Succour. The credulous *Tiberians* swallow'd the whole Story for current, and brake out unanimously into Exclamations that it was high Time now to look about them, and to send a seasonable Relief to their Allies. Upon this Outcry, (understanding by this Time the Mystery of the Cheat) I told them that I was ready to make one which Way soever the Necessity of the War should call me; but in Regard (said I) that your Advice comes from four several Places, and four several Incursions, I am of Opinion for dividing your Army into so many Bodies; and the four *Deputies*, to Command every Man his

his *Party*: For it is the Duty of good Patriots and valiant Men, to serve their Country with their Hands, and in their Persons; at well as with their Conduct and Counsel; and it is not for me to undertake, upon this Distribution, the Command of any more than one Part of the Army. The People were all abundantly satisfy'd with the Reason of what I said, and order'd the Matter so, that the *Deputies* were forced to take their Parts in the Adventure; but mightily enrag'd, over and above, to find all their underhand, perfidious Practices defeated and countermin'd. One of the four pretended *Deputies*, whose Name was *Ananias*, (a Man of a false, venomous Nature) propounded the Indicting of a *Publick Fast* for the next Day, with a Command, that they should all meet at the same Hour, and without Arms; amplifying upon it, that they depended upon the Assistance of the Almighty, without any need of human Force. Now the Intent of this Proposal was under this Pretext of Piety, to disarm me and my Soldiers. And I was fain to comply again with this Proposition, that I might not seem to undervalue so religious a Motion.

Immediately upon the Breaking up of the Assembly, *Jonathan* and his *Colleagues* wrote in all haste to *John*, to be sure to be early with him next Morning, with all the Force he could make; for if they could but get me into their Hands once, the Business were done. The Letter came safe, and *John* made no Difficulty at all of Complying with his Orders. On the Day following, I call'd out two of the bravest trustiest Fellows I had in the Guards; accouter'd myself with a Crozier and a good Sword, as secretly as I could, and bad the Soldiers take each of them a short Sword, privately too, and follow me. This I did, that we might be in a Condition to defend ourselves, in case of any Affront. And so to the *Oratory* we went together, where I myself, and my Friends were admitted; but *Jesus* having the Guard at the Door, would not suffer so much as any one of the rest of my People to enter with me. As we were just upon the Point of Addressing ourselves to our Devotions, after our Manner of Worship; *Jesus* stood up, and ask'd me what was become of the Rich Furniture, and the Mass of Silver, that was taken away upon the Firing of the Royal Palace? Where it was to be found: And who had it in Possession? Now these were only Words thrown out to while away Time, till *John* might come up with his Army: But I told him in short, that it was all deposited in the Hands of *Capella*, and *Ten of the prime Citizens of Tiberias*: So that it was
but

but asking them whether I spake Truth or not. Whereupon, *Capella* and the rest, own'd the having of it all in their Custody. They put it to me then, what I had done with the *Twenty Pieces of Gold* that I receiv'd for the like Value in Silver that I dispos'd of? My Answer was, That I had given them to my *Envoys* that I had sent to *Jerusalem*, for the Charge of their Journey. *Jonathan* and his *Companions* reply'd, That it was very ill done, to pay my *particular Agents* out of the *Publick Treasure*. This malicious Humour of Wrangling and Cavilling, transported the common People into such an Impatience; that it fell little short of a violent Sedition; and finding how it wrought, I could not do better, I thought, than to help it forward. And so I went on telling him, that if in Truth it was ill done, (as he said it was) to gratify my Messengers out of the publick Stock, I bad him never trouble his Head any further about that Money, for I would see it repay'd. The fairer Matters appear'd on my Side, the more outrageous was the Multitude upon it, when they found the whole Story from End to End to have nothing more in it than Spite and Calumny. This fell out so contrary to Expectation, that *Jesus* order'd the Clearing of the Place of all but the *Senators*; for the Business they were about was not to be done, he said, in such a Hurry and Confusion. The People crying out on the other Side, that they were resolv'd, whatever came of it, not to leave *Joseph* alone with them. While they were in the Heat of this Clamour, in came a Messenger, and whisper'd *Jonathan* in the Ear, that *John* would be with him immediately with his Party: So that *Jonathan*, upon this Encouragement, breaking out into a most Providential Impatience; (for I had certainly been lost else) Good Men of *Tiberias*, says he, do not imagine that I would have *Joseph* punish'd for the Business of the Gold, but for Oppressing, and Imposing upon the silly Multitude in the Tyrannical Affectation, and Exercise of an Arbitrary Power. At that Word, certain *Bravo's* that were of the Plot set upon me, and had undoubtedly destroy'd me, if my Friends there upon the Place had not immediately drawn and kept them off. The common People at the same Time also threatening *Jonathan* to stone him: So that betwixt them both I was rescu'd for that Bout out of the Hands of my Enemies. Upon my Withdrawing to make my Escape, whom should I meet upon the Way but *John* with his Troops upon their March to the Assistance of *Jonathan*. The Surprise startled me, but I made a Shift however to give them the Slip by a *By-way*, and get to the Lake, where I presently

I presently took Boat, and away to *Taricheæ*: A Deliverance beyond all Expectation.

The first Thing I did after my Arrival, was, to call a Council of the chief Men of the Province, and give them the History of the barbarous Treatment I had receiv'd from *Jonathan*, and the *Tiberians*, contrary to common Faith, Humanity and Justice. This put the whole Multitude of the *Gallilæans* into such a Fury, that nothing would serve them, but immediately to declare War against *John*, *Jonathan*, and their *Companions*, and utterly to confound them: Which they themselves, they said, would undertake for, if they might but have Leave to enter upon the Work. I did what I could, by fair Means, towards the Composing of this impetuous Humour; advising them for the present, rather to respite the Matter a while, till we might see what our *Deputies* had done at *Jerusalem*; for there was no Resolution to be taken without their Approbation. With these Words they were pacify'd; and *John*, after another Baffle, went his way back again to *Gischala*.

Some few Days after this, our *Deputies* brought us this Account from *Jerusalem*, that the Government there was highly offended with *Ananus*, and *Simon* the Son of *Camaliel*, for presuming without any publick Authority, to send their Agents to remove me from my Government of *Gallilee*; and that the Commons were so incens'd at this Proceeding, that they had much ado to keep them from setting Fire to their Houses. They brought Letters also, by which the *Head Men* of *Jerusalem*, with the Authority and Consent of the People, confirm'd me in my Government, and commanded *John* and his *Associates* instantly upon the Notice of that Order, to depart the Place. Upon the Receipt of these Letters, I went to *Arbela*, where I had appointed an Assembly of the *Gallilæans*; at which Meeting my *Deputies* made a Report of what pass'd at *Jerusalem*; how heinously they resented the Influences of *Jonathan*; and thereupon sent me a Commission, ratify'd, for the Government of that Province; with a Command to *Jonathan* and his People immediately to quit their Pretences. This Order was sent them accordingly, with an express Charge to the Bearer of it, to observe their Countenances upon the Delivery of the Message. The Surprize of this Letter put them to such a Plunge, that they presently call'd a Cabinet to advise what was to be done: *John* himself and the chief Men of *Tiberias* and *Gabara*, being of the Council. The *Tiberians* were for their keeping the Power still in their own Hands, and not to abandon a People that had deliver'd themselves

themselves up to their Protection : Especially against an Enemy that threaten'd them with an Invasion, as they falsely and maliciously pretended I had done. *John* was of the same Opinion, with this Addition, that they should send two of their *Deputies* to *Jerusalem*, with a Charge of *Male-Administration* against me ; Which, betwixt the Credit of the Accusers, and variable Humour of the Men they had to do withal, could not fail, he said, of making an Impression upon the common People. The Thing, in fine, was agreed upon ; and so they sent *Jonathan* and *Ananias* soon after to *Jerusalem* upon the Commission, with a Guard of a Hundred Soldiers for their safe Passage ; the other two staying behind at *Tiberias*. The *Tiberians* fell to Work immediately upon Repairing the Walls ; betook themselves to their Arms, and sent for *John's* Troops, which were then at *Gischala* in a considerable Body, to be within Distance of Assisting them against me, if there should be any Occasion.

Jonathan and his People being now upon their March, and advanced as far as *Darabitta*, (a large Plain upon the Borders of *Gallilee*) fell about Midnight into a Party of my *Out-Guards*, who took away their Arms, and kept them Prisoners upon the Place, according to my Order. *Levi*, that commanded the Party, gave me Notice of the Encounter, which for some two Days I made no Words of ; but sent Messengers to *Tiberias*, to advise the People to lay down their Arms ; who sent me only Ribaldry and foul Language back for Answer, in Confidence that *Jonathan* was by this Time gotten to *Jerusalem*. This coarse Usage did not at all discourage me from making a further Attempt upon it, by Art and Stratagem ; For I would not for the World have made myself the *Ring-leader* of a *Civil War*. It came into my Head to try if I could inveigle them out of the Town : And so I took to the Number of some 10000 choice Men, and divided them into three Bodies : Part of them I planted privately in *Dora* : A Thousand of them in another Village upon the Mountains, some four *Stadia* from *Tiberias*, with Orders to be ready upon the first Signal to make a Sally. Upon this, I shew'd myself out of the Village within Sight of the *Tiberians*, who presently made toward me with the most Scowls and Reproaches imaginable. Nay, so extravagant was their insolent Vanity, that they had provided a *Mock-Funeral* for me in Derision, and with a fantastical Pomp of Solemnity, expos'd my Body in the Field, with my Mourners about me. But it was my Business to see, and say nothing, and to leave them to the Fate of their own Folly. I had a great mind

mind all this while to get *Simon* and *Joazar* into my Hands; and the best Way I could think of for the Gaining of my Point, was to try if I could decoy them and their Friends out of Town, with what Troops they themselves thought fit for their own Security, under the Pretence of an Expedient I had thought of for the Adjusting of all Differences, by sharing the Administration among us. *Joazar*, that was crafty and suspicious, kept himself at a Distance for fear of a Trick; but *Simon*, being weak and covetous, swallow'd the Bait, and came over to me at first Word with his Friends and his Guards about him. I receiv'd him with all becoming Respects and Acknowledgments, for the Honour he had done me; and upon walking and discoursing together a pretty while, I made it my Business to draw him off a little further from his Company, as if it had been only to be a little more private, when all on a sudden I took him up by the Middle, and sending him away by safe Hands, to the next Village. I gave the Signal at the same Time for my Men to come out to me, and so march'd away with them directly for *Tiberias*. We had a very sharp Encounter by the Way, and the Enemy fought it so hard, that I had the most to do in the World to make my People stand their Ground. But in the End however, with extreme Difficulty and Hazard, we forc'd the *Tiberians* into the Town. I had now sent another Parry by the Way of the Lake, with Order to set the first House a-fire they could come at, which being done in this Nick of Time, the *Tiberians* giving for granted that the City was taken by Force, threw down their Arms, and with their Wives and Children cast themselves at my Feet for Mercy, as a conquer'd People. Upon this Submission, I put a Stop to the Fury of the Soldiers; caus'd a Retreat to be sounded; and being now toward Evening, I withdrew to refresh myself, and sent for *Simon* to Supper with me; with this comfortable Assurance, that I would see him sent safe back again to *Jerusalem* with all Necessaries and Conveniencies for his Journey.

On the Day following, I march'd into *Tiberias* with Ten Thousand Men; call'd the Chief of the Town together into the Publick Place; examin'd the Business of the Revolt; took the Ring-leaders into Custody, and sent them all Prisoners to *Jotapata*: Saving only *Jonathan* and his Companions, whom I set at Liberty, with a Convoy of 300 Soldiers to conduct them to *Jerusalem*, and an Allowance for the Expence of the Journey. The People of *Tiberias* came to me now a second Time to beg my Pardon, with the most solemn Assurances,

rances, that they would make amends by their future Fidelity and Services, for what they had hitherto done amiss : desiring me withal, that the Pillage, which the Soldiers had taken might be restored to the right Owners. Hereupon I gave Order for the whole Booty to be forthwith brought in, and laid before me. The Soldiers, I perceiv'd, were not so forward in it as I could have wish'd : Insomuch that observing one of them finer than his Fellows, I put it to him how he came by that Habit ? The Man could not deny it to be Part of the Plunder, and so I caus'd him to be soundly cudgel'd for detaining it ; with the Menace of a greater Severity upon any Man that should afterward presume to withhold any Part of what he had taken. Upon this, the whole Booty was brought in, and every Man as far as was possible had his own again.

I must not pass over this Subject and Occasion, without taking Notice of some notorious Falsities, impos'd upon the World, and transmitted to Posterity, by (a) *Justus*, and certain other Writers that have had the Handling of this Argument : Some out of Favour ; others out of ill Will, misrepresenting the Truth of Things, and thereby turning *History* into the worst of *Forgeries*, in regard both of the Quality, and the Impunity of the Crime. Now *Justus* taking upon him to deliver an Historical Account of that War, hath lash'd out into a great many extravagant Falsities, not only to my Dishonour, but he has not spared his own Country neither ; but values himself upon those Inventions, as the Ornaments of his Story. So that I am now forced in my own Defence to lay him open, by a Discovery of certain Privacies to the World which I had hitherto conceal'd. And let it not be wonder'd at, after all, that I have put it off so long ; for tho' I look upon Truth to be peculiarly the Province and the Duty of an Historian, there may be yet some bitter Truths themselves, which a grave and a modest Author will make some Difficulty to mention, even in the Case of the worst of Men ; not for their Sakes, but for the Dignity of his Profession and Office : But to come now to my Point.

" Say *Justus*, thou that art the greatest Pretender of all Men
 " living to the good Faith of a candid Author : How was it
 " possible for me and the *Gallileans* to be the Cause of the
 " Revolt of thy Country-men, from their Prince, and from
 " the *Roman Empire* ; when you yourself, *Justus*, and your
 " *Tiberians* had already made War upon the *Decapolitans* in
 " *Syria*, and burnt their Villages ? By the Token that one of
 " your

(a) This *Justus* often quoted by *Steph. Byzant.*

" your own Servants fell in the Action : And all this before
 " ever I receiv'd my Commission from *Jerusalem* for the Go-
 " vernment of *Gallilee* ? And I do not deliver this barely up-
 " on my own Credit neither, but refer the Reader for his
 " better Satisfaction to the Memorials and Records of the
 " Emperour *Vespasian* : Wherein it will appear, that while
 " he was at *Ptolemais*, the People of *Decapolis* were still pres-
 " sing him with restless Importunities to do them Justice up-
 " on you, as the principal Promoter of all their Troubles ;
 " which he had undoubtedly done, if King *Agrippa*, to whom
 " the Care of the Execution was committed, had not given
 " you your Life upon the Mediation of his Sister *Berenice* :
 " And this Pardon did not yet hinder, but that you were
 " still kept in Prison a long Time after. Beside, that the
 " whole Course of your Life was all of a Piece, as may be
 " seen in your following Practices ; for I shall make it as clear
 " as the Sun, that it was upon your Tampering and Insti-
 " gation, that your People brake out into a Rebellion against
 " the Romans. I must now give the Reader to understand,
 " that neither you yourself, nor the rest of the *Tiberians*
 " were ever faithful ; either to your King, or to the Emperour.

" The two fairest Cities of *Gallilee*, are *Sepphoris* and *Ti-*
 " *berias* ; the latter, the Place of your Birth, *Justus* : The
 " former seated in the Middle of the Province, with several
 " Villages depending upon it ; and the People so true to
 " their Masters, that they did not only refuse me Entrance
 " into the Place ; but by a Publick Edict prohibited all their
 " Citizens from bearing Arms for the Jews. And for their
 " better Security, they trick'd me into a Promise to wall-in
 " their Town for them : Which I had no sooner done, but
 " they turn'd me off with Contempt for my Pains ; submit-
 " ting also at the same Time without any Difficulty, to a
 " Roman Garrison under *Cestius Gallus*, who was then Gover-
 " nour of *Syria* ; and this at a Season too, when I had the
 " whole Neighbourhood in Awe. Nay, so tender were they
 " of giving the least Colour for a Suspicion of their breaking
 " Faith with the Romans, that when the Temple of *Jerusalem*
 " was besieg'd, and the common Cause, and Interest of our
 " Nation at Stake upon that Action, they would not so much
 " as contribute in any Sort to their Relief. But, *Justus*, for
 " your Country, considering the Situation of it ; as it stands
 " upon the Border of the (a) Lake of *Genezareth*, some Thirty
 " Stadia from *Hippos* ; Sixty from *Gadara*, and a Hundred and
 " Twenty

(a) Gr. En te Gennesaritiidi limne.

“ *Twenty* from *Scythopolis* : Places under the King’s Allegi-
 “ ance, and none of the *Jews* Garrisons thereabouts ; (over
 “ and above that they wanted neither Men nor Arms) :
 “ What should hinder you now with all these Advantages on
 “ your Side, from discharging your Duty to the *Romans*, if
 “ you had a mind to’t ? Or supposing the Matter to be as
 “ you say, and that in Truth I was at that Time in some
 “ Measure the Cause of the War ; Who was to blame after-
 “ ward, I beseech you ? For you know very well that the
 “ *Romans* had gotten me into their Power before the Siege
 “ was laid to *Jerusalem* : *Jotapata*, and divers other *Castles*,
 “ taken by *Assault*, and great Numbers of the *Gallilæans* cut
 “ off upon several Encounters. Now if it be true, as you
 “ suggest, that the War was altogether against your Will ;
 “ and that you were driven upon it by Force, how came it
 “ to pass, that you did not lay down your Arms ; and cast
 “ yourself at the Feet of your *Prince*, and of the *Romans*,
 “ when that pretended Necessity was over ? For you were
 “ now out of Danger of any Hurt that I could do you. But
 “ you were still upon the Humour of standing it out, till
 “ *Vespasian* was advanc’d with his Army up to your very
 “ Walls : And it was then high Time for you to call for
 “ Quarter ; when you found yourself certainly ruin’d with-
 “ out it. And that Submission would not have serv’d your
 “ Turn neither, without the Intercession of the *King* to *Ves-*
 “ *pasian*, on your Behalf ; for the City had been raz’d to the
 “ very Ground if he had not obtain’d the Emperour’s Par-
 “ don for your Madness and Folly : So that your Enmity
 “ to the *Romans* was purely out of the Malice of your own
 “ Heart, without any Fault of mine. How many Times have
 “ I protected you, and had you at Mercy, without Spilling
 “ so much as one Drop of your Blood ? Whereas it is noto-
 “ riously known that in the Rage of your intestine Broils ;
 “ not in the *King’s* Cause, nor in the *Romans*, but out of a
 “ Spirit of Animosity, and Rancour one against another,
 “ you put to Death no less than a Hundred eighty five Citi-
 “ zens at a Time, when I was blockt up in *Jotapata*. Well !
 “ And were there not Two Thousand *Tiberians* kill’d and
 “ taken at *Jerusalem* ? Were you no Enemy, d’ye think,
 “ because you were at that Time with the *King* ? Not out
 “ of Love or Duty ; but because I frightened you thither. If
 “ you will needs have me to be an ill Man, pray what was
 “ *Justus* then ? A Wretch, that *Vespasian* pronounced a Sen-
 “ tence of Death upon, tho’ the Execution of it was after-
 “ wards remitted by King *Agrippa* ; twice a Prisoner ; as
 “ often

“often an *Exile*; once redeem’d from the very *Gibbet*, upon
 “the Mediation of *Berenice*, the Emperour’s Sister; and final-
 “ly, after all this, so fall to the Trust of a Secretary, which
 “he had the Honour to have conferred upon him, that his
 “Master banish’d him his Court, and his Presence for ever.
 “But *Justus*, without raking any farther into your Misde-
 “meanours, I cannot sufficiently admire the Impudence of
 “your setting up for the most perfect and exact *Historian* of
 “this War, to the Disparagement of all others; when effe-
 “ctually, you are but a mere Stranger to the whole Matter,
 “even to what has pass’d in *Gallilee* itself; for in the Time
 “of that Action, you were with the King at *Berytus*: And
 “so for the Siege of *Jotapata*, how was it possible for you to
 “make any Report of my Behaviour in that Adventure;
 “when there was not one Man left alive but myself to tell
 “you the Story. Or you will say perhaps, that the Relati-
 “on you have given of what pass’d at *Jerusalem*, may be
 “more correct. But it is a Thing hardly to be imagin’d,
 “that you, who were neither personally in the Action, nor
 “ever so much as read *Vespasian’s Commentaries* upon that
 “Part of the War, should be so well informed in the Story.
 “Now I take for granted that you never read *Vespasian*, for
 “there are several Cases wherein you do point blank contra-
 “dict him: But if you are really so vain, as to fantasie to your-
 “self that you have in this Relation out-done all Mankind;
 “how came it that we were not bless’d with the Sight of
 “this admirable Piece, while *Vespasian* or *Titus*, the Gene-
 “rals themselves, were yet *Living*? Or in the Days of *A-*
 “*grippa* and his Relations, who were all great Masters and
 “Criticks in the *Greek* Tongue? What was this History of
 “yours kept so long in the Dark for? (For it had been now
 “finish’d a Matter of *Twenty Years*) when you might have
 “had so many *Living* and *Eye-Witnesses* of the Fact, to vouch
 “for the good Faith and Credit of the Work? Why was
 “it suppress’d thus long, I say, and now publish’d at last?
 “But that you durst not stand the Test and Censure of the
 “World while so many People were yet alive that were
 “able to disprove you. Now I went quite another Way to
 “Work with my Papers, and put them into the Hands of
 “the *Emperours themselves*, that had the Government of the
 “War; and this, while all the Particulars of it were still
 “fresh in every Body’s Memory: My Conscience in fine ac-
 “quitting me, that I deliver’d the Truth without Adding or
 “Diminishing; upon which Account, my Writings have
 “received as favourable an Acceptance in the World as I
 “could

“ could desire : These Memorials I communicated to several
 “ Persons one after another that had born a Part in the War;
 “ as King *Agrippa* for one, and some certain Relations of
 “ his: Nay, *Titus himself* gave such a Testimony in Appro-
 “ bation of this History of mine, that he recommended it to
 “ the World as an Authentical Record ; and by an Order
 “ under his own Hand, Assign’d it a Place in his *Library*.
 “ King *Agrippa* was so pleased with the Integrity, and
 “ Candour of it, that he wrote me *sixty two Letters* in Con-
 “ firmation of the Credit of it : Two of them I have here
 “ subjoin’d ; to the End, *Iustus*, that the Matter may be
 “ allow’d to speak for itself.”

*King Agrippa, to his Dearest Friend, Joseph,
 Greeting.*

I Have read your Book with very great Delight, and look up-
 on it to be the most pertinent and exact Account of any I
 have yet seen. Pray send me the Remainder, and so I bid you
 Farewel, My Dear Friend.

*King Agrippa, to Joseph, his Dearest Friend:
 Health.*

UPon the Perusal of your Writings, I perceive you have
 little Need of any Thing farther that I can tell you ; on-
 ly when we meet next, I may perhaps suggest some certain
 Passages to your Consideration that have escap’d your Know-
 ledge.

This was the Testimony that King *Agrippa* gave to the
 Truth of my History ; not out of Flattery, for that was be-
 low him ; nor in a Way of Mockery or Merriment, for he
 was a Man of too much Honour, and good Faith, to be
 guilty of so ill-natur’d a Levity ; but purely out of a Desire
 to recommend the Candour and Authority of my Writings
 to Posterity, upon the Credit of so Authentick a Certificate.

This is all I have to say to *Iustus*, and it is no more than
 what I found absolutely necessary in my own Defence : So
 that I shall now return to my Text again. Where I brake
 off.

After the Quieting of *Tiberias*, I call’d a Council of my
 Friends, to advise with upon the Business of *John*, and what
 Course to be taken with him. They were all of Opinion
 for

for drawing the whole Strength of *Gallilee* into a Body, and falling upon him, as the principal Head and Author of the whole Broil and Confusion. But my Judgment was utterly against the Taking of so barbarous a Revenge; and rather to make Trial of some other way for composing the Tumult without Blood. Upon bethinking myself, this Expedient came into my Head. I gave Order for an exact List to be procur'd of the whole Faction; and having gotten the Names of the most considerable Men of *John's* Party, I publish'd an Act of *Amnesty* to all that should come in within Twenty Days, and laying down their Arms, return to their Duty: With an Assurance of Indemnity for what was past, upon their Compliance with this Edict; but for those that should stand out beyond that Time, they were to expect all the Extremities of Fire, Sword, and Pillage. This was an Invitation as well as a Menace, and wrought so effectually upon *John's* Followers, as well by Fear, as otherwise, that four Thousand of them threw down their Arms immediately, and came over to me: Only his *Fellow Citizens*, of *Gischala* stay'd behind, and *Fifteen Hundred Mercenaries* of *Tyre*. This Way of Proceeding kept *John* under such an Awe, that he durst not shew his Head after it out of his own Country.

Sepphoris was a well-wall'd Town, and the Inhabitants a sturdy Sort of People: So that betwixt their Confidence in the Strength of the Place, and the Thought of my having my Hands full elsewhere, they laid hold of this Opportunity, to betake themselves to their Arms, sending to *Cestius Gallus*, who was then Governour of *Syria*, either to come presently, and take Possession of the City himself; or to put in a Garrison sufficient to protect them. *Gallus* sent them Word back again, that he *would* come, but not *when*. Upon the Intelligence of what had pass'd betwixt them, I march'd directly up to the Place, and attack'd, and carry'd it. The *Gallileans* were willing to improve this Advantage, and reckoning upon it that the Time was now come for the taking of a thorough Revenge upon the *Sepphorites*, whom they mortally hated, they took up an outrageous Resolution of destroying, both Men, and City, in one common Ruin. The People had quitted their Habitations, and withdrawn into the Castle for Protection, while the Soldiers put Fire to the empty Houses, pillaging and rifling whatever they could lay Hand on, without any Distinction, whether Friends, Kindred, or Strangers. It wounded me to the Heart to see these barbarous Violences; inso-

much that I call'd out to the Soldiers to give over for Shame, that inhuman unnatural Way of Proceeding against Men

of *their own Tribe and Profession*. At this rate, I went on doing all I could, both by Entreaty, and by Authority, to reclaim them; but when I found their Fury so implacable, that neither the one, nor the other would work upon them, I betook myself to this Stratagem. I gave it in Charge to some of my particular Friends, to get a Report put about, as if the *Romans* had enter'd the Town on the other Side with a mighty Army; for I fancy'd to myself that such a Rumour might turn the Thoughts of the *Gallilæans* another Way; and so preserve the City. This Invention succeeded to my Wish; for the *Alarum* of an *Affault* frighted the *Gallilæans* presently from their Plunder, to shift for themselves; and their Apprehension was so much the greater, when they saw that I myself ran away too for Company.

By this Means *Sepphoris* was deliver'd beyond all Expectation; and *Tiberias*, afterward, 'scap'd every Jot as narrowly as the other. Some of the chief Senators, and Citizens of the Place apply'd themselves by Letter to the King, that he would do them the Honour to come thither in Person; and take them and the City into his Royal Protection: who sent them Word in Writing, that he would be with them out of Hand, and so dispatch'd away one *Crispus*, a Jew by Extraction, and a Gentleman of his *Bed-Chamber*, with his Answer. The *Gallilæans* had the Hap to meet *Crispus* upon the Way, and knowing the Person of the Man, took him into Custody, and brought him over to me to be examin'd. So soon as ever they came to understand the Contents of his Letters, and the Business he was going about, the whole Multitude immediately betook themselves to their Arms. I was at that Time at *Asch*, where I was importun'd next Morning by a prodigious Rabble of People gather'd together from all Quarters, with Clamours and Out-cries, that the *Tiberians* were all *Traitors*, and of the *King's Faction*. They were, in short, so furious, that nothing less than the Demolishing of the City and my giving Way to't, wou'd quiet them. The *Tiberians*, they said, were as bad, if not worse than the very *Sepphorites*. The Madness of the People I found was implacable; and as there was no Good to be done upon them by Reason, so they were too many to be deak withal by Force. As for the Letters, and the Subject Matter of them; there was no denying, or palliating of any Thing; for the King's Answer clear'd all. After I had been a good while turning my Thoughts from one Thing to another, and contriving which Way the People might be fairly brought to their Wits again, and the Place preserv'd; it came into my
Head

Head at last, to take a middle Course betwixt opposing and complying with them ; and so I reason'd the Case with them after this Manner. *The Tiberians*, said I, *are mightily to blame; and you shall have my Consent with all my Heart to make them smart for't, provided you do nothing Hand over Head; for upon a further Scrutiny you will find a Faction among the Noble Gallilæans as deep in this Plot upon your Liberties, as the Tiberians themselves. And therefore I am clearly for a little Patience, till you can get a thorough Discovery of your Enemies; and then, when you have them all in the Toil together, you may deal with them according to their Deserts.* The Multitude was so well satisfy'd with the Fairness of the Proposal, that they dispers'd upon it, without any more Noise, and went their Way in Peace.

The King's Messenger being all this while in Prison, I made a Pretence, some few Days after, of a little Business that call'd me out of Town ; and in the mean while, I sent privately for *Crispus*, and put it in his Head to fuddle his Keeper, and to try if he could give him the Slip, and make his Escape away to the King. This was the second Time that *Tiberias* was sav'd from utter Ruin by my Means.

While Matters were in this State, *Justus* the Son of *Pistus* stole away to the King. I knew nothing of his Going ; and the true Reason of it was this. Upon the Breaking out of the *Jewish War*, the *Tiberians* had resolved with themselves to stand firm to the King and the Romans. *Justus*, on the other Hand, debauch'd them into a Revolt, in the Hope and Prospect of playing his own Game in the Hurry of those Confusions, and making himself Master of the Government : But the Project did not work his Way ; for the *Gallilæans* had contracted such an Aversion to the *Tiberians* for the Affronts they had put upon them before the War, that they would never suffer *Justus* to establish himself in his Pretensions : And truly I myself, when the People of *Jerusalem* had put me into the Government of *Gallilee*, was many Times provok'd to such a Degree by the wicked Practices of this lewd Man, that I had very much ado to forbear putting him to Extremities. *Justus* was so well aware of the Danger he was in, that for fear of the worst, and not knowing how far Passion and Affronts might transport a Man under my Circumstances, he thought it his best and safest Course to withdraw, and betake himself to the King.

The late Deliverance of the *Sepphorites* was little less than miraculous ; and yet the Danger was no sooner over, but

they sent once again to *Cestius Gallus*, either to come away immediately himself, and take Possession of the Town, or else to furnish them with a Force sufficient to secure it against the In-roads of the Enemy. Upon their Importunities, *Gallus* order'd them a considerable Body of Horse and Foot, which they received into the City by Night. The Roman Horse made such Havock up and down every where, that I was fain to draw my Men to a *Rendezvous* near (a) *Garizim*, and there I encamped, a Matter of *Twenty Furlongs* from *Sepphoris*. In the Dead of the Night I gave an Assault to the Walls of the Town, which my Men mounted, and took Possession of them : So that we were for a while Masters of a good Part of the City ; but for want of Knowing the Streets and Passages, we were forced to quit what we had gotten, without pursuing the Advantage any further, than the Killing of Twelve of the *Roman Foot*, Two of their Horse, and some few of the *Sepphorites*, with the Loss only of one Man on our Side.. Soon after this, we had a sharp Encounter with the *Roman Horse*, and fought it very bravely for a long Time, till coming in the End to be over-born with Numbers, and surrounded by the Enemy, and myself in the middle of them, my Men were forced to give way in the Hurry of that Confusion. In this Action I lost *Justus*, one of my Guards, and formerly one of the King's.

There came at the same Time a Body of the King's Horse and Foot, under the Command of *Silas*, the Captain of his Guards, who encamped within a Matter of five Furlongs of *Julias*, having posted strong Parties at all the *Avenues* that lead to *Cana*, and the Castle of *Gamala*, to cut-off all Relief. Upon this, I sent out *Jeremiah* in the Head of 2000 Men to the Bank of the River *Jordan*, about a Furlong from *Julias*, where there pass'd only some slight Skirmishes, till I join'd them with 3000 more myself. On the Day following, after planting a strong Ambush in a Bottom, at a convenient Distance from the Enemy, I proffer'd the King's Troops Battle, with Orders to my Men to turn their Backs upon the first Charge, and so to fly before the Enemy till they had drawn them within reach of the *Ambuscade*. This was done accordingly ; and *Silas* taking it for a Rout in Earnest, follow'd us so far that the *Ambush* fell upon his Rear, and put the King's Troops in so great a Disorder, that upon my facing about, and charging them in the Front, they were so absolutely broken ; that if it had not been for one spiteful

(a) *Gr. Eis Garisimen.*

ful unlucky Accident, it had been the clearest Victory under the Sun; but my Horse coming over with me in a Bogg, the Fall put my Wrist out of Joint: So that I was forc'd to be carry'd off to *Cepharnome*, a Village near at Hand there, for Relief. Upon this Disaster my People fearing the Matter might be worse with me than in Truth it was, gave over the Pursuit, and apply'd themselves wholly to provide Surgeons and Physicians for me. After one Day's stay there, and falling into a Feaver too, I was remov'd that Night by the Doctor's Advice to *Taricheæ*. Upon the Intelligence of this Misfortune, *Silas* and the King's Friends took Heart again, and hearing that our Out-Guards were loose and careless, they sent away a Troop of Horse privately beyond *Jordan*, to lie in wait there for the Opportunity of a Surprize, daring us out early the next Morning to come to a Battle. My People accepted the Challenge; but upon drawing out to fight them, they fell into this Ambush of the Enemies Horse, by whom they were Charged, Routed, and put to Flight, with the Loss only of Six of our Men, who upon Information of some Troops we had that were passing by the Way of the Lake from *Taricheæ* to *Julias*, went presently off again, without daring to pursue the Victory any further.

Vespasian came a while after this to *Tyre*, with King *Agrippa* in his Company, where he was entertain'd with the most virulent Outcries and Exclamations of the People against their King that could be imagin'd. He was an Enemy and a Traitor, they said, both to the *Tyrians* and the *Romans*, and that it was by his treacherous Order and Command that his General *Philip* deliver'd up both the *Royal Palace* at *Jerusalem*, and the *Roman Garrison* there. *Vespasian* gave the *Tyrians* a severe Check for the Sauciness of so audacious a Calumny upon a Crown'd Head, and a Friend to the *Romans*; but advis'd *Agrippa* however, for Quietness Sake, to send *Philip* to *Rome* to clear himself to the *Emperour*, and he went accordingly upon that Design; but finding *Nero* in a miserable Distress by Reason of his Civil Wars, he went his way back again to *Agrippa* without seeing the Face of the *Emperour*.

Not long after this; Upon *Vespasian's* coming to *Ptolemais*, the Governours of *Decapolis* came thronging to him with grievous Complaints against *Justus* for burning their Country; who deliver'd him up to *Agrippa* to have him severely punish'd for the Injuries done his Subjects. The King upon this made him a Prisoner, without ever consulting the *Emperour* in the Matter, as is said heretofore.

The *Sepphorites* went out then to attend *Vespasian* upon the Way, and received a *Garrison* from him of his Appointment, and *Placidus* for their Governour, who was the Man I had to do withal, till the *Emperour* came into *Gallilee*, himself: But as to what concerns the Story, and the Manner of his Coming; my Retreat to *Jotapata*, after the first Encounter I had at *Taricheæ*; what I did in defence of the Place; how I came after a long Siege to be taken Prisoner; how afterwards to be set at Liberty again; and how I behav'd myself, in fine, throughout the whole Course of the *Jewish War*; These are Points that I have handled so very particularly in that Story, that there remains little more to be added upon this Subject, than some few Privacies of my own Life.

Upon the *Romans* Reducing *Jotapata*, in which Action I was taken Prisoner, under a very strict Guard, but not without great Respect from *Vespasian*; upon whose Persuasion I took to Wife a certain Virgin of *Cæsarea*, who was at that Time a Prisoner. She and I did not live long together, but upon my being set at Liberty, and entering myself in the Train of *Vespasian*, who was then going to *Alexandria*, she left me, and went her Way. I marry'd another Wife after this at *Alexandria*, from whence I was sent with *Titus* to *Jerusalem*, where my Life was several Ways, and upon several Occasions in Danger; the *Jews* lying in wait to destroy me on the one Hand, and the *Romans* on the other: For when any Thing went amiss with them, all Miscarriages were still laid at my Door, and the *Emperour* could never be quiet for the Clamours of the People to have the Traitor (meaning myself) taken out of the Way. But *Titus* (who was now declared *Emperour*) was too well read in the Humours of Men, and in the Chances of War, to give any heed to the clamorous Importunities of an impetuous Multitude: Insomuch that after the very Sacking of the City, he was so generous, as many and many a Time to offer me my Choice of whatever I had a mind to out of the general Ruins; and for a Word speaking, I should have it. But alas! in the Calamity of that inconsolable Loss and Desolation, I could find nothing worth my Asking, but the Liberty of my Countrymen and Friends, and the Possession of the *Holy Bible* in my Custody, which was immediately granted me with all the Frankness imaginable; My Brother, with a matter of Fifty of my Acquaintance, being pardon'd, and discharg'd soon after at my Request. With the *Emperour's* Leave, I went after this into the Temple, where I found shut
up

up a vast Multitude of Women and Children ; and among the rest, to the Number of about a Hundred and Ninety Persons of my Familiars and Friends, who upon my Mediation were all absolutely set free, without so much as any Sort of Condition or Ransom.

I was then sent by *Titus* with *Ceræalius* and 1000 Horse to a Village call'd *Thecoa*, to take a View of the Situation and Disposition of the Place for the Forming of a Camp there. At my coming back, there were a great many Prisoners crucify'd upon the Way, and among others, three Men with whom I had had a Friendship of a long standing. I was so surprized with this wounding Spectacle, that I went presently with Tears in my Eyes to *Titus*, and told him the Story. He had no sooner heard it, but at the same Instant he order'd the Bodies to be taken down, and all possible Means used for their Recovery. Two of them dy'd under the Surgeon's Hand, and the Third surviv'd the Experiment.

When *Titus* had settled the Affairs of *Judæa*, in a State of Order and Peace, he assign'd me a Portion of Lands at a Distance, in Exchange for others I had in the Neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. This he did out of Kindness and Respect, for he knew it would be neither commodious nor profitable for me to have my Habitation in the middle of the *Roman Troops* that were of Necessity to be quarter'd about *Jerusalem*, for the Security of the Province. The Emperour *Vespasian* did me the Honour also, upon his Return to *Rome*, to take me into the same Vessel with him; and upon his Arrival there, he was pleas'd to treat me after the most favourable and gracious Manner that could be. In the first Place, he made me free of the City, and then lodg'd me in the Palace, that he himself had liv'd in before he was Emperour. He settled upon me a yearly Pension, and kept up his Bounty and Goodness to me at the same rate, as long as he liv'd, which drew upon me the mortal Envy and Hatred of my own Nation. For there was a certain Jew, *Jonathan* by Name, that got together a Rabble of some 2000 Countrymen into an Uprore at *Cyrene*, but they were all destroy'd, and himself sent to the Emperour in Chains, by the Governour of the Province. This *Jonathan* suggested that I had assisted him toward this Tumult, with Money and Arms; but *Vespasian*, without giving any Credit to the Calumny, order'd his Head to be struck off. After this, there were several other false Practices, and envious Subornations advanced against me;

me ; but, by God's Providence, I 'scap'd them all ; and had a fair Establishment allotted me in *Judæa*, by the Bounty of *Vespasian*. About this Time, my Wife and I could not agree. I did not like her Ways, and so we parted, having had three Children by her, two of them dead, and only *Hyrcanus* living. After this Divorce, I took another Wife, by Birth a *Candian*, and by Profession a *Jew*, a Woman nobly born, and of a most exemplary Honour and Virtue. She brought me two Sons : *Justus* the elder, and *Simonides*, surnamed *Agrippa*, the other. Thus it stood with me and my Family : Beside that I was so happy as to be still in Favour with the *Cæsars*. For after the Death of *Vespasian*, *Titus* had the same Kindness for me as his Father ; and *Domitian* conferr'd upon me still greater Honours. He put to Death several *Jews* that were my Accusers, and order'd an *Eunuch-Slave*, that I made use of for my Son's Tutor, to be severely punish'd for a false Information against me. And which is yet a more honourable Mark of his singular Goodness toward me, he hath been pleas'd to grant me the Privilege of an Exemption from all Taxes and Duties for the Estate that I am possess'd of in *Judæa*. Neither have my Obligations been less in Proportion to *Domitia*, the Wife of *Cæsar*, than to the *Emperour* himself. This is in short, the History of my Life ; and the World is at Liberty to judge of my Manners by this Abstract.

But to satisfy you (most Excellent *Epaphroditus*) I need say no more at present ; having presum'd to offer and dedicate upon you the whole Body of The Jewish Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the FIRST,

[Containing the History of 2230 Years from the Creation of the World.]

CHAP. I.

The Introduction, setting forth the Sum and Scope of the whole Work.

THose People that take upon them the Office of Historians, do not all write, I perceive, with one and the same Thought and Design; but several Authors have their several Reasons for the same Undertaking; and all those Motives, at last, quite differing from one another. As there are some, for the Purpose, that write out of an Affectation of Vain Glory and Popular Applause, and an Itch of Vanity to shew their Parts. There are some again, that make it their Business to cry up such of the Actors in the Story they treat of, as they have a mind to oblige; and spare for no Study and Pains to do them Honour and Justice. There are others now, that having been actually engaged in the Menage of the Transactions they deliver, reckon themselves bound in the very Nature of the Thing itself, to communicate what they know of the Matter before them. And there are yet others, in fine, that enter upon this Province, out of a generous Impatience, to see great and glorious Achievements

chievements buried in Silence, that so well deserve to be made publick, for the common Benefit of Mankind.

It is upon the two last of these four Considerations that I have now put Pen to Paper ; for having been a Party myself to the *War* betwixt *Us* and the *Romans*, a Witness to my Cost, of what passed on both Sides in it, and consequently privy to the main Issue of that Contest ; I look'd upon it as my Duty to set forth the just Matter of Fact, and vindicate the Truth from the Falsities and Corruptions, that had crept into the Story. And I had yet a further Encouragement to the Enterprize, in a confident Assurance that it would prove an acceptable Work to the *Greeks* themselves too ; when they should find the Antiquities of our Nation, and the Form of our Government, turn'd out of *Hebrew* into their own Tongue.

At my first Entrance upon the (a) History of the War, I propos'd to speak of the Original of the *Jews* ; their various Fortunes ; and their excellent Law-giver, that train'd them up to the Love and Practice of so much Piety and Virtue ; to give an Account of their Wars, for so many Ages ; and especially that of the last, which they were forced, how unwillingly soever, to maintain against the *Romans*. But upon second Thoughts, finding the Subject too large and copious for my present Purpose, I chose rather to make another Disposition of the Matter, and to divide it.

After some short Time spent upon the Essay, it far'd with me in this, as it does commonly with other People that have great Designs in their Heads : The Prospect of so vast and voluminous a Tract of History, and that in a foreign Language too, made me so heavy and dead-hearted, that it almost repented me of my Purpose. But betwixt the Importunities of Men, curious to know the Particulars of that famous Revolution, to go forward with what I had begun ; and the Encouragements of *Epaphroditus* above the rest, who was a passionate Lover of all Sorts of polite Learning, and of History particularly, being a Person that had executed several eminent Commissions, and stood all Fortunes with an immoveable Firmness and Dignity of Mind, and without the least Blemish to his Virtue : Betwixt the one and the other I was prevail'd upon, partly out of Obedience and Respect to the Advice and Authority of so illustrious a Patron and Benefactor to all Well-willers to the Publick ; and partly

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(a) From this and other Places, especially *l. 20. c. 9.* 'tis manifest that the Author writ the *Hist. of the Wars* before the *Antiquities*.

out of meer Shame rather to ly at my Ease, droning and idle, than undergo the Pains of perfecting so glorious a Work. These Circumstances, I say, prevailed upon me to prosecute my first Project : And I did it the more chearfully, considering how freely our Ancestors imparted such Matters to Strangers, and how affectionately inquisitive several of the Greeks themselves had been of our Affairs. We read of King *Ptolemy* the second (a Prince that purchased and encouraged Books and Arts at any rate) how solicitous he was to get our Laws, Customs, and Ways of Living Translated into Greek : And *Eleazar* the High Priest (a Person not inferior to any other of the holy Order) did not think fit to deny him that Satisfaction ; which undoubtedly he would have done, if we had not been taught and warranted by the Example of our Forefathers, nor to reserve or conceal any Thing that the World may be the better for. Now I thought it might very well become me to conform to the Practice and President of our High-Priest, not doubting, over and above, but that the same virtuous Inclinations to the Love of Learning, that were then so remarkable in *Ptolemy*, might at this Time be found also in others. Let it not be understood that this great King had all the Copies given him entire ; but only such of them as respect our Laws ; and were delivered to him at *Alexandria* by the Interpreters that were sent with them thither, to that Purpose. For these sacred Writings must needs contain an infinite Diversity of Things ; being effectually a History of five Thousand Years ; full of surprising Accidents, various Chances of War, mighty Atchievements of famous Commanders, strange Turns of State, and publick Revolutions in Abundance.

But upon the main, there is one Thing that the Reader will take notice of in a more particular Manner upon the Perusal of this History ; which is, that all Things succeed happily (even beyond Belief) to those that resign themselves to the good Pleasure of Almighty God, and keep his Commandments ; beside transcendant Blessings promised them for a Reward : Whereas the Disobedient, on the other Hand, instead of prospering in their Ways, how fair and plausible soever, fall into all Sorts of Misery and Distress ; and without End, or Remedy. Wherefore I do most heartily exhort and advise the Reader of these Papers, to lead his Life in Conformity to the Will of God, and carefully to observe and attend to what *Moses* our Law-giver says of the Divine Nature ; the Agreement of all his Works, one with another ; and how clear his whole Narration is from the Levity of those Fictions.

Fictions that we meet with in other Relations. Not but that, considering the Circumstances of Time and Antiquity, he might have impos'd upon us what he would, without Danger of Contradiction : For our Story begins above 2000 Years before the Fables of the Poets were ever heard of ; and the *Pagans* themselves never had the Face to look so far backward, either for the Date of their Gods, the Actions of their Heroes, or the Ordinances of their Law-givers. I shall speak of this in what follows, and (according to my Promise) of every Thing in its proper Place, without Adding or Diminishing.

But in regard however that the Credit of the whole Story depends in a great Measure upon the Authority of what *Moses* in his Wisdom thought fit to deliver, somewhat ought to be said previously of *Moses* himself, to prevent Exceptions and Cavils ; for People will be apt to wonder at the Sight of a Book, that pretends only to Fact and History in the Title, and launches out into so many Digressions upon Natural Philosophy in the Text. Be it known therefore that this excellent Person pronounces it as a Thing absolutely necessary for any Man that would live virtuously himself, or prescribe Laws to others, to apply his Mind in the first Place to the Knowledge of God ; and then upon a due Consideration of his Works, so far as in him lies, to follow and imitate that perfect Model. Without this Care and Intention, 'tis impossible for a Law-giver to answer the Character of his Profession, neither can he make other People the better for his Writings, without teaching them in the first Place, that God is the Father and Lord of all Things ; that nothing is hid from his Sight ; that he blesteth those that serve him, and punisheth those that wander from the right Way. This was *Moses's* Method of training up his People. He did not begin after the Manner of other Rulers, with Provision for Liberty and Property ; Stipulations, Contracts, and the like ; but with a Lecture upon the Power of God in the Creation of the World, and the Excellency of Man above other earthly Creatures. And when he had once possessed them with a Reverence for Piety, they took all other laudable Impressions in Course. As for those Law-givers that have only fabulous Traditions for their Pattern and their Guide, they take a Freedom to impute to their Gods the Lewdness of the most infamous of Men, and so to authorize and encourage others in all Manner of Wickedness after their Example. But our Legislator, having first set forth that God is Virtue and Purity itself ; he tells us afterward that Men should do all they can

can to make themselves Partakers of the Holiness (in some Degree at least) of that Divine Original; concluding the Caution with a severe Sentence upon those that will neither believe nor understand these Truths.

Whoever examines this Work according to these Measures (as I wish every Reader may) will find nothing in it unreasonable, nor I hope derogatory to God's Majesty and Goodness. He will see every Thing proportion'd to the Matters that are there handled by our Law-giver: Some Things only touch'd upon, or hinted, as by the by; others illustrated by proper *Allegories*; and for those Passages that we are most concern'd to have a perfect Understanding of, they are as plain and clear as Words can make them. It would require a deep Speculation now, to enter into the particular Reasons of these different Ways of Writing; but if God gives me Life to finish what I am now upon, I purpose to make that my next Business: But for the present, I shall proceed to my History, beginning with what *Moses* tells us concerning the Creation of the World, as we find it in *Holy Writ*.

C H A P. II.

The Creation of the World in six Days. The seventh, a Sabbath, or a Day of Rest. The Forming of Adam and Eve, and why they were so call'd. Paradise planted, and Adam and Eve put into it. The Forbidden Fruit. The Serpent tempts the Woman. The Fall of Adam and Eve, and the Curse that followed it.

(a) **I**N the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth; but the Earth was not as yet visible, by reason of a thick Darkness that cover'd it. After this the Spirit of God moving over it, God commanded that there should be Light; which no sooner appear'd, but upon the View of the Mass he separated the Light from the Darkness; and the Darkness he called Night, and the Light, Day. The Beginning of the Day he called Morning, and the End of it (or the Time of Rest) Evening: And these two Terms compleated the first Day. (b) *Moses* renders it one Day, or a Day; and not the first Day, which I could give a Reason for at present; but having promised an Explanation of these Niceties in a Tract by itself,
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(a) Gen. Chap. 1.

(b) Gr. *Maſes*.

I ly under some Sort of Necessity to refer those Notes to their proper Time and Place.

On the second Day God made the Heaven, or the Firmament ; gave it the highest Place of the Universe ; divided it from the rest ; encompass'd it, as it were with Chrystal ; and temper'd the Air with so gentle a Mixture of Humidity, as might naturally resolve into Showers, for the watering and refreshing of the Earth, to make it fruitful.

On the third Day God settled the Earth, surrounding it with the Sea ; and the same Day it brought forth Plants with their Seeds, after their respective Kinds.

On the fourth Day he placed the Sun, the Moon, and the other Stars for an Ornament in the Heavens ; regulating their Motions, and their Courses, in such a Manner, as to mark out Times and Seasons.

On the fifth Day he created the Fish that swim in the Water, and the Birds that fly in the Air, and sent them forth in Couples that they might encrease and multiply, every Creature according to its Kind.

On the sixth Day God created all Sorts of Four-footed Beasts, Male and Female ; and the same Day also he made Man : So that according to *Moses*, in six Days God made the World, and all that is therein.

(a) God rested on the seventh Day, and ceased from his Labours. This is the Reason that we do no Work upon that Day ; but give it the Name of Sabbath, which, in the Hebrew, betokens Rest.

Moses, after the seventh Day, employ'd his Thoughts upon the Works and Offices of Nature : Beginning with the Creation of Man, after this Manner, God (says he) *formed Man of the Dust of the Ground ; and breathed into him the Breath of Life : so that he became a living Soul*. He says farther, that this Man was call'd *Adam*, which in Hebrew is (b) Red ; because the Earth that he was made of, in the Virginal Perfection of it, is of that Colour.

After this, God commanded all Living Creatures, Male and Female, to appear before *Adam* ; who called them all by their Names : And the Names he gave them at that Time they bear to this Day.

Adam was all this while alone, and uneasie in that Condition, for want of a suitable Companion ; there being none as yet provided for him, when all the rest of the Creatures enjoyed themselves in Pairs : So that falling into a sound Sleep,

(a) Gen. 2. (b) See this confuted by *Vossius* in his *Etymo'og.* v. *Homo*.

Sleep, God took a Rib out of him and made a Woman of it: Which he no sooner saw afterward, but he knew, and acknowledged her to be Part of himself. Now in the Hebrew they call a Woman, *Iffa*; but this Woman was call'd (a) *Eva*; that is to say, the Mother of all Living.

Moses says further also, that God planted to the Eastward a most delicious Garden, and stor'd it with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees: And among the rest, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

In this Garden he placed *Adam*, and *Eve*, and he committed the keeping and dressing of it to their Care. It was watered, and encompassed by a large River that divided itself into four Branches. The Name of the first is (b) *Pison*, (which signifies Fulness or Inundation) the Greeks call it *Ganges*; and it takes its Course into *India*, and so empties itself into the Sea. The second and the third, are *Euphrates*; the former in our Tongue, is *Phora*, (that is to say, Dispersion, or a Flower) the other we call *Diglath* (which is as much as Narrow, and Rapid) and these two discharge themselves into the Red Sea. The Name of the fourth is (c) *Gihon*, which divides *Ægypt*. The Greeks call it *Nile*, and it signifies in our Language, coming from the *East*.

Now *Adam* and *Eve* had Liberty to eat of all the Fruits of the Garden, save only that of the Tree of Knowledge; which God commanded them not to taste of, upon pain of Death. There was, as yet, a perfect Agreement among all the Creatures; and the Serpent liv'd in a kind of Familiarity with *Adam* and *Eve*; but out of an Envy to the blessed State of their Condition, in case of Obedience to God's Command; and knowing full well on the other Hand, the Misery that would befall them in case of their Disobedience; he tempted the Woman to a Taste of the Forbidden Fruit; and, to enflame her Curiosity, told her that it had a secret Virtue, to endue her, upon the eating of it, with the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and to make her as happy as God himself. Thus the Serpent seduc'd the Woman into a Violation of God's Command; and the Woman was so well pleas'd with the Taste of the Fruit, that she did not only eat of it herself, but recommended it to her Husband too, who yielded to her Persuasion. By this Time they perceived that they were both naked; (the Virtue of this Fruit having open'd their Understanding) and looking about for a Covering, they wove Fig-

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Leaves

(a) Gr. *Euea*.(b) Gr. *Phezion*.(c) Gr. *Geson*.

Leaves to hide their Shame ; accounting themselves happier then before, by this New Discovery of what they wanted.

After this, God enter'd into the Garden, when *Adam*, who had free Access to him before his Transgression, out of a Conscience of his Sin, withdrew, and hid himself. So God called to *Adam*, and ask'd him, *How it came to pass, that he, that had taken so much Delight but lately, to present himself before his Maker, should now run away from him in such a Confusion ?* *Adam's* Guilt left him not one Word to say for himself ; and so God went on speaking to him after this Manner. " There was not any Thing that your Heart could desire, to make your Life free, easie, pleasant, and happy, that I had not provided for you ready to your Hand ; both for Use and Delight ; and without any Care or Labour on your Part ; or the Inconveniences of old Age to interrupt your Enjoyments. But since you have despised my Commands, and that your Conscience leaves you nothing to say for yourself, your Days shall be shortned." *Adam* palliated the Matter as well as he could ; begg'd Pardon ; and laid the Blame upon his Wife : It was she that misled him, he said ; and the Woman cast it upon the Serpent. Whereupon, as a Punishment for *Adam's* suffering his Wife to impose upon him, God cursed the Ground, declaring, that from that Time forward, it should never bring forth Fruit more ; but what Men should extort from it by Labour, and the Sweat of their Brows : And that it should not always answer their Expectations neither. As for *Eve's* being first corrupted by the Serpent, and afterward drawing *Adam* into the same Snare, her Sentence was, *in Sorrow to bring forth Children* : And for the Punishment of the Serpent's Malice, God took from him the Benefit of Speech ; put Venom under his Tongue ; condemn'd him to the Loss of his Feet, and to crawl upon his Belly ; declar'd him the Enemy of Mankind : And commanded *Eve* also to tread upon his Head, both as the Fountain of all our Woes, and as the Part where he most easily receives a mortal Wound. After the pronouncing of these Penalties, God turn'd *Adam* and *Eve* out of the Garden.

C H A P. III.

The History of Cain and Abel. Cain murders his Brother. God calls him to Account, sets a Mark upon him, and pronounces a Curse against him for it. Cain was the Inventor of Weights and Measures. Enoch built the first City. Jubal was the Inventor of Musick. Tubalcain, of Brass and Iron-Work. Adam liv'd 930 Years. Seth and his Sons give themselves to Astronomy. Seth's Pillars.

(a) **A**DAM and Eve had two Sons; the Name of the Elder was (b) *Cain*, which by Interpretation, is *Possession*, or *Acquisition*. The second was *Abel* which signifies *Affliction*, or *Mourning*. They had Daughters also. The two Brothers were of quite different Humours. *Abel* was a righteous Man, and a Keeper of Sheep, he led a virtuous Life, and had God in his Eye, whatever he said or did: *Cain*, on the contrary, was a wicked, graceless Person; and the Inventor of Tillage. He governed himself wholly by his Interest; and finally, upon the following Account, he murder'd his own Brother. The two Brethren were agreed upon a Sacrifice to the Lord. *Cain* brought an Offering of the Fruits of the Ground; *Abel's* Offering was of the Milk and Firstlings of his Flock. The (c) latter was the more acceptable to God of the two, being only the pure Bounty and Production of Nature, whereas the other looked liker an Oblation extorted by Avarice, Industry, and Force, then a Homage of good Will. *Cain* took it so heinously to have his younger Brother prefer'd before him, that he fell upon him, and slew him, and buried the Body in Hopes of concealing the Murder. God, that knew what had passed, came upon this to *Cain*; enquir'd after his Brother, and what was become of him, for he had not been seen of several Days last past, whereas they two used to be constantly together. This Question put *Cain* at first to a little Stand, till upon Recollection, he gave for Answer, that he had not seen his Brother for a long Time himself neither, and could not imagine what should be the Reason

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son

(a) Gen. 4.

(b) Gr. *Kais*, *Kainae*.

(c) *Josephus* here commits a gross Error as has been observed by *Leo Allatius* in his Notes upon *Eustathius's* Hexaem. p. 210. and by *Cunaeus* l. 3. de Rep. Hebr. c. 1. See Dr. Patrick upon Genesis.

son of it. Upon this Pretence, the Matter was still laid closser to him; to which he had the Insolence to reply, that *he was none of his Brother's Keeper*, nor of his Council. Upon this Expostulation and Affront, God was pleased to charge him downright with his Brother's Murder; telling him how wonderful a Thing it was, that he should not be able to give any Account of his Brother, when he himself had killed him. The Fact was not to be denied, but yet upon *Cain's* Sacrifice and Submission, God was so far pacified, as to remit the immediate Justice of *Blood for Blood*; but he was pleased however to pronounce him and his Posterity *Accursed* to the *Seventh Generation*; and to banish him and his Wife out of the Land into the wide World. *Cain* was not a little terrified at this Sentence, for fear of what Mischiefs might befall him in his Wandrings; but to secure him from any Danger that way, either from Man or Beast, God set a Mark upon him to know him by, and so bid him be gone.

Cain and his Wife departed accordingly, and after a tedious Travel through several Countries, they took up at length at *Nais*, where they settled their Abode, and had divers Children; but so far was *Cain* from mending upon his Affliction, that he went rather from bad to worse; abandoning himself to his Lusts and all Manner of Outrage, without any Regard to common Justice. He enriched himself by Rapine and Violence; and made choice of the most profligate of Monsters for his Companions; instructing them in the very Mystery of their own Profession. He corrupted the Simplicity and plain Dealing of former Times, with a novel Invention of *Weights and Measures*, and exchanged the Innocence of that primitive Generosity and Candour for the new Tricks of Policy and Craft. He was the first that invaded the common Liberties of Mankind, by Bounds and Enclosers: The first that built a City, Fortified and Peopled it, which City was called (a) *Enos*, after the Name of his eldest Son.

Now *Enos* begot *Jared*, (b) *Jared* begot (c) *Mahalaleel*, *Mahalaleel* begot (d) *Methuselah*, and *Methuselah* begot *Lamech* who had Seventy seven Children by two Wives, (e) *Zillah* and *Adah*. By *Adah* he had (f) *Jabal*, the first that dwelt in Tents, and pleased himself with a Pastoral Life and Business. *Jubal*, his Brother, gave up his Mind to Music:

(a) Or *Enoch*. Gr. *Enoosla*, *Anoocha*, *Enoocha*. (b) Or *Irad*. Gr. *Iarades*, *Iaredes*. (c) Or *Mehujael*. Gr. *Maleelos*, *Maruelos*. (d) Or *Methusael*. Gr. *Mathuselas*. (e) Gr. *Zellias* and *Zilas*. (f) Gr. *Iookelos*.

sick : Infomuch, that the *Psaltery* and *Harp* were of his Invention. By his Wife *Zillah*, he had (a) *Tubalcain*, a valiant Captain, and a great Warriour, who by his Military Reputation was enabled to live both in Pleasure and Plenty. He was the first that wrought in Brass and Iron, and had a Daughter whose Name was *Naamah*. As for *Lamech*, that saw as far as any Man into the Course and Methods of Divine Justice, he could not but find himself concerned in the Prospect of that dreadful Judgment that threatned the whole Family for the Murder of *Abel*, and under that Apprehension, he brake the Matter to his two Wives.

While *Adam* was yet living, the cursed Race of *Cain* grew every Day more wicked then other, and made it their Glory, not only to imitate the foulest Examples of past Times, but also to outdo them. Their Delight was in War and Spoil, or where any of them happen'd to 'scape the Guilt of Blood, they took it out in Pride, Avarice, or something else as bad.

But to return to my Text : After the Murder of *Abel*, and the Banishment of *Cain*, *Adam*, that was now two hundred and thirty Years of Age, out of an earnest Desire of Issue, apply'd himself to the Peopling of the World. He lived seven Hundred Years more after this, and so he dy'd, leaving many Children behind him, and one among the rest that he call'd *Seth*. It would be tedious to go through the Family, and nothing to my Purpose ; so that I shall only have Occasion to mention *Seth*. This *Seth* was brought up under the Tuition of his Father, and so soon as ever he was able to distinguish betwixt Good and Evil, he deliver'd himself up wholly to the Study of Virtue. He proved a wonderful Man, and his Children were the lively Images of so excellent a Father : They were all of them well bred, and well disposed. They lived happily and peaceably, with a Respect to the Publick, and in a perfect Agreement one with another. These were the first that made their Observations upon the Motions of the Heavens, the Courses and Influences of the Stars ; and having been foretold by *Adam* of an universal Deluge, and Conflagration to come, they erected two Pillars, one of Brick and the other of Stone, which they were sure would be Proof, one or the other of them, against either Fire or Water. Upon these Pillars they engraved the Memorials of their Discoveries and Inventions, there to remain for the Benefit of Ages to come ; and lest the Tradition of the Science itself

(a) Gr. *Thobelos*.

should be lost for want of a Record. This they did, and their Foresight and Providence was not in vain, for the Stone Pillar is yet to be seen in * Syria to this very Day.

C H A P. IV.

The Wickedness of the World, and God's just Judgment upon it. The Deluge. Noah's Ark. Noah's Genealogy. The Time of the Deluge. The Ten Generations from Adam to the Flood. The Beginning and Progress of the Flood. A Raven and a Dove sent out of the Ark. Noah goes out and Sacrifices. Berofus, Damascen, &c. write of this Ark and Deluge. Noah's Prayer. Sin brought on this Judgment. God's Covenant with Noah. The Rainbow a Token of it. Noah liv'd 950 Years. The great Year.

(a) **F**OR seven Generations, Men lived in the Exercise of Virtue, and in the Love and Fear of one God, the Lord of all Things; but from thence forward they degenerated from the Ways of their Fathers, leading their Lives without any Reverence or Regard either to religious Duties, or human Justice; and taking twice as much Pains to out-strip others in Wickedness, as they had formerly done to make themselves eminent for Goodness. This abominable Impiety drew down the Wrath of Heaven upon them, and the (b) Angels of God mixing with the Women begot an insolent Race, not much unlike that of the Giants in the Greek Fables, overbearing Right with Power. (c) Noah took these impious Extravagancies so to Heart, that after several Trials, both by his Counsel and Authority, to bring them to a Reformation of their Lives, and an Amendment of their Manners; and no good to be done at last upon a Generation so incorrigibly obstinate, and abandon'd to their Lusts, finding himself and Family in manifest Danger of some mortal Violence for his Good-will; he departed out of the Land himself and all his People. This good Man was highly in the Favour of the Lord

* Gr. *Kata gen ten Siriada.* al. *Suriada.* al. *Sirida.* al. *Seriada.* See *Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr.* l. 1. c. 2.

(a) Gen. 5. 6. (b) *Lactantius* favours this Opinion, but *St. Austin* and others reject it. See *Selden de Dis Syris*, Cap. 3.

(c) Gr. *Ncoos.* al. *Noochos.*

Lord for his Integrity; but the Corruption and Iniquity of the Age cry'd out so loud to Heaven for Vengeance, that God resolv'd within himself, utterly to destroy the present Generation of Mankind, and to supply another and a better Race of Men in their Stead: But so as to (a) shorten the Term of a Man's Life from what it was before, and to bring it within the Compass of 120 Years. The Earth after this was covered with Water, and the dry Land turned effectually into a Sea, which swallow'd up all Flesh Living, *Noah* alone excepted, who 'scap'd the universal Deluge by making use of the Means which God had expressly directed and appointed him for his Preservation: That is to say, God having precaution'd him of this terrible Judgment to come, ordered him to build an (b) Ark of four Stories, the Length of it three hundred Cubits, the Breadth fifty, and the Height of it thirty; which he did accordingly, and so went into it with his Wife and Children, and their Wives; taking along with him of all living Creatures by two and two, in Pairs, Male and Female, and of some (c) seven Couples for the Conservation of the Kind; having first laid in all necessary Provisions for himself and them. His Order was to take care that the Roof, and the Sides of it might be made tight and firm against Wind and Weather: Which was also done, and by this Contrivance he and his Family were sav'd. Now *Noah* was the Tenth in Succession by a direct Line from *Adam*, being the Son of *Lamech*, *Lamech* of *Methuselah*, *Methuselah* of *Enoch*, *Enoch* of *Jared*, *Jared* of *Mahalaleel* (who had divers Brothers) *Mahalaleel* of *Cain*, *Cain* of *Enos*, *Enos* of *Seth*, and *Seth* the Son of *Adam*.

This Deluge happen'd in the second Month, which the *Macedonians* call *Dius*, the *Hebrews* *Marfaune*, according to the *Ægyptian* Division of the Year. *Moses* in his Computation makes *Nisan*, which is *Xanthicus*, the first Month, because it was in this that he brought the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, and he observes the same Account in the dating of all Things that concern the Worship of God. But for the Matter of Fairs and Markets, Trade and civil Business, he left the Account as he found it, without making any Alteration. *Noah* was six Hundred Years of Age at the Time of this Inundation. *Moses* reckons that the first Fall of Rain toward the Drowning of the World, began on the 27th Day

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of

(a) *Josephus* in this Place has misinterpreted the Scriptures, as *Cuneus* has shew'd, l. 3. de Rep. Hebr. c. 2. See *Casaubon's* Notes upon *Trebellius Pollio*; p. 219. (b) See Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. § 7.

(c) See the Notes upon the *Sibylline* Oracles, p. 127. Ed. *Gallæi*.

of the Month before said, and in the Year of the World 2256. This is according to the Calculation of Holy Writ, which gives a very exact Account of the Birth and Death of the famous Men of those Times.

Adam was 930 Years old when he dy'd, and 230 when he begot *Seth*. *Seth* was 105 when he begot *Enoch*, and he departed this Life at the Age of 905, leaving all to the Care of his Son *Cainan*, whom he had begotten in the 90th Year of his Age, and he lived to the Age of 910. *Cainan* in the Year of his Age 910, was succeeded by his Son *Mahalaleel* whom he begat at 170. This *Mahalaleel* dy'd at 895, and he left his Son *Jared* to succeed him, whom he begot at the Age of 162, and at 969 he departed this Life. His Son *Enoch* came next, who was born when his Father was 162 Years old, and after 365 Years he went to God, and was no more seen, which is the Reason that there is no Record extant of what became of him. *Methusalem* was born to *Enoch* in the 165th Year of his Age, and at the Age of 187 he had a Son born which he called *Lamech*, to whom he deliver'd up the Government that he had held for 966 Years. But when *Lamech* had been 707 Years in the Exercise of that Power, he transferred his Commission to his Son *Noah* who was born to *Lamech* in the 182d Year of his Age; and was 950 Years in the Administration. So that putting all these together, computing upon *Noah's* Age of 600 Years at the Time of the Deluge, it amounts to the just Number of 2256. But we are not so much to consider the End of these Men, as the Birth of them; for they lived to see many Generations out of their own Loins.

(a) The Time being now come, and the Signal given, God commanded the Clouds to pour forth their Waters, which they did in a violent Rain of *forty Days Continuance*; till they were 15 Cubits deep above the highest Parts of the Earth, and no Place left for any Possibility of Safety or Retreat. The Waters after this began by little and little to abate, and in 150 Days more, on the 27th Day of the 7th Month, the Ark was left aground upon the Top of a certain Mountain in *Armenia*. *Noah* perceiving this, open'd a Window, and seeing Land here and there about him, found his Heart a little more at ease, in Hopes that the worst was now past. The Water still shrinking more and more, *Noah* sent out a Raven some few Days after, to learn the State of the Deluge in other Places, and whether or no he might safely venture himself upon the Ground; but the Raven finding all in a Flood still, returned to the Ark. Whereupon *Noah* respited his

(a) Gen. 7. 8.

his Enquiry for seven Days; and then sent out a Dove for Discovery what Condition Things were in abroad, which soon after came back to him again all dirty, and with an Olive-Branch in her Mouth, giving to understand that the Danger was now over. So that at the End of seven Days more, he turn'd out all the Creatures, went forth himself with his Wife and Children; and after sacrificing to the Lord, made merry and rejoiced with his Family. The (a) *Armenians* called this Place (b) *Apobaterion*, or the Place of Descent. We read of this Deluge and the Ark, in all the Writers of *Barbarian Histories*, as in *Berosus the Chaldean* for one, who, speaking of this Flood, writes to this Effect. *They say that there are some Remainers of this Vessel to be seen upon the Mountains of the Cordyæans in Armenia to this very Day, and that several People living upon the Place scrape the Pitch off from the Planks as a Rarity, and carry it about them for an Amulet.* *Hieronymus the Ægyptian* in his *Phœnician Antiquities*, *Mnaseas* and a great many others say somewhat of this Matter too: But *Nicolaus of Damascus* in v. 96. of his History, speaks to this Purpose. *In the Province of (c) Minyas in Armenia, there is a high Mountain called (d) Baris, to which Place there fled a great many People, as the Story goes, in the Time of a Deluge for Sanctuary. There is a Tradition also, of a certain Man in a Vessel that struck upon the Top of this Mountain, and that several Pieces of the Timber were to be seen there a long Time after.* This perhaps might be the Man that *Moses* makes mention of.

Now *Noah*, in a Persuasion that God had doom'd Mankind to Destruction, lay under a mortal Dread, for fear of the same Judgment over again; and effectually that it would end in an *Anniversary Inundation*: So that he presented himself before the Lord with Sacrifices and Prayers, "Humbly beseeching God in Mercy, to preserve the Order of the World in its first Frame; to punish the Guilty, and spare the Lives of the Innocent, and not to proceed with Rigour for the Wickedness of some Particulars, to the Destruction of the whole; for otherwise, the Survivors of this Calamity would be more wretched then those that were washed away in a common Ruin: If after having suf-
fer'd

(a) See *Petavius's* Notes upon *Epiphanius*, l. 1. p. 5.

(b) That is, by a Word in that Language, which render'd into Greek is *Apobaterion*, see *Gallæus's* *Dissert. de Sybyllis*, p. 593.

(c) *Vossius* and *Berkelius* shew it should be read *Milyas*. See *Berkel.* upon *Steph.* p. 561. & *Voss. de Sibyll. Orac.* p. 253. But *Bochart.* and *Gallæus* contend for the other Reading. See *Gallæus's* *Dissert. de Sibyll.* p. 594.

(d) *Fr. Junius* for *Baris* reads *Dubaris*. See *Petavius's* Notes upon *Epiphanius*, p. 5.

“ ferr’d Horror of Thought, and the Terror of so dismal a
 “ Spectacle, they should only be delivered from one Calamity to be confounded by another. Wherefore he earnestly besought God to receive his Prayers, and his Sacrifice; to turn away his Wrath from the Earth, and the Inhabitants thereof, that they might till it, and reap the Fruits of his Bounty as formerly; build Cities, and entertain themselves with all the Comforts and Conveniences they enjoy’d before the Flood.” He pray’d also for Length of Days to himself and his Posterity; and that the Children to come might live up to the Age of their Ancestors.

The Piety and Righteousness of the Man prevail’d so far with Almighty God, that he hearkened to his Request, and told him, that it was the Wickedness of the World which drew that Judgment upon their own Heads, and that he himself was not in Truth the Author of it; for he would never have given them Life at first, with a Design, or Desire to take it away again; and it were much better not to give it at all, then to give only to take again: But says he, they have forced me upon a Vengeance by a Violation of all the holy Duties they owe me; and yet to shew you that I am not inexorable, especially upon your Mediation, I promise you that (a) I will never deal with Sinners so severely again for the future. And therefore what Storms and Tempests soever may be raised, set your Heart at rest, for you are out of Danger of another Deluge. One Thing I positively require and command, (b) keep your Hands clear of human Blood, and punish Murder with the uttermost Severity wherever you find it. As for other Creatures, whether they live upon the Earth, or swim in the Water, or fly in the Air, you are the Lords and Masters of them, and may dispose of them as you think fit, saving only as to the Blood, for in the Blood is the Life of the Creature; and for your Security now, that the Arrows of my Displeasure shall never strike Mankind again in the like dreadful Manner, I will set my Bow in the Air for a Token of my Covenant. Now the *Rainbow* with them is taken for God’s Bow. After these Commands and Promises God departed.

Noah liv’d happily and at ease three hundred and fifty Years after the Flood, so that he was nine hundred and fifty when he dy’d. Let not the vast Difference betwixt the ordinary Term of a Man’s Life before the Deluge, and the narrow

(a) Gen. 8. 9. (b) See *Selden de Synedriis Vett. Hebræorum* l. 1. c. 5. p. 34. Ed. Amstel.

row scantling we find it reduced to at this Day, be made use of as an Argument to bring the Credit of the Tradition in Question, as if because we ourselves art short-liv'd, our Ancestors must needs have been so too. In the Infancy of the World, when Men liv'd in Obedience to their Maker, it pleased Almighty God to bestow the Blessing of (a) long Life upon the Work of his own Hands: Beside that the very Way of Eating and Living did very much conduce to that End: Over and above, that Providence found it necessary for the Study and Advancement of Virtue, and for the Improvement of *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, which required at least six hundred Years (according to the Computation of the Great Year) for the making and perfecting of Observations. I have for my Justification, all the great Antiquaries that ever meddled in History, either *Greek* or *Barbarian*; as *Manetho* in his *Ægyptian Chronicle*; *Berosus* in his History of *Chaldaea*; (b) *Mochus*, *Hesliæus*; *Hieronymus* the *Ægyptian*; that have given us the Story of *Phœnicia*: And so for *Hesiod*, *Hecatæus*, *Hellanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Nicolaus*, they do all agree, that in the Primitive State of the World, some Men liv'd to the Age even of a Thousand Years. But every Man is at Liberty to think of this Matter as himself pleases.

C H A P. V.

Noah's three Sons, Shem, Japheth, and Ham, plant in Sennaar. An ignorant and a stubborn Generation. Nimrod, Noah's Grand-child, their Head and Ring-leader. The Design of the Tower of Babel ruined by a Confusion of Tongues.

(c) NOAH had three Sons, *Shem*, *Japheth*, and *Ham*, who were born about an hundred Years before the Flood. These were the first that came down from the Mountains to settle their Habitation in the Plains, and drew others after them by their Example, who till then had not the Heart to quit the Hills for fear of a second Deluge. They gave the Name of (d) *Shinar* to the first Place they planted in. But God
in

(a) See *Gallæus's* Comment on the *Sibylline Oracles*, p. 72, 73.

(b) *Gallæus*, in his Comment upon the *Sibylline Oracles*, p. 62. reads *Molus* or *Melon*, for *Mochus*.

(c) Gen. 10. and 11.

(d) Gr. *Sennaar*.

in his Wisdom order'd them to spread and divide themselves into Colonies, as the more proper Method both for Peopling the World, and preserving Men in Peace one with another : And to the End besides, that they might take their Possessions at large, and enjoy more abundantly the Fruits of the Earth. Now these People being an ignorant and a stubborn Generation, they never heeded the Divine Appointment, but continued still in the same Place, till they were overtaken by a Judgment from Heaven that gave them the Sight of their Fault in their Punishment. They came in Process of Time to be numerous and strong ; and God once again admonished and directed them as before, to disperse themselves into several Plantations ; but they went on nevertheless in their Disobedience, not only forgetting the Author of all the Blessings and good Things they were made Partakers of, but assuming to themselves the Glory of their Successes in all the Greatness they had acquired, and, which is worst of all yet, interpreting the Advice of separating themselves to be rather a Snare than a Favour, and a mere Trick of common Policy, first to disunite and weaken them, and then to bring them under the Yoke of an Oppression.

The chief Incendiary that animated the People to this insolent Contempt of God, was (a) *Nimrod*, the *Nephew* of *Ham*, who was the Son of *Noah*, a Man fierce and valiant, but of so extravagant a Vanity, that he would be often valuing himself upon it, that he had no Obligation at all to the Goodness of God for the Dignity of his present State and Reputation, but to the Power of his own Courage and Virtue. This was his Way of insinuating himself into a Tyranny, not doubting but the People might be easily brought to apostatize from God, if they could but first be prevailed upon to choose him for their Governour. And lest the Dread of another Inundation should deter them from it, he had an Expedient in his Head, he said, that would secure them from any Damage of that Quality. His Project was the erecting of a Tower to such a Height, that it should be impossible for the Waters ever to reach the Top of it : Beside the Revenge he meditated over and above, for the Loss of those that perished in the Flood. The Multitude were so unanimously satisfied with this Huff of *Nimrod*, that they began to look upon it as a Matter of high Indignity to think of living in Subjection to God any longer. Upon this, they set themselves immediately, might and main, and all
Hands

(a) *Nabroodes*, *Jos.*

Hands at Work, to the carrying on of the Design. The Height of it was to be prodigious, but the infinite Number of Labourers advanced it, even beyond Imagination. The Breadth and Thickness of it (being wonderfully firm and strong) appeared so vast at Hand, that it made the Height seem the less for it. The Materials were burnt Brick, cemented in the Joints with a pitchy Matter to make it proof against the Waters. The Madness of these People was highly provoking, especially considering the Warning they had in the Example of their Forefathers, who were all swallow'd up in an universal Flood for their Wickedness. But God was graciously pleas'd however, not to proceed to the Extremity of extinguishing Mankind once again, for their contemptuous Transgressions, but chose rather to punish them with such a Confusion of Tongues, that they should not be able to understand one another. The Place where this Tower was erected, is at this Day call'd *Babylon*, from the Confusion of Tongues, as aforesaid; *Babel* in *Hebrew* signifying as much as *Confusion*. Now as to this Tower, and this *Confusion*, the *Sibyl* makes the following mention of it. (a) "At a certain Time, (says she) when the whole World spake the same Language, the People of those Days gathered together, and rais'd a mighty Tower, which they carried up to so extravagant a Height, that it looked as if they had propos'd the Scaling of Heaven from the Top of it: But the Gods let the Winds loose upon it, which with a violent Blast beat it down to the Ground: The Builders being also judiciously struck with an utter Forgetfulness of their native Tongue, and a new unknown Language substituted instead of it, wherein not one Man of them understood his Fellow." As to *Semmar* itself, *Hestius* gives this Hint; *The Priests that survived the general Desolation, preserved the holy Things and Ornaments that were dedicated to the Worship and Service of* (b) *Jupiter the Conqueror, and carried them off to Shinar of Babylon.*

C H A P.

(a) This we have in the *Sibylline Oracles* now extant. See Dr. *Beverege's Codex Can. Vindic. c. 14.*

(b) *Gr. Enualiu Dios.*

C H A P. VI.

The Sons of Noah disperse themselves all over the Face of the Earth.

(a) UPON this Diversity of Tongues, the People were forced to disperse themselves up and down into Colonies, and so to plant and inhabit, some upon the Sea-Coasts, others in the Mid-Land; some in one Place, some in another, according to the Lot, that God in his Wisdom and Providence had assigned them: But the whole World, in fine, was to be more or less Peopled. Men came by Degrees to the Use and Knowledge of Navigation, so far at least as to make Boats, and transport themselves into Islands. They gave Appellations to the Places where they liv'd, many of them retaining to this very Day the Names of their *first Planters*. Some 'tis true are altered, others only disguised under Greek Derivations, to make them more familiar and intelligible to the People thereabouts. For the (b) Greeks being possessors of those Countries, drew to themselves in succeeding Ages, as the first Founders and Proprietors, the Honour of that Primitive Greatness, imposing upon them as they thought fit, not only Names but Laws also, Customs, and Manners to their own liking.

C H A P. VII.

Several Nations took their Names from their several Founders. The Race of Noah down to Jacob: And the Places they inhabited.

(c) NOW the Sons of Noah had Children, who, for the Honour of their Memory, call'd the People wherever they got Possession by their own Names: As *Japheth* the Son of Noah, had *seven Sons*, which planted themselves in *Asia*, from the Mountains of *Taurus* and *Amanus* to the River *Tanais*, in *Europe* to *Gades*; and the Places being not as yet Peopled, wherever they got Footing, as aforesaid, they called the Countries after their own Names. (d) *Gomer* was the Founder of those that were (e) *Gomerites* (by the Greeks at this Day (a) *Gala-*

(a) Gen. 11. (b) See Petit's Dissertation de Amazonibus, c. 41. p. 336, 337. (c) Gen. 10. (d) Gr. *Gomares*. (e) Gr. *Gomareis*.

(a) *Galatians*, (or *Gauls*) (b) *Magog* was the Head of the (c) *Magogians* (by the Greeks *Scythians*) (d) *Javan* and (e) *Madeus* were two other Sons of *Japhet*: From the latter came the *Madagans*, or the *Medes*; from the other the *Jonians*, and the whole Race of Greeks. (f) *Thobel* was the Founder of the *Thobelians*, (at this Day the *Iberians* or *Spaniards*) from (g) *Mefches* the *Mefchinians*, called afterwards *Cappadocians*, but not without some Footsteps yet of their Original in the Town of *Mazaca*, which comes near the ancient Name. (h) *Thiras* was the Head and Governour of the *Thiræans*, (which the Greeks changed afterwards for *Thracians*.) These are the Nations that were first planted by the seven Sons of *Japhet*.

Gomar again had three Sons: (i) *Aschanaxes*, from whom came the *Aschanaxians*. (The Greeks call them *Rheginians*.) (k) *Rhiphates*, the Head of the *Rhiphatæans*, (now *Paphlagonians*.) And (l) *Thygrammes*, from whom came the *Thygrammæans*, (which the Greeks call *Phrygians*.)

Javan also the Son of *Japhet* had three Sons: (m) *Alifas* the first of the *Alifæans*, (now call'd *Æolians*.) As from (n) *Tharsus*, the *Tharsians*, (afterwards called *Cilicians*,) as appears by their Celebrating of the City *Tarsus* with a Mark of Preference above all others, only turning the first Letter *Th* into a *T*. The Island that we at this Day call *Cyprus*, was at first called *Chethima* from (o) *Chethimos* the first Possessor of it. From hence it is that not only all Islands, but all Places bordering upon the Sea, are by the *Hebrews* called *Chethim*; and there is a Town in the Isle of *Cyprus*, which at this Day is called (p) *Citium* by those that for the Sound Sake will make Greek of every Thing; and it seems to have some Affinity with *Chethim*. All these Nations had the Descendents of *Japhet* for their Heads. But I have one Thing yet to say before I go any further, which perhaps the *Greeks* take no notice of. That is to say, they have gotten a Way of changing Names to tickle the Ear, and carry the Word glibber off the Tongue; but for our People, they neither allow nor practice any such Thing. The *Greeks* have turned *Noe* into (q) *Nochos*;
- but

(a) See the *Diatriba de Noë in Italiam adventu*, by Edm. Dickinson. (b) Gr. *Magooges*. (c) Gr. *Magoogas*. (d) Or *Janus* Gr. *Ioouanos*. (e) Gr. *Mades*. (f) Scr. *Tubalcain*. (g) Scr. *Mefshech*, in some Copies of *Josephus* *Moltoches*. See *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Steph. Byzant.* p. 436. (h) Scr. *Tiras*, Gr. *Theiras* & *Theres*. (i) Gr. *Aschanaxes* & *Aschanaxos*. Scr. *Ashkenaz*. (k) Scr. *Riphath*. (l) Scr. *Togarmah*. (m) Or *Elifas*. In the Script. *Elishah*. (n) Scr. *Tarshish*. (o) Scr. *Kittim*. (p) *Epiphanius* tells us that *Cyprus*, was called *Citium*. See *Meursius's Cyprus*, l. 3. c. 10. (q) Or *Noeos*.

but we keep steady to the same Form and Syllables, without so much as varying the very Termination.

The Sons of *Ham* settled themselves in *Syria*, and so to the Foot of the Mountains of *Amanus* and *Libanus*; stretching the Terms of their Jurisdiction as far as the Sea-Coast, and calling all Places under their Dominions by what Names they pleased; but a great many of them are to us utterly lost and forgotten; and others so corrupted and transformed, that they are no longer to be known. Only the *Æthiopians* have stood the Stress of Time and Accidents, without any Alteration. (a) *Chus*, one of the Sons of *Ham* was their Founder and Governour, and they bear the Name of *Chusians* to this Instant; not only among themselves, but all *Asia* over. The (b) *Mesfræans* also yet keep their old Name; for *Ægypt* quite through the Country, is called (c) *Mesfrim* still, and the *Ægyptians*, *Mesfræans*. (d) *Phutes* govern'd in *Lybia*, and gave the whole Nation the Name of *Phutians*. And we read in divers *Greek* Historians of a River in *Mauritania* of this Name, and of a Country bordering upon it which is called *Phute*; but the Name has been since changed upon the Account of *Libys*, one of the Sons of (e) *Mesfraim*. How it came to be called *Africa* we shall shew hereafter. *Chanaan* the fourth Son of *Ham* gave his Name to the Country of the *Chanaanitish*, (which is since called *Judæa*.)

They had all Children, but *Chus* the eldest Son of *Ham* had six Sons: (f) *Sabas* the Head of the *Sabæans*. (g) *Evilas* of the *Evilæans* (now called *Getulians*.) (h) *Sabathes*, of the *Sabathenians*, (with the *Greeks* *Astabarians*.) (i) *Sabaëtas*, of the *Sabaëtenians*. (k) *Ramus* was Prince of the *Ramæans*, and had two Sons; (l) *Judadas* and (m) *Sabas*. The former gave the Name and Original to the *Judadæans* in the Western Part of *Æthiopia*, the other transmitted his Name to the *Sabæans*. As for (n) *Nimrod* the sixth Son of *Chus* he stayed behind with the *Babylonians*; seized the Government by Force, and most tyrannically oppressed the People, as is already set forth.

Mesfraim was the Father of eight Sons, who made themselves Masters of the whole Tract of Land betwixt *Gaza* and *Ægypt*. *Philistim* was one of the Eight, and left his Name to his Country, that Part of it at least which the *Greeks* call *Palæstine*. (o) *Labim* erected a Colony, and gave it the Name of *Libya*:

(a) *Chusos* & *Chus*. (b) Or *Mesfræans*. (c) Or *Meltre*, or *Melre*. See *Vorstius's Miscell. Academ. C. X.* (d) *Scr. Phut*. (e) Or *Misfraim*, or *Mesfraim*. (f) *Scr. Seba*. (g) *Scr. Havilah*. (h) *Scr. Sebah*. (i) *Scr. Sabtechah*. (k) *Scr. Raamah*. *Gr. Ragmos*. (l) *Scr. Dedan*. (m) *Scr. Sheba*. (n) *Gr. Nabrodes*, or *Nebrodes*. (o) *Scr. Lehabim*.

Libya : But for the other six, that is to say, *Ludim*, (a) *Enanim*, (b) *Nedem*, (c) *Phethrosim*, (d) *Cheslem*, (e) *Chepthorim* ; we know little more of them then their Names : Their Cities and Plantations having been destroyed in the *Æthiopick* War, of which in its proper Place.

Chanaan was the Father of eleven Sons. *Sidon* built a City in *Phenicia*, which the *Greeks* call *Sidon*. *Amath* was the Founder of *Amathe*, a Place yet in Being, and by the Inhabitants called *Amathine*. Though the *Macedonians* have changed it for *Epiphania*, from one of their Kings. (f) *Aradæus* took Possession of the Island *Aradus*. *Arucæus* had the Town of *Arce* upon Mount *Libanus*. As for the other Seven, (g) *Eueus*, *Chetæus*, *Jebuseus*, [*Eudæus*,] *Sineus*, *Samaræus* and *Gergeus*, we have nothing more of them in the holy Scriptures than their Names ; the *Hebrews* having razed all their Cities for the Reasons following.

(h) So soon as the Earth began to come a little to itself again after the Flood, *Noah* fell to his Work of Cultivating the Ground, Planting of Vines, Gathering and Pressing his Grapes in their due Season : And so brought Wine into Use again. But one Day, after an Oblation to God of the first Fruits of his Vineyard, he drank so liberally of the Liquor, that he laid himself down quite senseless, and fell fast asleep, with his Nakedness in a most beastly Manner uncovered. His youngest Son seeing his Father thus shamefully exposed, call'd his Brothers in Derision to make Sport with the Spectacle : But they, out of a pious Reverence to a Parent, cast a Covering over him. *Noah* came quickly to be sensible of what had pass'd, and blessed his other Children for the good Office they had done him ; but with a bitter Imprecation upon the Posterity of *Ham* ; and this Malediction was followed upon them with a Divine Vengeance, but of this hereafter ; only observing, that *Ham* in his own Person scaped the Curse, out of *Noah's* Tenderneſs to the Nearneſs of his Blood.

Shem, another of the three Sons of *Noah*, had five Sons, and the whole Tract of *Asia* was theirs, from *Euphrates* to the *Indian Sea*. From (i) *Elam* came the (k) *Elamites*, and from them the *Persians*. (l) *Affur* was the Founder of *Nineve*, and thence came the *Affyrians* ; a rich and powerful People. From *Arphaxad*, came the *Arphaxadæans*, or our *Chaldæans*. From

I

Aram

(a) Scr. *Ananim*. (b) Or *Nethem*, or *Nepthem*. Scr. *Nephtuhim*. (c) Scr. *Pathrusim*. (d) Or *Cheſſim*, Scr. *Caſluhim*. (e) Or *Cheptham*. Scr. *Caphthorim*. (f) Or *Arudains*. (g) See *Gen.* 10. v. 15. 16. 17. 18. (h) *Gen.* 9. (i) Or *Elumos*. (k) Or *Elumaii*. (l) Gr. *Aſyras* & *Affuras*. Scr. *Aſhur*.

Aram came the *Aramæans* (The Greeks call them *Syrians*.) And from *Lud* came the *Luddians*, or our *Lydians*.

Aram had four Sons: (a) *Uz* was the Founder of *Trachonites*, and *Damascus*, which lies betwixt *Palæstine* and *Cæle-Syria*. (b) *Hull* had *Armenia*. (c) *Gether* was Prince of the *Bactrians*; and (d) *Mefas* of the *Mefanæans*, whose whole Country at present bears the Name of the Camp of *Spafinus*.

(e) *Salas* the Son of *Arphaxad* was the Father of *Heber*, according to whose Name the *Jews* were called *Hebrews*. *Heber* begot (f) *Juſta* and (g) *Phalec*: The latter was born at the Time of dividing the Land, (*Phalec* in *Hebrew* ſignifying *Partition*.) *Juſta* the Son of *Heber* had Children; (h) *Elmodad*, (i) *Saleph*, (k) *Azermoth*, (l) *Eiræes*, (m) *Edoram*, (n) *Uzal*, (o) *Declas*, (p) *Ebal*, *Abiamel*, (q) *Sabeus*, *Ophir*. (r) *Euilath*, *Jobab*. Theſe have their Habitation from the River *Cophene* in *India*, to the neighbouring Part of (s) *Syria*.

Having ſpoken already of the Sons of *Shem*, I ſhall carry my Diſcourſe forward to treat of the *Hebrews*. *Phalec* was the Son of *Heber*, and (t) *Ragaſ* the Son of *Phalec*. *Ragaſ* begat *Serug*, *Serug* begat (u) *Nachor*, and *Nachor* begat (x) *Thares* the Father of *Abraham*, the Tenth Generation from *Noah*. He was born about two Hundred ninety two Years after the Flood. *Thares* was Seventy Years of Age when he had *Abraham*, *Nachor* a Hundred and twenty when he had *Thares*, *Serug* about a Hundred thirty two when he had *Nachor*, *Ragaſ* a Hundred and thirty when he had *Serug*, and *Phalec* about the ſame Age when he had *Ragaſ*, *Heber* a Hundred thirty four when he had *Phalec*, *Salas* a Hundred and thirty when he had *Heber*, *Arphaxad* a Hundred thirty five when he had *Salas*. And this *Arphaxad* the Son of *Shem*, and the Grandſon of *Noah*, was born (y) two Years after the Flood.

Abraham had two Brothers, *Nachor* and (z) *Haran*, the latter died at * *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, where there is to be ſeen at this Day a ſepulchral Monument erected in Honour of his Memory. He left behind him his Son *Lot*, and two Daughters, *Sarah* and † *Melcha*: *Nachor* took the latter to Wife, and *Abraham* took *Sarah*.

Thares

(a) Gr. *Ouſos*. (b) Gr. *Oulos*. (c) Gr. *Gatheros* & *Getheres*. (d) Scr. *Maſh*. (e) Scr. *Salah*. Gr. *Salas*, *Sales*. (f) Scr. *Joſtan*. (g) Scr. *Peleg*. Gr. *Phalegos*, *Phalekos*. (h) Scr. *Almodad*. (i) Scr. *Sheleph*. (k) Scr. *Hazermaveth*. (l) Scr. *Jerah*. (m) Scr. *Adoram*. (n) Gr. *Aizelos*, *Ouzalis*. (o) Scr. *Diklah*. (p) Scr. *Obal*. (q) Scr. *Sheba*. (r) Scr. *Havilah*. (s) Al. *Aria*. (t) Scr. *Reu*. (u) Scr. *Nahor*. (x) Gr. *Tharres*, Scr. *Terah*. (y) In the Original 'tis twelve Years by a Miſtake. (z) Or *Aran*. * Gr. *En polei Oure toon Chaldaïcen*. Oncel. *Ura*. Eufeb. *polis Ourie*. See *Drufius in Difficil. Loc. Genef. c. 35*. † Scr. *Milcha*.

Thares the Father of *Abraham* had contracted such an Aversion to *Chaldæa*, for the Loss of his Son *Haran*, that he went away and all his Family with him to *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*, where *Thares* died and was buried in his Hundred and fifth Year. The Life of Man was now shorten'd, and God soon after reduced it to the scantling of a Hundred and twenty Years, which was the precise Age of *Moses* himself.

Nachor had by his Wife *Melcha* eight Sons, (a) *Uz*, (b) *Baux*, (c) *Camuel*, (d) *Chazad*, (e) *Azaus*, (f) *Pheldas*, (g) *Jadelphas*, and *Bathuel*. These were all the legitimate Sons of *Nachor*; but *Tabæus* and *Gaham*, (g) *Tavaus* and *Machas*, he had by *Ruma* his Concubine. *Bathuel* had a Daughter and a Son, *Rebecca* and *Laban*.

C H A P. VIII.

Abraham having no Children of his own, adopts his Nephew *Lot*; quits *Chaldæa*; and takes up his Abode in *Chanaan*.

(b) *Abraham*, having no legitimate Issue of his own, adopted *Lot*, the Son of his Brother *Aram*, and the Brother of his Wife *Sarah*. In the seventy fifth Year of his Age he left *Chaldæa*, and went away with his Family and all that belonged unto him into the Land of *Chanaan*, as God had commanded him, where he took up his Habitation, and in God's good Time left it to his Posterity. He was a Man equally wise and eloquent, of a piercing Judgment, and an universal Knowledge. He had the Reputation of an Understanding beyond other Men; and as he wanted no Skill, so he had the Courage also to attack the most daring Iniquities of the Times, and by Dint of Authority as well as of Reason, to tear up false Opinions in Religion by the Roots, and to terrify wicked Men into the Love and Fear of that God they had despised. *Abraham* was the first that adventur'd to preach up the Doctrine of *One God*, the *Almighty Maker*, and *Creator of all Things in Heaven and Earth*: And that for all the Comforts we enjoy in this World, it is to his infinite Goodness, not to any Power in ourselves, that we stand indebted for them. This he argued from the orderly Course of

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Things

(a) Gr. *Ouxos*. (b) Gr. *Boouxos*. (c) Or *Maueios*. (d) Lat. *Zacham*.
 (e) Gr. *Azaus*. (f) Gr. *Jadelphas*. Lat. *Jedlaph*. (g) Lat. *Thaas*.
 (h) Gen. 12.

Things both at Sea and Land in their Times and Seasons, and from his Observation upon the Motions and Influences of the Sun, Moon, and Stars; insomuch that without an Over-ruling and an Administring Providence to keep the Wheel agoing, the whole Frame of the Universe must drop into Confusion, and consequently that all we have to trust to, for Matters either of Pleasure, Profit, or Necessity, depends singly upon the good Will and Bounty of the first Mover: So that it is to him alone that we are to render all Honour and Thanksgiving, without assuming any Thing to ourselves.

The People of *Chaldæa* and *Mesopotamia* were ready to fly in the Face of him for this Doctrine: So that by God's Order and Assistance, he conveyed himself out of *Chaldæa* into the Land of *Chanaan*, where he established his Abode, erected an Altar to God, worshipped and offer'd Sacrifice. *Berosus* hath a Passage concerning our Father *Abraham*, though without naming him. "In the tenth Generation (*says he*) "after the Flood, there was among the *Chaldæans* a certain "great and just Man, and one that was famous for his Celestial Observations." *Hecatæus* hath gone further yet, in an historical Discourse expressly upon his Affairs. . *Nicolaus* of *Damascus* in the fourth Book of his History does also make mention of him. " *Abraham* (*says he*) though a Stranger "commanded in *Damascus*, to which Place he came with a "great Train from a Country beyond *Babylon* called *Chaldæa*; the People after a short Time rising against him: "Whereupon he and his Family went to *Chananea* (now "called *Judæa*) where he planted himself, and had a very "numerous Off-spring," of whom I shall speak further in another Book. But at *Damascus*, the very Name of *Abraham* is to this Day had in great Veneration; and there is a Village too that yet bears the Name of *Abraham's Habitation*.

C H A P. IX.

Upon a Famine in Chanaan, Abraham removes into Ægypt; and takes Sarah along with him, where he stays a while, and then returns.

(a) **T**HERE happen'd in those Days a miserable Famine in *Chanaan*: And *Abraham* understanding that at the same Time there was great Plenty in *Ægypt*, resolv'd upon a Journey thither, partly to get a share in their Abundance, and partly to consult their Priests in their Profession about Divine Matters; with an impartial Desire and Disposition to find out the Truth, and either to give or receive Satisfaction, according to the Right and Reason of the Subject in Question. *Abraham* taking *Sarah* along with him, who was a very beautiful Woman, and being informed of the unbridled Lusts of the *Ægyptians*, fell into an Apprehension of what Extremities the King perhaps might put him to upon the Account of his Wife: Wherefore he bethought himself of an Evasion in case of any Difficulty, and to say she was his Sister. Upon concerting the Point betwixt themselves, and the present Necessity consider'd, they concluded to agree in the same Tale. At his coming into *Ægypt*, it fell out as he foreboded: For the Fame of his handsome Wife was presently spread about, till it came to the Ear of *Pharaoh* the King of *Ægypt*; who was immediately enflam'd with an Impatience to see and to enjoy this Miracle of a Woman that he had heard such Wonders of, making no doubt of compassing his sordid End upon her. But in the mean while God put a Check to the Progress of his lewd Appetite, by visiting this lascivious Prince with a Plague and a Sedition both at once. In this Distress *Pharaoh* had Recourse to his Priests for Counsel and Direction; and to know what might be the Sin that brought this Judgment upon him, and what the Remedy. The Priests upon Sacrificing returned him Answer, that this Calamity was befallen him for the Violence and Abuse he design'd upon the Wife of a Stranger. This Sentence and Resolution put the King in such a Fright, that he forthwith discours'd *Sarah* upon it with all Frankness and Respect, what she herself was, and what was the Man that brought her thither. She told him in short the whole and the

plain Truth of the Story : Whereupon *Pharaoh* excused himself to *Abraham*, that he took her for his *Sister*, not for his Wife, and only desired a fair Alliance without the least Thought of any scandalous Indignity to her Person. He made *Abraham* a Present after this of a considerable Sum of Money, and gave him a Liberty of Associating with the most learned and excellent Men in his Dominions, by which means he became better known, and consequently more esteemed for his excellent Qualities and Virtue. By the Allowance of this Freedom of Conference and Communication, *Abraham* had the Means of observing all their Divisions about Rites, Ceremonies, and Opinions ; their Factions and Animosities ; and their reciprocal Contempt and Hatred one of another ; and their Disagreement about Religion : So that upon the whole Matter, he made no Difficulty of Pronouncing upon them, as Men that acted in Contradiction to themselves, as well as to one another, and without any Foundation of Truth to bottom upon. By these Discourses he gained himself infinite Credit, not only for the Solidity of his Judgment, and an admirable Felicity of Elocution ; but for his instructive Talent also of informing and convincing his Auditory both at once. He likewise read them Lectures of *Astronomy* and *Arithmetick*, which Sciences the *Ægyptians* understood nothing of till *Abraham* brought them from *Chaldæa* into *Ægypt*, and from thence they passed to the *Greeks*.

Abraham at his Return to *Chanaan*, came to a Division of Lands with *Lot*, the Shepherds having had some Wrangle about the Bounds of their Pasture. *Abraham* gave *Lot* the Choice, contenting himself with what the other left, and took up his Habitation in the City of (a) *Hebron*, which was seven Years older than *Tanis* in *Ægypt*. *Lot* planted himself in the Fields and Plains that border upon the River *Jordan*, not far from *Sodom* : Which *Sodom* was at that Time a glorious City, but since laid in Ashes by Divine Vengeance, and so totally extinguished, that the very Memory of it is destroyed from off the Earth. But of this we shall give the Reasons in their proper Place.

C H A P.

(a) Gr. *Chabro*. See *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Steph. Byzant. v. Ebron*.

C H A P. X.

The Sodomites defeated by the Assyrians, and Lot taken Prisoner.

(a) **W**HILE the Empire of *Asia* was in the Hands of the *Assyrians*, and *Sodom* in a Condition, so rich and populous, that *five Kings* (i. e. (b) *Ballas, Barsas, Senabar, Symobar*, and the King of the *Ballineans*) had the Administration of the Government, and every King absolute in his own Territory: In those Days the *Assyrians* took the Field with a mighty Army, and marched against *Sodom* in four strong Bodies, well officer'd and appointed, gave them Battle, and after a bloody Fight utterly defeated them, hereupon the *Kings* of *Sodom* became their *Tributaries*, and for twelve Years paid their Acknowledgments; but the Year following they fail'd, and forfeited. The *Assyrians* upon this advanced against them a second Time with another Army as before, under the Command of *Amraphel, Arioch*, (c) *Chodollomer*, and (d) *Thadal*; ravaged all *Syria*, subdu'd the Race of the Giants, and so enter'd the Land of *Sodom*; encamping in the Valley among the *Brimstone-Pits*, which in those Days were frequent thereabouts; but since the Destruction of *Sodom*, that Valley is turn'd into a Lake, called *Asphaltitis*, of which hereafter. This Engagement betwixt the *Assyrians* and the *Sodomites* was a terrible Encounter. There fell of the *Sodomites* great Numbers, beside the Prisoners taken, whereof *Lot* was one, who came to the Relief of the Place.

(a) Gen. 14.

(b) Scr. *Bera, Birsha, Shinab, Shemeber*, and the King of *Bela*.

(c) Scr. *Chederlaomer*.

(d) Scr. *Tidal*.

C H A P. XI.

Abraham routs and pursues the Assyrians, rescues Lot and the rest of the Prisoners. Melchisedech treats Abraham, and Abraham presents Melchisedech with a Tenth of the Spoil. God promises Abraham a Son. Abraham Sacrifices. Sarah brings Hagar to Abraham's Bed, which creates an Envy. Hagar flies and is comforted by an Angel. Ishmael born. Isaac promised. The Institution of Circumcision.

A *Abraham* had no sooner the News of the *Sodomites* Defeat, so many of his Neighbours and Friends kill'd and taken, and his Nephew *Lot* made a Prisoner, but he posted away immediately after the *Assyrians*, and the fifth Night after his setting out, surprized them in their Quarters near *Dan*, one of the Heads of the River *Jordan*, where he found them in all the Confusion imaginable, some without their Arms, others in Bed, without the least Thought of an Enemy, some drunk, some drowsie, and most of them in such a Condition that they could neither fight nor fly. In this Disorder, they put as many to the Sword as they could, and the next Day pursued the rest as far as *Choba* of *Damascus*. This may serve for an Instance, that it is not so much the Number as the Valour of the Combatants that gains the Victory; for *Abraham* had but barely three Hundred and eighteen of his own Demesticks, and three Auxiliary Friends, when he routed this numerous Army: And those few of the Enemy that escap'd, were fain to hide their Heads with Shame and Confusion. Thus (a) was *Lot* and the rest of the Prisoners set at Liberty, while *Abraham* was upon his Return to his People again with Victory and Peace.

As *Abraham* was upon his Way home again, the King of *Sodom* met him at a Place call'd the *Valley Royal* to congratulate his Success, and there he was received by *Melchisedech* the King of (b) *Selyma*, now call'd *Jerusalem*. *Melchisedech* is as much as to say a *Righteous King*, which certainly this Prince was, having been accounted worthy by common Consent to serve at the Altar as a Priest of the most high God. This *Melchisedech* treated *Abraham's* Followers and Soldiers, with great Bounty, Hospitality, and all Sorts of Refreshments;

(a) Gen. 14. and 15.

(b) Scr. *Sa'em*.

ments; extolling *Abraham* himself at the Table up to the Skies for so noble an Atchievement, and glorifying God's holy Name for the Blessing of so signal a Victory, in a Way of Thanksgiving worthy of his sacred Character. *Abraham* also on the other Hand Presented *Melchisedech* with the Tenth of the Spoils he had taken, which he accepted of. *Abraham* made an Offer of Part of the Booty to the King of *Sodom* also, whose Answer was, that he only desired to have his own People again that had been taken Prisoners by the *Affyrians*, and were now rescu'd out of their Hands; and for the rest, *Abraham* might do in the Matter as he pleased. But *Abraham* excused himself from dealing upon those Conditions, declaring that he was absolutely resolved to make no Advantage of the Booty to himself, more than to supply his Men with Provisions, and to reward his three Friends, (a) *Eshcol*, *Enner*, and *Mambres*, who had stood the Shock of the Battle.

God was so well pleased with the generous Sincerity of *Abraham*, that he assured him these good Deeds of his should never pass unrewarded. (b) *And what, good Lord, (says this holy Man then) will all thy Bounties and Rewards to come avail a Person that hath never a Child to leave them to, or an Heir to succeed him! (Abraham being as yet Childless.)* Upon this, God not only promised him a Son, but the Blessing also of a Posterity that should be as the Stars of the Heaven for Number. Upon the hearing of these Words, *Abraham* offer'd up a Sacrifice according to the express Command and Direction of Almighty God. He took a Heifer, a Goat, and a Ram, of three Years old each, a Turtle Dove, and a Pigeon: The Birds he kept whole, dividing the rest into Halves according to his Order. While the Altar was making ready, and Birds of Prey hovering up and down over the Place waiting for the Blood of the Carcases, a Voice was heard from Heaven, foretelling the Bondage that the Posterity of *Abraham* should suffer in *Ægypt* from malicious Enemies for the Space of four hundred Years, at the End of which Term they should over-run the whole Territory of the *Chanaanites* from *Ægypt* as far as *Sidon*, and make themselves Masters of all their Cities and Dominions.

(c) *Abraham* at this Time dwelt near the Oak of *Ogyge*, as they called it, a Place not far from *Hebron*, where he passed his Days very uncomfortably in the Thought of his Wives Barrenness, and the Despair of Issue: But still continuing to ply
Almighty

(a) *Scr. Eshcol, Aner, and Mamre.* (b) *Gen. 15.* (c) *Gen. 16.*

Almighty God with daily Prayers and Supplications for a Male-Child : Upon these Importunities, God not only continued his former Promise to him of a Child, but repeated an Assurance to him of all the other good Things also that he promised him upon his quitting *Mesopotamia*, so that he had very considerable Reasons for what he did.

While Things were at this Pass, *Sarah* by a particular Direction from Heaven brought *Hagar* (an *Ægyptian* Servant in the Family) to Bed to her Husband, in Hopes he might have Children by her. This Maid proving with Child, behaved herself insolently to her Mistress; upon a vain Presumption, that the Child she had in her Belly would in course be next Heir to the Government. *Abraham* was no sooner aware of this Ingratitude, but he immediately put her into *Sarah's* Hand to punish her as she thought fit ; which to the Wench was so unsupportable a Mortification, that she resolved to be gone upon't, calling upon God still to pity her in that miserable Condition. As she was upon the Way in her Flight, and passing through a Desert, an Angel from Heaven met her, and order'd her back again to the Place whence she came : Adding, that this Affliction had befallen her, only as a Punishment for her Arrogance and Unthankfulness ; and that upon her better Behaviour for the future she might find better Usage, charging her at the same Time to obey the Admonition, and to return as she loved her Life, without moving one Step further : And in case of her going back again, she should live to be the Mother of a Child that in Time should come to have the Dominion of that Country. She obey'd the Voice of the Angel, went back to her Mistress, begged her Pardon, and obtained it : And some while after this, she was delivered of *Ismael*, (which signifies *prevail'd upon*) God having heard and granted the Prayers of the Mother.

(a) *Abraham* was *Eighty six* when he had *Ismael*, and at the Age of *Ninety nine*, God appeared to him, and told him that his Wife *Sarah* should bring him a Son, with a Command to call him *Isaac*, foretelling also that mighty Kings and Nations should come out of him, and make themselves Masters by Force of Arms of the whole Land of *Chanaan*, from *Sidon* to *Ægypt*. And God commanded further for Distinction Sake, betwixt the Race of *Abraham* and other Nations, (with whom there was to be no Intermixture) that all his Posterity should be circumcised on their Privities at eight

eight Days old, not only for the Distinction aforesaid, but for some other Reasons also hereafter to be declared. *Abraham* then consulted God about the Life of *Ishmael*, and received Answer that he should live long, and be the Father of many famous Nations; whereupon *Abraham* gave God Thanks, and was immediately *Circumcised* with his whole Family, and likewise *Ishmael* who was now *Thirteen Years of Age*, and *Abraham* about *Ninety nine*,

C H A P. XII.

The Destruction of Sodom by the just Judgment of God, for the execrable Wickedness of the People.

(a) **T**HE People of *Sodom* were by this Time so puffed up in the Contemplation of their prodigious Wealth and Plenty, that they had no longer any Respect or Reverence either for God or Man. They were ungrateful for Benefits received to the highest Degree, inhospitable to Strangers, and burning in unnatural Lusts one toward another. By these provoking and abominable Sins, the Wrath of God was so highly incensed against them, that he took up a Determination to avenge himself upon them for their Arrogance and Pride, and to destroy their Cities, and lay their whole Country waste, that for the Time to come there should be no more Grass upon the Ground there, nor any Plant or Fruit for the Use of Man.

This Resolution being taken, and the Sentence passed upon the *Sodomites*, as *Abraham* was sitting one Day at his Tent-Door, under the Oak of *Mambres*, he saw *three Angels*, which to him seem'd Travellers or Strangers, coming towards him. He rose up to meet them, and so after the first Salute and Embrace, he gave them a fair Invitation to the best Entertainment his Roof could afford. They accepted of his Civility, and so his People were presently appointed to bake him a Cake, and a Calf was also killed and dressed: Which being made ready, the Treat was set before the *Angels* under the Oak where they lay. They gave him Thanks, and in Appearance fed upon it. But while the Meat was yet before them, they enquired of *Abraham* where his Wife *Sarah* was, who made Answer that she was within there in the Tent.

Upon

Upon this they stood up as to go their Way, telling *Abraham* that it would not be long before they should come that Way again, and that by that Time they should find *Sarah* a Mother. Upon these Words *Sarah* was call'd in, and could not forbear Smiling to hear them speak of her having a Child at that Time of the Day, for she herself was Ninety Years of Age, and her Husband a Hundred. When they had proceeded thus far the *Angels* cast off their Disguise, own'd what they were, and gave an Account of their Commission. One of them they said was sent to bring *Abraham* the Tidings of a Son that was to be born, and the other two were employed for the Destruction of *Sodom*. The latter struck *Abraham* for the Sake of the *Sodomites*: Insomuch that he got up and begged of God that he would be pleased not to take away the Innocent together with the Guilty. God gave him for Answer, that they were all alike, and that if there were but *Ten Righteous Men* in the whole City, he would spare all the rest for that *Ten's* Sake. After this Declaration, *Abraham* had not one Word more to say on their Behalf.

The two *Angels* departed, and went into *Sodom*, and *Lot* observing them, invited them to a Lodging in his House. Now *Lot* was naturally human, and courteous to Strangers, and the very Counterpart of *Abraham* for Piety and good Nature. But so it fell out, that some certain Ruffians of the Town, taking notice of two beautiful, graceful Persons that entered into *Lot's* House, pressed hard upon *Lot* to force their Way into his Lodgings, with a Design of attempting some violent Act of Brutality upon their Persons. *Lot* said all that was possible upon the Subject of Continence and Hospitality to divert them, nay and rather than fail offer'd them his two Daughters in exchange for the two Strangers, but this would not do neither. Upon this diabolical Outrage, God struck them upon the very Place with so judicial a Blindness, that they could not find the Way into the House, the whole People of *Sodom* being at the same Time doomed to an exemplary Perdition.

Now *Lot*, that had been forewarned of this Calamity to come, withdrew out of the City with his Wife and two Maiden, but contracted Daughters. Their Husbands (*Eleeth*, that is) were earnestly invited out along with them too, but they turned all into Ridicule, and staying behind took their Part in the general Conflagration. Then it was that God discharged the fierce Arrows of his Wrath and Vengeance upon this impious Generation: Consuming not only the City itself, and every Living Soul in it, but destroying also the whole

whole Country thereabouts with an irreparable Desolation ; as I have said already in my Commentaries upon the Wars of the Jews. The Wife of *Lot* that went out with her Husband, whether out of Curiosity, or Tenderneſs, could not forbear looking behind her, though directly contrary to the Command of God, and was turned into a Pillar of Salt. (a) I have ſeen it myſelf, and it remains to this Day.

Lot and his *Daughters* after this terrible Judgment, made a Shift to ſave themſelves in a little Corner of the Country call'd (b) *Zoar* ; (in Hebrew, *Small*) the only Place which this devouring Fire had ſpar'd. In this Retreat they led a ſolitary uneaſie Life for want both of Converſation and Proviſion. The *Daughters* looked upon themſelves in that Solitude, as in effect the only Survivors of Mankind, and therefore ſo far conſulted common Convenience in this Extremity, as to reckon any Thing warrantable that they found neceſſary, eſpecially where the Conſervation of the whole Race of Mankind was the Queſtion. On this Conſideration they contrived the putting of a Trick upon their Father, by ſtealing to Bed to him at a Time when he knew not what he did : Upon which Congreſs they both proved with Child. The Son of the *Elder* was call'd *Moab* ; (in Hebrew, *of my Father*) that of the Younger was *Ammon* ; (or *of my Race*.) The one was the Father of the *Moabites*, a mighty People yet in Being ; the other of the *Ammonites*, and they both inhabit *Cæle-Syria*. Thus it was that *Lot* made his Eſcape from the Fire of *Sodom*.

C H A P. XIII.

Of Abimelech, and likewise of Iſhmael the Son of Abraham, and the Arabians his Poſterity.

(c) **A**S for *Abraham*, he withdrew himſelf to *Gerar* in *Palæſtine*, and *Sarah* along with him, ſtill under Colour of his Siſter as before, for fear of *Abimelech* the King of the Place. Now this *Abimelech* did afterward fall in Love with her, and would have corrupted her, or attempted it at leaſt, if the Hand of God had not taken him off by a deſperate Fit of Sickneſs in the Heat of his Appetite and Deſign. So ill he
was

(a) See *Colomeſius's Obſervat. Sacr. p. 111.* & *Huetius's Alnet. Quæſt. l. 2. p. 193.* (b) *Jof. Soocr.* (c) *Gen. 20.*

was, that the Physicians despaired of his Life; and while this Distemper was upon him, he had a Caution given him in a Dream not to offer any Violence to *Sarah*, for she was the *Stranger's Wife*, not his *Sister*. *Abimelech* some short Time after, finding himself in a hopeful Way of Recovery called his Friends about him, and told them of his Passion, and of his Dream, and every Thing that had passed, with this Inference upon the whole, that his present Sickness was a Judgment upon him for an inordinate Love. Upon this, by the Advice of the People about him, he sent for *Abraham*, and gave him all Assurance that his Wives Honour was safe, for God had supported and protected her, and he did now restore her to him as unspotted as he found her, appealing to God and her own Conscience for the Truth of what he said, and protesting that if he had but known her to have been his Wife, he would never have attempted her, desiring him likewise to pass it all over, and to remember him in his Prayers to Almighty God to forgive him. He told him further, that if he had a mind to stay, he should be welcome, and abundantly provided for: Or if he had rather depart, he should have Guides and Carriages to attend him, and all Manner of Conveniences along with him, which he might have any Occasion for when he came into that Country. *Abraham*, in return to what *Abimelech* had said, did in some Sort justify the calling of *Sarah* his *Sister*, being the Daughter of his Brother, and so of the Kindred: Beside that he thought to cover himself in his Travels under that Appearance. Neither could he charge himself, he said, as the Cause of *Abimelech's* Sickness: But in Conclusion he wished him well with all his Heart, and should be glad to continue with him. Upon this Accommodation, the King very generously gave *Abraham* a Portion both of Lands and Money, contracted an Alliance with him upon Condition of a fair Correspondence betwixt them, without Fraud or Guile, and the League was struck, and Ratified at a certain Well call'd (a) *Bersabe*, (or *the Well of the Oath*) which is the Name it beareth to this very Day.

* Some little Time after this, *Sarah* brought *Abraham* a Son (as God had foretold) and they named him *Isaac*; (in Hebrew, *Laughter*) alluding to *Sarah's* Smiling at the Improbability of her having a Child at those Years, as the Angel had foretold: She herself being Ninety Years of Age, and her Husband a Hundred when *Isaac* was born. Upon the eighth Day he was *Circumcised*, and the *Jews* observe the same

(a) Gr. *Bersubai*.

* Gen. 21.

same Time and Solemnity of *Circumcision* unto this Day. The *Arabians* indeed are not *circumcised* till the Thirteenth Year, as *Ishmael* was, the Son of *Abraham* by his Concubine, and the Person from whom they had their Original. But of him more particularly in what I am about to say.

* *Sarah* had at first as tender an Affection for *Ishmael* the Son of her Servant *Hagar* as if he had been her own Flesh and Blood; besides that he was also trained up and educated with infinite Caution and Respect, as the presumptive Heir of the Government: But when *Isaac* came to be born, *Sarah* did not think it secure or reasonable, to have the two Children brought up together, for *Ishmael* was so much the Elder, that in case of *Abraham's* Death, he might find himself under some Temptation perhaps to supplant the other: So that *Sarah* for fear of this, employed all the Power she had with *Abraham*, to have both Mother and Child sent away and disposed of in some remote Country. *Abraham* at the first Motion was utterly against it, as a barbarous Cruelty to expose an innocent helpless Child, and a necessitous Mother to the wide World at that inhuman Rate: But *Abraham* at length being over-ruled by God's Command, hearkened to the Voice of his Wife, and delivered the Boy (who was not yet big enough to shift for himself) into the Arms of his Mother, gave her a Proportion of Water, and Bread for a Subsistence, and so turned them loose to seek their Fortunes. They had not travelled far before their Provisions failed them. The Water was all spent, the Child ready to perish for want of Drink, and the Woman in short at her Wits end. In this Distress, she laid the Boy down at the Foot of a Fir-Tree, and went off herself to be out of Distance of seeing so dismal a Spectacle as that would have been of her poor Child in his last Agonies. While *Hagar* was in this Anxiety and Despair, there came an Angel to her, which shew'd her a Fountain hard by, and bad her be sure to look carefully to her Charge, for it was a Matter of great Moment, and her own Happiness depended in a high Measure upon the Safety of that Child. This Consolation put the Woman somewhat in Heart again, so that she went wandering on still, till by Providence she fell into the Company of Shepherds that contributed very much to her Relief.

† When *Ishmael* was grown up to Man's Estate, his Mother married him to an *Egyptian* (being her own Country Woman)

* Gen. 21.

† Gen. 25.

Woman) who brought him *twelve Sons*, (a) *Nebaioth, Cedar, Abdeel, Mabsamas, Idumas, Masmaus, Massaus, Chodad, The-man, Jetur, Naphaiſh, Cadmas*; who had in their Possession all the Lands from *Euphrates* to the Red Sea. The Country is called *Nabathæa*: And these were they that gave both Reputation and Names to the Nation and Tribes of the *Arabians*, by their own Valour and the Dignity of *Abraham*.

C H A P. XIV.

God commands Abraham to Sacrifice his beloved Son Isaac. Isaac's Faith and Obedience, and the Blessing that attended it.

ISAAc was the only begotten Son of *Abraham*, the Child and the Blessing of his Age, and infinitely dear to him out of both those Respects. But in the mean Time, this tender Affection of the Parent's was both answered and justified by the early Piety, Virtue, and Reverence (toward God and Man) of a Child that deserved it. When *Abraham* found himself secured in the Prospect of so excellent a Successor, he was no longer solicitous for his own Life, or the Things of this World, but set up his whole Rest upon the Hope of his next Heir, with a chearful Disposition to resign his Authority and Possessions to his beloved Son, and his very Being to God and his good Pleasure. (b) But it pleased the Lord still after all this to put him to some further Trial of his Integrity, and so laying before him the great Things he had already done for him, the Victories, the Wealth, the Happiness, and the Child that he had given him: He demanded, in fine, his dear and only Son *Isaac* for a *Sacrifice*, and to be offered upon a Mountain of *Moriab*, upon an Altar there, as the uttermost Test of his Faith and Obedience. Now *Abraham*, that lov'd and honour'd God without any Conditions or Reserve, made no Difficulty of resolving without the least Scruple to deliver up the Life of his Son to the Will of his Maker, and the Author of Life itself: So that without one Word speaking to his Wife or any of his People, either of the Command, or of his Purpose, lest peradventure they might oppose him in it, he took his Son *Isaac* with two of his

(a) Gen. 25. 13, 14, 15. *Nebajoth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mibſam, Miſhma, Dumah, Maſſa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Maphiſh, Kedemah.* (b) Gen. 22.

his Servants, and an Ass laden with Necessaries for the Sacrifice, and with them set forward two Days Journey toward the Mountain. But on the third Day coming within Sight of it, he left his Servants below in the Field, and took *Isaac* alone with him up the Mountain, (upon this Mountain *David* afterward erected a Temple.) *Isaac* was now twenty five Years of Age, and taking notice as he was preparing for the Altar, that all Things were ready for the Sacrifice, but no Sacrifice to be seen, he asked his Father what Offering he intended, for he saw none. *Abraham* made Answer, that God would provide one, in whose Power it was to give to those that want, and to take away from those that have Abundance, and all for the best to them that put their Trust in God: Wherefore he might depend upon it, that God would find the Sacrifice, if he should vouchsafe to accept of an Oblation.

So soon as the Wood was laid, and every Thing ready. "My dear Son (*says he*) thou hast been the Child of many "Prayers to me, and since thy coming into the World I have "spared for nothing in thy Nurture and Education. There "is not any Happiness I have more wished for than to see "thee settled in a consummated State of Age and Reason, "and whenever God shall take me to himself, to leave thee "in Possession of my Authority and Dominions; but since "it hath been the Will of God, first to bestow thee upon "me, and now to call thee back again, My dear Son, acquit "thyself generously under so pious a Necessity. It is to "God that thou art dedicated and delivered up on this Occasion, and it is the same God that now requires thee of "me in Return for all the Blessings and Favours he hath "shower'd down upon us both in War and Peace. It is but "according to the Law of Nature, for all that are born, to "die; and a more glorious End thou canst never have than "to fall by the Hand of thine own Father, a Sacrifice to the "God and Father of the Universe, who hath rather chosen "to receive thy Soul into a blessed Eternity upon the Wing "of Prayers and ardent Ejaculations, than suffer thee to be "taken away by Sicknes, War, Passion, or any other of "the common Chances of Mankind. Consider it well, and "thou wilt find, that in that heavenly Station to which "thou art now called, thou may'st make thyself the true "Support of thy aged Father, and that instead of my Son "*Isaac*, I shall have God himself for my Guardian."

Isaac attended to all that had been said, with a Constancy and Resignation becoming the Son of so great a Father; de-

claring, that if he should not frankly deliver up that Life to God and his Father, which they themselves had given him, he had better never have been born : Nay, that it was at the Devotion even of his Father alone, if he should require it. With these Words *Isaac* advanced up to the Altar, and presented himself to the Slaughter : But upon the very Point of doing the Execution, God Almighty called aloud to *Abraham* and prevented it. “ He bad him hold his Hand, and “ spare his Son : for (*says he*) I did not require it of you out “ of any Delight I take in human Blood, or that I would “ make a Father the Assassin of that very Child which I my “ self had given him, but to see how far you would submit “ to your God, in a Self-denial to your Inclination and Na- “ ture. But now since I find your Piety to be Proof against “ all Temptations, I do here confirm over again to you all “ my former Promises. I do accept of your Sacrifice ; and “ for your Self and your Posterity, my Providence shall ne- “ ver forsake you. I will bless your Son *Isaac* with long “ Life, and make his Off-spring illustrious by a numerous “ Succession of great and virtuous Men. His Posterity shall “ give Laws to many Nations : They shall subdue the Land “ of *Chanaan* by the Sword, and their Wealth and Renown “ shall make them the Envy of the rest of the World.”

So soon as God had made an end of speaking, there appeared most unexpectedly a *Ram* for a *Sacrifice*. Upon this Surprize the Father and the Son in a Transport of Joy exchanged all Sorts of Endearments ; blessing God for his gracious Promises and infinite Goodness, and thereupon Offering up their Sacrifice. That Duty being over, they returned to *Sarah*, and lived happily after it ; for God's Blessing went along with them in whatever they did.

C H A P. XV.

The Death of Sarah.

(a) IT was not long after this when *Sarah* dy'd, being a Hundred twenty and seven Years of Age. She was buried in *Hebron*, and the *Chanaanites* would have given her the Solemnity of an Interment, but *Abraham* chose rather to buy

buy a *Burying-Place* for himself and his Family, which he did of one *Ephraim* an Inhabitant of *Hebron*, at the Price of four Hundred *Shekels*, where the Monuments of himself and divers of his Posterity are yet to be seen.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Abraham, and his Wife Chetura, and their Posterity. Isaac marries Rebecca.

* **A**FTER the Death of *Sarah*, *Abraham* took to Wife *Chetura*, by whom he had six Sons, Men of Industry and Wisdom, their Names were (a) *Zembran*, *Jazar*, *Madan*, *Madian*, *Jozubac*, and *Suus*.

Suus had two Sons, *Sabathan* and *Dadan*, who had *Latusim*, *Affur*, and *Luom*. *Madian* had five Sons, (b) *Epha*, *Opher*, *Enoch*, *Ebidas*, and *Eldas*.

These People, upon *Abraham's* Advice, dispersed themselves into Colonies; and took Possession of the Country of the *Troglodytes*, and that Part of *Arabia Felix* which looks toward the *Red Sea*. There is a Report that this same *Opher* enter'd *Lybia* with a strong Army, and over-ran the Country. His Successors held it after him, and gave it the Name of *Aphrica*. *Alexander Polyhistor* speaks much to this Purpose, when he says that *Cleodemus* the Prophet (otherwise called *Malchus*) in a History of the *Jews*, that he has written after the Manner of *Moses* their Law-giver, makes mention of several Children that *Abraham* had by *Chetura*, and three by Name; i. e. *Apheran*, *Surim*, and *Japhran*. The *Syrians* taking their Names from *Surim*; and the City of *Aphra* and *Aphrica* theirs from *Japhran* or *Apheran*. These are the People that are said to have fought against *Lybia* and *Antæus* under the Command of *Hercules*. And the Story goes, that this *Hercules* married the Daughter of *Aphra*, and had by her *Dedor* the Father of *Sophon*, from whence the barbarous *Sophaces* took their Name.

K 2

Isaac

* Gen. 25.

(a) Scr. *Zimran*, *Jokshan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Ishbak* & *Shuah*. And *Jokshan* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*. And the Sons of *Dedan* were *Asturim*, and *Letushim*, and *Leummim*. And the Sons of *Midian*; *Epha*, and *Epher*, and *Hanoch*, and *Abidah*, and *Eldaah*: All these were the Children of *Keturah*.

(b) Gr. *Ephas*, *Ophren*, *Anochoch*, *Ebidas*, *Eldas*.

Isaac was at this Time about forty Years of Age, when his Father had some Thoughts of Marrying him to *Rebecca* the Daughter of *Bathuel*, who was the Son of his Brother *Nachor*. The Resolution being taken to attempt that Match, he sends the most try'd and trusty Servant he had on the Errand; but first gives him his Oath in Form, to be true to his Trust, which was perform'd by putting his Hand under his Thigh, according to the Custom of the Country. This being done, he gives him his Commission and Instruction, with full Power and Authority to treat and conclude; furnishes him with choice and rich Presents, and Necessaries for his Journey, and so sets him forward. His Way lay through *Mesopotamia*, which, betwixt Dirt in the Winter, want of Water in the Summer, and the inevitable Danger of Robbers, if People be not very wary, is a lewd and an incommodious Passage for Travellers. But yet after all these Difficulties, he came at last to *Charran*, where, upon entring the *Suburbs*, he saw a great many Maiden Creatures trooping to the Wells for Water: Upon which Sight, he put up a mental Prayer to God Almighty, desiring that if Heaven approved of the Match he came about, he might find *Rebecca* in that Company; and further, that he might know which was she, by her giving him Water upon his desiring it, and the rest refusing. This Thought ran in his Head till he came to the Well, where the Virgins being gotten together, he begged of them one by one to bestow the Charity of a Sup of Water upon him. One said, she had taken a great deal of Pains to get it, and could not part with it so easily; another, that she drew Water for herself, and not for other People; some had one Excuse, some another, but all upon the Negative, till at last, one single Virgin took up her Companions for want of good Nature and Civility to a Stranger, and asked them whether they had been brought up among reasonable Creatures or Brutes; that could deny a Stranger the common Rights of Hospitality for so small a Matter: Whereupon she herself, with great Courtesie and Fairness, gave the Stranger to drink. This was as auspicious an Entrance upon his Business as he could have wish'd: But yet for Sureness Sake, after the Prologue of a decent Respect to the Person of the Virgin, and a Declaration how much he was beholding to her for the Pains she took to oblige a Stranger, he came by Degrees to the more necessary Point of enquiring into her Family and Extraction, blessing the happy Parents of so gracious a Daughter, with a thousand Prayers that they might live to bestow her where she should enjoy all the Com-
fo rts

forts of a married Estate in the Love of a kind virtuous Husband, and in a numerous Stock of obedient Children. *Rebecca*, without any Ceremony at all, spoke frankly to his Question. "My Father's Name (*says she*) was *Bathuel*; but "he dy'd a long Time since, and left my Mother and my "self, with the whole Family and Fortune, under the Care "of a Brother of mine yet living, whose Name is *Laban*, "and mine *Rebecca*." The Man was overjoy'd at what he had heard and seen, being now fully assured that God would prosper his Journey. Upon this, he took out a Chain, and some other ornamental Curiosities, that Women of *Rebecca's* Age are commonly well enough pleased with, and made the Virgin a Present of them; both as an Instance of Esteem for her singular Goodness, and as an Acknowledgment of the particular Obligation she had laid upon him. He made it his Request then, that for that Night he might be permitted to lodge with the Family of her Relations; for it grew late, and would be ill Travelling further; beside that he had a Charge of rich Jewels with him, which he could not think any where safer than in the Hands of Persons of so approv'd an Integrity: For he presumed to make a Judgment of the Honour and Justice of the Mother and Son, by the Goodness that he had experimented in herself; adding further, that he hoped there would be no Scruple made of Entertaining a Lodger, that would bear his own Charge, without any Expence or Burden to the Family. The Maid reply'd, that he was much in the right to think well of the Humanity of her Relations; but she desir'd him however to have a better Thought of their Generosity; for it should cost him nothing: But she would nevertheless, *she said*, ask her Brother's Leave to introduce him. Which was soon granted, and done accordingly. He was no sooner brought in, but *Laban's* Servants were order'd to look to his Camels, and himself taken in to Supper with the Master of the House. The Guest, when that was over, address'd himself to the Son and the Mother of the Family after this Manner. "I am come hither " (*says he*) from *Abraham*, the Son of *Thares*, and your Kins- "man; for *Nachor* (*directing to the Woman*) the Grandfather "of your Children was *Abraham's* Brother by the same Fa- "ther and Mother. This *Abraham* is my Master, and from "him I am come now, with a Commission to propose a Mar- "riage betwixt this Virgin here, and his only Legitimate Son "and Heir. He could have had his Choice of the most con- "siderable Matches in his own Country, but out of a Pre- "ference to those of his own Blood, he has rather made this

" Election. Pray do not oppose it, for God himself hath appeared in favour of it ; and it was a strange Direction from Heaven that brought me both to this Virgin, and to your House ; over and above several propitious Circumstances in my Journey. As I was coming into this Town, I saw a great many Maidens going to fetch Water, when I pray'd in my Heart that I might find this very Virgin ; and Providence brought me to her : So that this Marriage is as good as made in Heaven already, and wants only your *Authority to confirm it.*" This Proposal was so advantageous, and desirable in itself, and so evidently agreeable to the Will of God, that *Rebecca* was deliver'd up to the Servant upon the Conditions of the Treaty, who carry'd her home with him to *Isaac*, being now the Lord and Master of *Abraham's* Possessions ; for the Children that *Abraham* had by *Chetura* were gone to plant in other Provinces.

C H A P. XVII.

The Death of Abraham.

* *A* *Braham* liv'd but a short Time after the Marriage of *Isaac* : A Man famous for his Piety and Virtue, and beloved both of God and Man. His Age was 175 Years when he dy'd. He was bury'd at *Hebron*, and laid by his Wife *Sarah* ; *Isaac* and *Ishmael* taking upon them the Care of his Burial.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Birth of Esau and Jacob. Esau's Wives. Isaac sends him a Hunting ; but being in Years, and Dim-sighted, Jacob personates and supplants Esau ; and the Father blesses one for the other.

S OON after the Decease of *Abraham*, *Isaac's* Wife was found to be with Child : And her Bigness so extraordinary, that *Isaac* in great Trouble besought God to reveal unto him the Meaning of it. He received for Answer, that she should bring

* Gen. 25.

bring forth Twins, and that (a) from those two Twins, two Nations should descend of their own Names; and that in Time, the Younger should be the greater of the Two. This fell out accordingly not long after; for *Rebecca* had Twins; the Elder of them all hairy from Head to Foot, and the other catching him by the Heel as he was coming into the World. The Elder was the Father's Darling, and his Name *Esau* or *Seir*, (the Word in *Hebrew* signifies *Hair*) and the Younger, whose Name was *Jacob*, the Mother's.

(b) There happen'd in those Days to be a terrible Famine in the Land of *Chanaan*, and at the same Time great Plenty of every Thing in *Aegypt*; whither *Isaac* would fain have gone; but God diverted him, and so he went to *Gerar*. King *Abimelech* treated him there at first with all Appearance of Respect imaginable, even upon the Score of that ancient League of Friendship and Alliance that had formerly passed betwixt himself and *Abraham*. But this was too hot to hold, in a Man that sacrificed all other Considerations to his Envy. He found that *Isaac* was more in God's Favour than himself, and so turn'd him off. *Isaac* perceived that this Change of Humour was only Envy at the Bottom, and so withdrew to a Place called the *Valley*, not far from *Gerar*. And as he was there digging for Water, *Abimelech's* Shepherds brake in violently upon him, and stopt his proceeding. He had no mind to contend: So that the Shepherds had the better of him. Upon this, he went a little further, and digg'd once again, and was a second Time interrupted by *Abimelech's* Shepherds as before: Whereupon he thought it good Discretion to give off there too, and wait the Providence of a more favourable Occasion. After this he made a third Attempt, and the King then gave him leave to dig, and he gave the Place the Name of (c) *Roohboth*, (as much as to say, *Large* or *Spacious*.) And for the other Places before-mentioned, the former he call'd (d) *Escon* (or *Contention*;) and the other (e) *Sitenna*, which signifies *Enmity*.

Isaac's Power, Interest and Reputation increasing daily, *Abimelech* had an Eye upon him as a growing Adversary; for he was conscious of his own Insincerity, and not without some Apprehension that the Countenance he shew'd at first, compared with his unfriendly dealing afterward, might provoke him to a Revenge: Beside that he would not willingly have such a Man his Enemy. These Things premised, *Abi-*

K 4

melech

(a) Gen. 25.

(b) Gen. 26.

(c) Scr. *Rehoboth*.(d) Scr. *Esek*.(e) Scr. *Sitnah*.

melech went directly to *Isaac*, with a Motion to make a new Friendship with him; taking one of his great Officers and Friends along for a Party to the Treaty. *Isaac* was easily prevail'd upon to lay aside all old Grudges, out of a Reverence to the Memory of the former Friendships and good Offices that had passed betwixt *Abimelech* and his Father; and so all Things were made up.

(a) *Esau*, the beloved Son of his Father *Isaac*, at forty Years of Age marry'd two Wives, *Adah* the Daughter of *Elon*, and (b) *Alibama* the Daughter of (c) *Esebion*; Persons of great Blood and Fame among the *Chanaanites*. Now this he did upon his own Head and Fancy, without ever consulting his Father; or if he had, he would hardly have given his Consent; having taken up a firm Resolution, never to enter into any Sort of Alliance with that People. But however, the Thing being done, could not be undone; and *Isaac* thought it his best Course rather to pass it over in Silence, without Noise, than to put it to the Extremity of making him turn his Women away.

Isaac was now grown old, and very dim-sighted, if not quite blind. In this Condition he call'd his Son *Esau* to him; and Prefacing what he had to say, with somewhat of Reflection upon his Age and Infirmary, he fell to bemoaning himself, that he was not able to serve God now as he had done formerly; and after this, he order'd his Son *Esau* to go out a Hunting, and get him some good Thing for his Supper, saying that he would afterwards give him his Prayers and his Blessing, and beseech God to be his Comforter and Protector to his Lives End. (d) *My own End*, says he, *is not far off; the Time uncertain, and I cannot spend the little Remainder of my Life better, than in Prayers for thy Welfare*. *Esau* went presently out to see what he could catch, and in the mean while, *Rebecca* bethought herself of a Way to transfer the Blessing to *Jacob* that was intended for *Esau*, out of a Partiality of Affection to the one rather than the other. So she bad *Jacob* (but without the Privy, and against the very Design of *Isaac*) go out and kill a Kid, and have it dressed ready for Supper. *Jacob* did what he was commanded, as an obedient Son to his Mother in all Cases; and when Supper was ready, having put Kid's Skins over his Arms and Hands, that he might seem hairy, (the Twins being otherwise so alike that there was no distinguishing betwixt them)

he

(a) Gen. 26. and 28.

(b) Scr. *Aholibamah* the Daughter of *Anah* the Daughter of *Zibeon*.

(c) Or *Sibeon*.

(d) Gen. 27.

he set it before his Father ; but with a thousand Difficulties in his Head for fear of being taken in the Imposture, and drawing a Curse upon himself, instead of a Blessing. *Isaac* it seems, taking notice of somewhat very particular in his Son's *Voice*, bad him come to him ; and upon finding his *Hands* all *Hairy*, passed this Reflection upon it. *The Voiee* (says he) *is Jacob's Voice, but the Hands are the Hands of Esau* : And so without any further Suspicion, he went to Supper ; and after that offer'd up a Prayer suitable to the Occasion, in Words to this Effect. " Eternal God, the Creator of all " Things that are made ! Thou that hast been so gracious " and bountiful to my Father, to my self, and to our Off- " spring ; Promising and Possessing us of all good Things, " and giving us Assurances of greater Blessings to come. " Lord, make thy Words good to us by Effects, and do not " despise thy Servant for his present Infirmities, which make " him the more sensible of his Need of thy Support ; Pre- " serve this Child from all Evil, in thy Mercy and infinite " Goodness ; give him a long and a happy Life ; bless him " with all worldly Enjoyments that may be for his good ; " make him a Terror to his Enemies, and an Honour and " a Comfort to his Friends."

Isaac had no sooner ended his Prayer for *Esau*, as he thought, and meant it ; but in comes *Esau* himself from the Chace, which gave *Isaac* to understand his Mistake : But he did not think fit to make any Words of it. When *Esau* came to be informed of what had passed, he besought his Father only to bestow the same Blessing upon himself over again, which he had pronounced upon his Brother. But *Isaac* excused himself, that he could not either Transfer, or take away the Benediction he had already conferred. This Disappointment drew Tears from *Esau*, and his Sorrow so far wrought upon the Tendernefs of his Father, that all the Blessings he had left, he gave him : That is to say, he told him, that he should be a famous Hunter, and a great Man at Arms ; and that he himself and his Posterity should gain immortal Honour by their Exploits that way ; but, for a Close, that he must be subject to his Younger Brother.

Jacob was exceeding afraid of a Revenge from his Brother ; and *Rebecca* no less conscious of the provoking Affront that was put upon him ; so that she bethought herself of this Way to divert the Danger of it. She prevail'd with *Isaac* to dispatch *Jacob* away into *Mesopotamia*, to take a Wife out of her Alliance there. *Esau* finding how he had disoblged his
Father

Father by Matching with the *Chanaanites* (being his mortal Enemies) had now taken to Wife (a) *Bassemath* the Daughter of *Ishmael*, whom he lov'd the best of all his Wives.

C H A P. XIX.

Jacob sent into Mesopotamia to treat about a Match with Rachel, Laban's Daughter. His Visions upon the Way. He treats with Laban, who imposes upon him.

* **B**Y the Advice of *Rebecca*, and at her Instance, and with the Consent of *Isaac* too, *Jacob* was sent away into *Mesopotamia* to treat about a Match there with the Daughter of *Rebecca's* Brother *Laban*. But the *Feud* being at that Time so fierce and violent betwixt that Family and the *Chanaanites*, and *Jacob's* Way lying through the Land of *Chanaan*, he durst not venture himself in any of their Houses upon his Journey, but took up his Lodging in the open Air; and a Stone, or some Hillock of Earth, serv'd him for his Pillow. As he lay thus at Rest, he had one Night in his Sleep this Vision. He dreamt that he saw a Ladder standing upon the Earth, and the upper End of it reaching the Heavens, with certain glorious Figures, that to the View seem'd more than human, descending by the Rounds of it: And from the Top, God himself manifestly appearing and speaking to *Jacob* by Name in these Words. "It is not for you *Jacob*, that have in your
 "Veins the Blood of your Father and Grandfather *Isaac* and
 "Abraham, Men famous for their Faith and Virtue, to despond under any Diffidence of my Care for you in your
 "present Troubles, but rather to support yourself in Hope
 "of better Things. Depend upon me for your Protector, and
 "assure yourself, that your best Days are yet to come. It
 "was I that brought *Abraham* out of *Mesopotamia* hither,
 "when he was forc'd away by his Relations; It was I that
 "crown'd your Father with Blessings; and it is I again that
 "resolve to do as much for you: Wherefore take Courage,
 "and pursue your Journey under my Conduct and Direction.
 "The Marriage you are now going about shall succeed to
 "your Wish; you shall be the Father of dutiful Children;
 "and your Issue shall increase without Number. This Land
 "will I give to them and their Posterity; and they shall People
 "the

(a) Gr. *Basemmathe*, Scr. *Bashemath*.

* Gen. 28.

“ the whole Earth, and the Islands as far as the Sun shines :
 “ Wherefore let no Labour, or Danger discourage you ; but
 “ commit yourself to my Care, not only at this present, but
 “ more hereafter.”

Jacob was transported with Joy at this Vision and Prediction, and anointed the Stone in Honour of that blessed Revelation ; making a Vow at the same Time, to erect an Altar there, and offer Sacrifice upon it, if ever it should please God to bring him home again : Which Vow he performed at his coming back ; Presenting to God the *Tenths* of all his Goods for an Oblation. And further, for a Memorial in Reverence to the Place, and what befel him there, he gave it the Name of *Bethel*, or *the House of God*.

* Upon this, he went forward, and after a tedious Passage, he came to *Charran*, where he found several Shepherds, young Men and Maidens, about a Well, and drawing Water. He join'd the Company, desired a little Drink of them ; and so by little and little fell to discourse with them, whether they knew one *Laban* thereabouts or no ; and if he were yet Living. They all said they knew him, and so must every body, for he was a noted Man : *His Daughter and they fed their Sheep together ; and it was a Wonder she was not come yet.* While they were talking thus, up comes the Daughter herself, with her Shepherds about her. They told *Jacob*, that was she, and then acquainted the Virgin how that Stranger there had been enquiring about her Father. The Maiden upon the Sight of *Jacob*, with the Gayety of an innocent young Creature, fell to asking him Questions, *Who he was, whence he came, and what was his Business ;* and demanding of him in a very obliging Way, if there were any Thing they could serve him in. *Jacob* was mightily pleased, both with the Kinswoman and the good Grace of her Civility ; but so much more with the Charms of her incomparable Beauty, that at first Sight he fell directly in Love with her ; and thus accosted her. “ There hath been (*says he*) a great Friendship betwixt our two Families, at least (if you fair Virgin, are indeed the Daughter of *Laban*) of a Date long before either you or I were born ; for *Abraham*, *Aaran*, and *Nachor*, were the Sons of *Thares* ; and *Bathuel*, your Grandfather was *Nachor's* Son : *Isaac* is my Father, begotten by *Abraham* upon *Sarah* the Daughter of *Aran* : And we are nearer yet still ; for *Rebecca* my Mother, is the Sister of your Father *Laban*, by the same Father and Mother : So that in
 “ the

“ the Degrees of Affinity, you and I are Cousin-Germans ;
“ and I am now come to Greet you with all the Offices of a
“ Friend and Kinsman toward the renewing of *that kind Agree-
ment* of ancient Date.” This brought into the Mind of
the Virgin what she had often heard her Father say of *Rebecca* ; and taking for granted how glad her Parents would be
to hear any Tidings of that excellent Person, the Passion she
had for the pleasing of her Father transported her to such a
Degree, that she burst out into Tears ; took *Jacob* about the
Neck and kiss’d him, and then holding him in her Arms
spake to him after this Manner. “ Thou art (*says she*) the
“ Bearer of the most agreeable News to my Father and the
“ whole Family, that ever came under our Roof. Good Man !
“ He was hardly ever well but when he was speaking of thy
“ Mother ; and I dare say, he would not exchange the Feli-
“ city thou hast now brought him for any other Happiness
“ under the Sun, Wherefore (*says she*) not to deprive him
“ any longer of the Joy thou art to carry him, follow me
“ immediately.” With these Words, she brought him to *Laban* :
Where he was made known to his Uncle, safe in the
Hands of his Friends, and those Friends of his over-joy’d
at the Providence of so unexpected a Surprize. They had
not been many Days together, when *Laban* made an open
Profession of the Satisfaction he had in his Conversation,
and that it was so great, he wanted Words to express it.
After this Declaration, his Curiosity made him a little Inqui-
sitive how he came to leave his Father and Mother in their
extreme Age ; and when they could worst spare him ; but
assuring him withal, that whatever he could do in the World
for him was at his Service. *Jacob* upon this, to satisfy his
Enquiry, gave him in short the whole History of their Fa-
mily. “ My Mother *Rebecca* (*says he*) had two Twin-Sons,
“ *Esau* and my self. *Esau* being disappointed of our Father’s
“ Blessing by an Invention of my Mother’s, to put me in my
“ Brother’s Place to receive it, (*my Father being blind*) he
“ looks upon me for this as a Supplanter of him in his Right,
“ as well as to his Father’s Vows and Prayers, as to a King-
“ dom and an Inheritance which God had assign’d him ; and
“ for this Circumvention he resolved to take away my Life.
“ Now, to avoid this Danger and in Obedience to my Mo-
“ ther’s Command, I am come hither for Sanctuary, as to
“ the nearest Relation she hath in the World ; and next un-
“ der God, I depend upon your self for my Security.” *Laban*
promised him all Sorts of Assistance and Respects ; not only
for his own Sake, but as the Son likewise of his dear Sister,
whom

whom he lov'd tenderly at what Distance soever. *Laban* told him further, that he would at present set him over his Flocks, and give him Authority over all the Keepers of his Sheep; and that if any Time hereafter he should have a mind to go back again, he might assure himself of a Consideration and Reward answerable to the Merit of such a Kinsman. *Jacob* was well enough content to undergo the Labour, provided he might continue in the Family; and he told *Laban* as much, upon Condition he might have *Rachel* in Marriage for his Service: A Person that he lov'd, not only for her singular Worth and Virtue, but as the Providential Instrument of bringing him into the Family; professing that it was only his Excess of Love that made him speak what he did. Upon this Proffer, *Laban* struck the Bargain immediately, with Joy in the very Face of him; and solemnly protesting, that of all Men Living he was the Son-in-Law he would have chosen. Only he must have Patience to stay a while; for he should be loth to send his Daughter so far as *Chanaan*; and truly he had almost repented sometimes of sending his Sister thither too. *Jacob* submitted to wait, and so bound himself to his Father-in-Law for *Seven Years*, to shew that he had no other Ends in what he did, than of Love, Generosity and Justice.

At the End of the Term, and upon the precise Day, *Laban* prepares the Wedding-Feast, and late at Night in Drink and in the Dark put the Change upon *Jacob*, privately conveying the *Bleat-Ey'd Elder Sister* to his Bed instead of the *Younger*; and so they lay together. When *Jacob* came to find how he was impos'd upon, he fell to expostulating the Matter with *Laban*, as a Violation of common Faith and Justice: *Laban* only excusing himself under the Pretence of a Necessity without any Malice at all, it being the Custom of the Country, he said, not to marry the Younger Sister before the Elder: But this, *says he*, shall be no Obstacle to your Marrying of *Rachel*; for after seven Years more, you shall have her barefac'd, and by Day-Light when you may see and know what you do. *Jacob*, that could do nothing but what his Passion gave him leave to do, bound himself over once again for the *other seven Years*, and that Time being expir'd he had *Rachel* for his Wife.

* These two Sisters had two Maidens put to them by *Laban*: (a) *Zilpah* was with *Leah*, and (b) *Bilhah* with *Rachel*; not in the Quality of Servants, but yet in Subjection to them.
Leah

* Gen. 29. and 30.

(a) Gr. *Zalpa*.

(b) Gr. *Ralei*.

Leah was in great Affliction to see that her Sister had a greater Share in *Jacob's* Affection than herself; but liv'd in Hope still that the bringing of him Children, which was her daily Prayer, might gain him over to her: And in the End it did so; for being deliver'd of a Son, whom she called (a) *Reuben* (or *Divine Mercy*) it wrought upon her Husband's Affections; and after this she had three other Sons; *Simeon* (i. e. *God is Favourable*) *Levi* (i. e. the *Support of Society*) and *Judah* (that is to say, *Thanksgiving*.) *Rachel* was mightily in pain lest the Fruitfulness of her Sister might take off somewhat of *Jacob's* Kindness to herself, and therefore contriv'd the putting of her Woman *Bilhah* in her Place, which she did, and *Jacob* had a Son by her, call'd *Dan* (i. e. the *Judgment of God*.) And a while after this, she brought him *Nephthalim* (which signifies *Artificial*;) alluding to *Rachel's* contending with her Sister for Children by Craft. *Leah* after this, encounter'd her Sister in her own Way, and put in *Zilpah* to *Jacob*, by whom he had two Sons; the first *Gad* (or *by Chance*) and afterwards *Aser* (which signifies *Beautifying*) because they got Honour by it.

One Time, when the two Sisters were together, *Reuben* the eldest Son of *Leah* brought his Mother some *Mandrake-Apples*, which *Rachel* would fain have had a Part of; but the other told her in a Fret, that it was too much to have her Husband and her Apples too; but *Rachel*, to pacify her, made her an Offer of having *Jacob* to herself that Night. *Leah* accepted it, and they lay together accordingly. *Jacob* after this had more Children by *Leah*; as *Issachar* (*born for Hire*) *Zabulon* (*a Pledge of Love*) and a Daughter *Dinah*. *Rachel* stay'd a long Time, and at last brought forth a Son, whose Name was *Joseph* (or an *Addition*.)

† It was already full twenty Years that *Jacob* had serv'd his Father-in-Law, in the Quality of an Overseer of his Shepherds and Herdsmen: So that it was now high Time, he thought, to consider of looking homeward again, and to take his Wives along with him. But this was to be privately managed; for *Laban* he was sure would be against it. He was not willing to come to any Resolution however, without consulting his Wives first, to see how they stood affected to the Journey. But finding them willing, away they went together without any Delay: The two Sisters and their Women, and all their Children, and all that belong'd to them, and *Jacob* also, with one half of the Flocks. *Rachel* took

(a) Gr. *Rubelos & Rubenos*.

† Gen. 31.

took away with her the *Images* of the Gods of the Country, not out of any Reverence she had for the *Idols*; for her Husband had taught her better Things, and to condemn them; but she fancy'd to herself, that in case they should be pursu'd and overtaken, by their Help Matters might be brought to a Composition.

So soon as *Laban* had the News next Day of *Jacob's* Departure by Stealth, and the whole Story that went along with it, he called his People together in a Fury, and with a strong Body of Men immediately posted after them. Upon the seventh Day in the Evening, they overtook them sitting upon a little Hillock to rest themselves: But being late, *Laban* and his People betook themselves quietly to their Repose. That Night God appeared to *Laban* in his Sleep, and bad him have a care not to offer any Violence or Indignity to his Fugitive Son-in-Law and Daughters, but rather dispose himself to an amicable Agreement, and a better Understanding with them: *And do not you despise them* (says the Apparition) *for the Smallness of their Number; for if you do, I myself will fight their Battles.*

Laban the next Day early sent for *Jacob*, (who came to him in Confidence) and told him of the Dream he had; passing from that Discourse to Reproaching and Upbraiding him. "You cannot forget (*says he*) that I took you into my House " a Beggar, and a Wretch indigent to the last Degree: How " generously I relieved and entertained you; married you " to my Daughters as the highest Obligation to an inviolable Friendship and Respect that I could lay upon you: " And pray how comes it now, that without any Regard to " your Mother and my Sister, or to the Alliance of Blood " betwixt us; the Wives you have married out of my Family; and the Children of those Wives that call me Grandfather: How comes it (I say) after all this, that you should " treat me at last at the rate of a profess'd Enemy; seize " my Goods, force my Daughters away from their Parents; " carry off the very Gods of my Country; which my Forefathers have ever had so great a Veneration for, as Things " most sacred! For you have laid your sacrilegious Hands " even upon them too; a Violence, which an honourable " Enemy would have forbore: And who is it that has done " all this now, but my Kinsman, my Nephew, my Son-in-Law, my Guest, and the Man that I have fed at my own " Table!"

* *Jacob* made answer, that he was not the only Man that had

had a natural Affection for his Native Country; and that after so long an Absence, it was but reasonable to bethink himself of looking home again. As to his Robbery and Injustice, he was willing to appeal to any other Judge than himself. Now, says he, I expected you should have given me Thanks rather, for Managing and Husbanding your Estate, then think much of the small Pittance I have taken out of it. And pray do not call it a Violence neither upon your Daughters; for as there is no evil Intention in the Case; so that which you mistake for Force, is only a Conjugal Duty; both in my taking them away, and in their following their Husband and their Children. This he said in his own Defence, and for the rest, only turn'd *Laban's* Reproaches upon himself: Wondering and complaining, that an Uncle and a Father-in-Law, after the Hardship of Twenty Years Service; beside what he willingly suffered for the Sake of *Rachel*, and more afterwards; should at last Treat his Son-in-Law and Kinsman at the rate of the worst of Enemies. *Jacob* had great Reason undoubtedly to complain of *Laban's* ill Usage; who observing that God blessed *Jacob* in all he did, would be cajoling him with fine Words, promising one while to give him all the white Cattle that should be produc'd; another while all the Black; and still as *Jacob's* Part came to be the greater, he went from his Word, and put it off to another Year, in hope to find it less then; but in case it should prove otherwise, with a Resolution before-hand to depart from his Promise.

† As to the *Images*, *Laban* having free Liberty to search, *Rachel* convey'd them away into the stuffing of the Saddle she sat upon, and pretending to have the Woman's Sickneſs at that Time upon her. *Laban* passed her over-unvisited, upon a Presumption, that in such a Condition she would not come so near any Thing that was sacred. Upon this, *Laban* enter'd into a League with *Jacob*; granted an Act of Oblivion to his Daughters for all that was past, promising that for the Future they should be as dear to him as ever they were, and all this was confirmed with an *Oath*. The Solemnity passed upon a certain Mountain, where a Pillar was erected in the Form of an Altar, and they called it (a) *Galaad*, as the *Hill of Witness*, which Name was likewise given to the whole Country thereabouts. After the Ceremony of the League, they Feasted together, and upon parting *Laban* returned to his own Home.

C H A P.

† Gen. 32.

(a) *Gr. Galades. Scr. Gaiced.*

C H A P. XX.

The Greeting of Jacob and Esau.

* **J**acob went forward on his Way toward *Chanaan*, and had several propitious Visions in his Passage, which gave him great Hope of future Success, calling the Place where he saw them, *the Field of God*. But the old Grudge of *Esau* would not yet out of *Jacob's* Head, which made him send every where up and down to learn how his Brother stood affected to him; beside several Messengers express to find him out, with a Commission in the Name of *Jacob* to address to him to this Effect. † “That *Jacob* finding himself under his Brother's Displeasure, voluntarily abandon'd his Country, and in Confidence, that after so long an Absence, all past Unkindnesses are bury'd and forgotten, he is now returning with his Wives, Children, Goods, and Treasure, to lay himself and all he has at his Brother's Feet; proposing to himself no greater Happiness than to enjoy all the Bounties that God in his Goodness hath been pleased to bestow upon him, in common with his Brother.”

Upon the Delivery of this Message, *Esau* in a Transport of Satisfaction advanced presently with a Band of four hundred Men to meet his Brother. *Jacob* was not a little startled at the Number; but put himself in a Posture however, with God's Grace and Assistance, to defend himself and his People in case of the worst. He disposed his Body into two Divisions; the one to advance, and the other to follow, within Distance of either Receiving, or Seconding the *Van*, if it should come to an Attack. When he had ordered his People after this Manner, he sent his Forerunners to his Brother with Presents: Some for Use, others for Curiosity; as Creatures of Burden, and several Sorts of strange Beasts that might be acceptable for their Rarity-sake. These were to march thin one after another, to make them appear more than they were; the Messengers having this especially in Charge, to behave themselves toward *Esau* with all possible Smoothness and Respect; not doubting but by this Gentleness of proceeding to rectifie all Misunderstandings, if they were not already compos'd. It was a whole Day's Work to put *Jacob's* Troops in Order, and at Night they march'd.

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When

* Gen. 32.

† Gen. 33.

When they were got over the Torrent of *Jabac*, *Jacob* being a little behind, a *Speetre* laid hold of him, and *Jacob* wrestling with this Apparition had the better of him; whereupon a Voice called out to him, and said, "Comfort thyself in what thou hast done, for it is not a common Adversary that thou hast foil'd, but an Angel of the Lord. Take it for a Presage, that your Posterity shall never fail, and that you shall never be overcome." Upon this, he gave him the Name of *Israel* (in Hebrew *Strugling*.) This was revealed to *Jacob* at his own Request, and when he found it was an Angel spake to him, he besought him to say somewhat further what was to befall him, which the *Speetre* did, and so disappear'd. *Jacob* was so transported with what he had heard, that he gave this Place the Name of *Phanuel*, (or the *Face of God*.) He had a (a) Sinew of his Thigh strain'd in this Encounter, for which Reason he would never afterward eat that Part of any Creature; and upon that Account we do forbear it also to this Day.

Upon the News of *Esau's* being advanced, and drawing near to his Brother, *Jacob* order'd his Wives to go before with their Women, and to march apart from one another; so as to see the Action at a Distance, if *Esau* should think fit to put it to a Battle. † But when *Jacob* saw that *Esau* came towards him with Peace and Chearfulness in his Countenance, he went and threw himself at the Feet of his Brother. *Esau* in the mean while embracing him, ask'd him several Questions about the Women and Children; and gave him afterwards an earnest Invitation to his Father's House. *Jacob* excused himself, that his Horses and Cattle were tired out, and not in a travelling Condition: And then *Esau* departed to his Habitation at *Seir*; so called from the *Hairiness of Esau*.

(a) *Jos. To neuros to platu. Sec Th. Bartholin. de Morbis Biblicis, Cap. 2.*

† *Gen. 33.*

C H A P. XXI.

The Rape of Dinah. The Children of Jacob.

† **J**acob for his Part went to the Place called the *Tabernacles*, which Name it bears to this Day, and so to (a) *Sichem*, a City belonging to the *Chanaanites*. There happen'd to be a great Festival there, and *Dinah*, the only Daughter of *Jacob* went thither to see fine Sights and Fashions of the Place. (b) *Sichem*, the Son of King (c) *Emmor* fell in Love with her; took her away and ravish'd her, and liked her so well that he begg'd his Father's Leave to marry her: Who not only gave his Consent, but went himself to *Jacob* with the same Request on his Son's Behalf. *Jacob* was hard put to't what Answer to give; for he could not in Conscience marry his Daughter to a Stranger; neither could he refuse any Thing decently to the Quality of a Royal Advocate. But upon second Thoughts, he came to a Resolution, to desire Time to consider of it: So the King went away, little doubting of the Success. Upon this Juncture, *Jacob* having acquainted his Sons with the Indignity that had been put upon their Sister, and the Request of King *Emmor*; some of them were at their Wits end what to advise: Others had not one Word to say; only *Simeon* and *Levi*, the Brothers of *Dinah* by the same Mother, laid their Heads together, and agreed upon a Design betwixt themselves, without speaking one Word to their Father of it, which they executed as follows. Upon the next Festival at *Sichem*, late in the Night, they fell upon the Guards, and easily master'd them, finding them drowsie and secure in their drunken Revels. They took Possession of the City; kill'd all the Males they could meet with, the King and his Son being in the Number, sparing only the Women; and upon the Finishing of this Exploit fetch'd home their Sister again to their Father. *Jacob* was struck with Horror at the Barbarity of so bloody an Action, and highly incensed against his Sons for what they had done; but God comforted him in a Vision, bad him have a good Heart, and purge his Tents, and not forget the Sacrifice he promised after his Dream in his *Mesopotamian* Progress. While *Jacob* was executing this Command, he fell upon *Laban's* Gods, which *Rachel* had stollen and bury'd under a certain Oak, and he knew nothing

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of

† Gen. 34. (a) Gr. *Sikimos*. Scr. *Shechem*. (b) Gr. *Suchemes*.
(c) Scr. *Liamor*.

of it. From thence he went, and sacrificed at *Bethel*, where he had that divine Revelation upon his going into *Mesopotamia*. He went next to (a) *Ephrata*, where *Rachel* dy'd in Labour, and there he bury'd her, the only Person of his Relations that dying was not interr'd at *Hebron*. This Loss went to the Heart of him; but the Child liv'd, and he gave it to the Name of *Benjamin*, (b) from the great Grief it brought to the Mother.

Now the Children of *Jacob* were *Twelve Sons*, and one *Daughter*. Eight of them *Legitimate*: Six by *Leah*, and Two by *Rachel*: Four more by *Zilpah* and *Bilhah*, Two by each. Their Names we have had already.

C H A P. XXII.

Isaac dy'd at the Age of 185 Years; and was bury'd in Hebron.

* **F**ROM thence he went to *Hebron* in *Chanaan*, where *Isaac* dwelt; but they two did not live long together. *Rebecca* dy'd before the Arrival of *Jacob*; and *Isaac* follow'd her not long after. *Esau* and *Jacob* bury'd him, and laid him by his Wife in *Hebron*, in the Burying-place of the Family. *Isaac* was a Person acceptable in the Sight of God, and attended by special Providences in the Course of his Life, next to *Abraham*. He liv'd to the Age of a Hundred eighty five Years, in a steady and eminent Course of Piety and Virtue.

(a) *Gr. Ephrathane.*

(b) This is false. See *Gen. 35. 18.* in the *LXX.* and *Cotelerius's* Notes to the second Vol. of his *Ecclef. Gr. Monumenta*, p. 548. See *Vossius's Castigationum Auctarium*, p. 363.

* *Gen. 35.*

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the SECOND,

[From the Year of the World 2230, to 2454.]

CHAP. I.

Esau and Jacob divide their Possessions : Idumæa falls to the former, and Chanaan to the other.

AFTER the Death of *Isaac*, the two Brothers kept no longer to their Paternal Estates ; but divided their Possessions ; whereupon *Esau* yielded up the City of *Hebron* to his Brother, and went and settled himself at (a) *Seir*. He was Lord and Master of *Idumæa*, and gave it his own Name ; that is to say, (b) *Edom*, which was a kind of a By-name given him upon this following Occasion. He had been out a Hunting one Day in his Youth, and coming home miserably tir'd and hungry, he found his Brother ordering a Soup of *Lentils* for his Dinner. They look'd *Red*, and the very Colour of them set him a longing, and a begging with great Importunity, for a Mess of this Pottage : But *Jacob* would not part with so much as one Drop of them to his Brother, upon any other Terms than the relinquishing of his (c) Birthright, which *Esau* out of a pure starving Hunger submitted to, formally Renouncing all the Privileges of his Seniority, with a Solemn *Oath*. His Youthful Companions

made

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(a) *Gr. Saeira.*(b) *Gen. 35. 36.*(c) *Gen 25.*

made sport with him for what he had done, and *Nick-named* him (a) *Edom*, from the *Colour* of the *Soup*; (for *Edom* in *Hebrew* is as much as *Red*.) This Name went also to the Country under his Jurisdiction, though the *Greeks* have disguised and *softned* it a little, by calling it *Idumæa*.

(b) He had *five Children* by *three Wives*. *Three* of them by his Wife *Alibama*; that is to say, (c) *Jaus*, *Jalom*, and *Core*. *Eliphaz* by *Adah*, and (d) *Raguel* by *Bassemath*.

Eliphaz had *five Sons* lawfully begotten; *Themán*, (e) *Omar*, (f) *Saphus*, *Gotham*, and *Canaz*: For *Amaleck* was a Bastard that he had by (g) *Thamna* his Concubine. These inhabited that Part of *Idumæa* which was called *Gobolitis*, and the Country of the *Amalekites*, call'd so from *Amaleck*. It was formerly a huge Tract of Ground that went under the Name of *Idumæa*; but the *Whole*, as well as the *Parts* of it, retain the Name still of their *first Planters* and *Founders*.

CH A P. II.

Joseph's Dreams. His Brothers envy him; and conspire against his Life.

Jacob was one of the happiest Men upon the Face of the Earth, and not another in the whole Country to come near him, either for Wealth and Command, or for well-condition'd virtuous Children; who wanted nothing to make them great Men, as well for Action as for Counsel: For they were indefatigably industrious, valiant even to the strictest Puntillo's of Generosity and Honour, and to perfect the Character, endu'd with a Talent of Understanding that crowned all the rest; nay, and so wonderful a Providence it was that attended them in all the Chances and Encounters of their Lives, that their very Sufferings and Afflictions turn'd to their Advantage, in being made the Instruments of Almighty God toward the bringing of our Forefathers out of the Bondage of *Egypt*. The Story is this.

(b) *Joseph*, the Son of *Jacob* by his Wife *Rachel*, was much the dearest Child to his Father of all the Off-spring, in regard of the Excellencies both of his Body and of his Mind; for,

(a) Gen. 36. (b) Gen. 36. and 1 Chron. c. 1.

(c) Scr. *Jensh*. *Jaalam*, *Corah*. (d) Scr. *Reuel*. (e) Gr. *Omeros*.

(f) Scr. *Zepho*, *Gatam*, *Kenaz*. (g) Scr. *Timna*.

(h) Gen. 37.

for, over and above the Gracefulness of his Person, he was no less eminent for an extraordinary Understanding. This exceeding Tenderness of the Father drew upon the Son the Envy and Ill-will of the rest of the Brothers, and this factious Malevolence was much embittered by (a) certain Dreams *Joseph* had, that look'd like Presages of his future Felicity and Greatness. This he communicated to his Brethren, and no wonder if it stirr'd up a dangerous Emulation against him. The Visions were these.

His Father sent him out one Day into the Fields with his Brothers in Harvest-time to reap Corn; where he had a Dream quite of another Nature than those phantastical Images of Things that appear to us commonly in our Sleep. He told this to his Brothers upon waking, and put it to them to expound it. Now the Dream was this. "Methought, (*says he*) I saw this last Night my own Sheaf of Wheat standing upright, and all my Brother's Sheaves come running towards it, and falling down before it, (b) as so many Servants would do to their Master." There went no great Mystery to the unriddling of this Dream; for they saw manifestly that it pointed at the Power and Authority which *Joseph* in Time to come was to have over them, even to the Degree of their becoming Subjects to him. But to their Brother they pretended Ignorance, and could make nothing of it they said: Praying however within themselves still, that God would avert the Omen: Their Hatred increasing all this while to *Joseph*, yet more and more. Soon after this he had another Vision, much more remarkable than the former, which was sent from God for the confounding of their Malice. He saw in his Sleep, he thought, *the Sun, the Moon, and Eleven Stars coming down from the Heavens to the Earth, and doing him Reverence.* *Joseph* communicated this Vision also to his Father, in the hearing of his Brothers, (mistrusting no Mischief from them all this while) telling him that he should be very glad to understand what it meant. *Jacob* was highly delighted with the Dream, as a Presage of happy and glorious Days to his Son *Joseph*; and that the Time (c) by God's Providence would come, when both Father and

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(a) In the Original, *ete ek toon oneiratoon, ha theasam.* &c. *Tanaquil. Faber.* reads the Place thus; *ete ek toon oneiratoon proresis,* &c.

(b) See *Casaubon's Exercit.* against *Baronius.* An. XXXIII. Num. XXXVII.

(c) In the Original *Theu zoontos.* For which *Tanaq. Faber.* reads *Theu didontos* agreeable to the Old Translat. *Deo largiente.* See *Faber's Epist. l. 2. p. 305.*

and Brothers should do him Reverence. By the *Sun* and *Moon* he understood the *Father* and *Mother*; under this *Analogy*, that the Office of the one was to *increase* and *nourish*, and that of the other to give *Form* and *Force*: By the *Eleven Stars* were meant the *Eleven Brothers* that had their *Light* and *Virtue* from above too.

This was no idle Interpretation of *Jacob's*; but it went to the very Heart of the Brothers of *Joseph*, quite contrary to the Reason and Duty of the Matter in Question; for they should have joy'd in their Brothers Good as in their own, without envying those Graces and Benefits to so near a Relation, that they would have been less troubled at in a Stranger. But their impious Malice was now come to that height, that without any more ado they resolved to make him away. And this was the Course they intended to steer. So soon as Harvest was over, they went with their Flocks to *Sichem* (an excellent feeding Ground) but without one Word to their Father of their Remove. When they had been gone a pretty while, and no News or Certainty of what was become of them, *Jacob* fell into a terrible Apprehension, lest some Mischief might have befallen them, and so sent *Joseph* to inform himself punctually upon the whole Matter.

C H A P. III.

Joseph sold by his Brethren into Egypt, where he's highly Advanced.

* *Joseph* set forward upon his Journey, according to his Command and Commission, and great Joy there was among the Brethren at his Arrival, not as a Brother or a Messenger from their Father, but as an Enemy that God had delivered into their Hands; and they were for dispatching him immediately too, without slipping the present Opportunity. *Reuben* the Eldest of the Brothers, found the Conspiracy so strong and desperate, that he employed all his Art and Interest to prevent, or at least to divert it, setting before them the Heinousness of the Sin, and the insupportable *Odium* that they would draw upon themselves by an Action so hateful in the Sight of God and Man. "It were an abominable Wickedness (*says he*) to take away the Life, even of a
"Stranger;

“ Stranger ; but to destroy a Kinsman, and a Brother, and
“ in that Brother a Father and a Mother too, with the Grief
“ for the Loss of so good and so hopeful a Son ;--- Bethink
“ yourselves (*says he*) if any Thing can be more diabolical.
“ Consider, that there is an All-seeing God, that will be the
“ Avenger, as well as the Witness of this horrid Murder.
“ Bethink yourselves, *I say*, and repent of your barbarous
“ Purpose, and consult the Measures of Humanity and Mo-
“ deration ; for you must never think to go through with
“ this flagitious Villany, and Divine Vengeance not over-
“ take you : For God’s Providence is every where, in the
“ Wilderness as well as in the City, and wheresoever there is
“ a Man there is a God ; beside the Horror of a guilty Con-
“ science to pursue you wherever you go, and whether it be
“ good or bad to give you Company for ever. Or put the
“ Case your Brother had done you wrong now, would you
“ take away his Life for it ? when it is our Part to pass over
“ the Slips of our Friends, even though they may have fail’d
“ in their Duty. But what, in fine, has *Joseph* done against
“ you ? or if he had, the Simplicity of his Youth might plead
“ his Excuse ; and his Brothers, of all Men living, should be
“ his Friends and Guardians rather than his Murderers : And
“ then the very Ground of your Cruelty will be a severe Ag-
“ gravation, even of the Sin itself. His Life is to be taken
“ away at present, for fear he should be great and happy
“ hereafter ; Nay, and to be taken away by them too that
“ are to go Sharers with him. But the dreadful Judgment
“ of all is yet behind, if you proceed to this execrable *As-*
“ *sassinate*, when God shall call you to an Account for the
“ Blood of an Innocent, that was spilt in a point blank De-
“ fiance of the Power and Goodness of God himself ; for
“ the Ground of your Quarrel is only this, that God loves
“ your Brother, and that he loves God.” *Reuben* used all
these Arguments and more, either to deter or dissuade them
from this accursed Attempt ; but when he found them so
absolutely inexorable, that neither Humanity, Reason, nor
Religion could take Place, and that the peremptory Sen-
tence was pronounc’d, he bethought himself of a certain
middle Way of qualifying the Matter. “ Well (*says he*) since
“ the Death of this young Man is absolutely decreed ; you
“ have nothing else to do, but to make the Sin, the Envy,
“ and the Scandal of it as easie as you can ; and therefore
“ my Advice is rather to cast him into the next Pit, and
“ there leave him to perish, without dipping your Hands in
“ his Blood.” The Motion was approv’d, and *Reuben* ty’d a
Rope

Rope about *Joseph*, by which he let him gently down into a dry Well, and presently went his way to look after his Sheep.

He had no sooner turn'd his Back, but they had in Sight a Troop of *Arabian Merchants* (*Ishmaelites*) that came from *Galaad* with Spices and *Syrian Commodities* that they were carrying into *Egypt*. *Judas*, upon this Occasion, advised the taking of *Joseph* out of the Well to sell him to these Merchants, by which means they might be quit of him, and out of Danger of ever seeing him again, and at the same Time wash their Hands of his Blood. This was agreed to; so that they took up *Joseph* out of the * Well, and sold him to the Merchants, being seventeen Years of Age, for Twenty Pieces of Silver.

Reuben was Casting about all this while how he might save his poor Brother, and without a Word speaking to any of the rest, he went late at Night to the Well, where he call'd several Times to *Joseph*; but hearing no Answer, he presently concluded that his Brothers had murder'd him, which afflicted him grievously. But when he came to know what had passed, he was very well satisfy'd with the Proceeding. The next Thing now to be thought of was how to excuse and palliate the Matter to the Father, so that the Brothers might not be suspected. They debated this Point a while among themselves, and came in the End to this Conclusion, that they should take *Joseph's* Travelling Coat, which they had stripp'd him of when they put him into the Well; Tear it and stain it with Goat's Blood, and so carry it to *Jacob*, that he might think his Son was devour'd by wild Beasts. They went to the old Man with this Pretence, (who had heard somewhat already of his Son's Misfortune) shew'd him the Coat all torn and bloody, (at least, said they, if that were the Coat *Joseph* went out in) and so took it for granted that he was destroy'd by wild Beasts; for neither had they seen him, nor could they imagine what was become of him, as they pretended. *Jacob* comforted himself till now with the Hope he might be taken Prisoner, or possibly that some gentler Ill-hap might have befallen him, but upon the Sight of the Blood and the Coat, (for it was *Joseph's* Coat he said.) *Jacob* immediately cloathed himself in Sack-Cloth, and fell into so inconsolable a Passion of Sorrow and Lamentation, that he would not suffer either his Sons or his own Reason to comfort him.

G H A P.

* Gen. 37. and 39.

C H A P. IV.

Joseph tempted to Lewdness by Potiphar's Wife. His Exemplary Continence.

* **W**HEN the Merchants that bought *Joseph* came to *Ægypt*, they sold him to † *Potiphar*, one of King *Pharaoh's* great Officers : Who treated him not, in the Matter either of Liberty or Dyet, like an ordinary Servant, but with the Freedom of a generous Education ; Training him up to Letters, and in a short Time advancing him to be Overseer of the House. In this Change of Condition, his Mind and his Virtue were still the same, and he gave to understand by the Prudence of his Conduct, that a wise Man will stand his Ground in all Fortunes. He was a Stripling of so gracious a Person, and so agreeable an Address, that *Potiphar's* Wife fell downright in Love with him ; making no Question, but upon the first opening of her Mind to him, the Vanity and Ambition of so great an Honour would bring him over to her. But she made this Judgment upon *Joseph*, more upon the Consideration of the Narrowness of his present Condition, than upon any Reason she had to suspect the unchangeable Dignity of his Soul. However, in this Confidence and Opinion, she gave him to understand by broad Signs that she had a mind to ly with him. He begg'd of her upon the very first Motion, to go no further upon that Subject ; for he could not be so ungrateful as to betray so kind a Master, and to pay him with Treachery and Affront for all the Obligations he laid upon him. He desir'd her to smother that unruly Passion, and not so much as to wish for any Thing that it was impossible to obtain. He should account it a Glory, *he said*, to serve her in all lawful Commands ; but for any Thing that was dishonest, he could never submit to it. This Refusal did but set her more and more on Fire, for she could not imagine that *Joseph* would have rejected her Offer. But when she came to find that this would not do, she set her Wits to work upon another Project. There was a great Day of *Merry-meeting* at hand, that commonly brought all the Women of Quality together. *Potiphar's* Wife made choice of this Occasion to feign herself sick in ; took her Chamber, and laid hold of the Opportunity of being alone with *Joseph*. She got him, in short, into her Apartment, and there treated him

* Gen. 39.

† Gr. *Petephres*.

him with wonderful Tenderness and Respect, in Words to this Effect. "It would have been much better for you, (*says she*) to have comply'd fairly with my former Request; though it had been but out of a Regard to the Dignity of the Petitioner, or the Excess of my Passion; and it would have sav'd me the Shame too of condescending to some Words and Expressions that I am yet out of Countenance to think of: But I hope you will now have the Wit to atone for your first Error. If you waited for a second Application, you shall have it now a little more artificial than it was before; for I have counterfeited myself sick on Purpose to avoid the Jollity of the Day; and to shew you that I can quit all other Conversation for the Love I bear you. Or perhaps you might make some doubt before, whether I was in Earnest or not; but this is now to satisfy you, that I meant you no ill, by my persisting still in the same Mind: Wherefore take your Choice now, whether you will improve this Opportunity of a present Satisfaction in the Embraces of a Creature that loves you, and from whom you may over and above expect yet greater Things; or stand the Shock of my Hatred and Revenge, if you shall presume to value yourself more upon the vain Conceit of your own Chastity, than upon my Favour: And if it comes to that once, do not you flatter yourself into a foolish Confidence of escaping, with a dry Ostentation of your Virtue; for I will certainly accuse you to my Husband of an Attempt upon my Honour; and when the Word is out once, true or false, you will find more heed given to my Charge, than to your Justification."

This Freak was accompany'd with Prayers, Menaces, and Tears: But neither the one nor the other, neither Compassion nor Terror had the Power to make any Impression upon his Virtue, for he stood firm against all her Threatnings, in an unalterable Determination, rather to abide the worst of Extremities, than to yield to the lewd Importunities of a dishonest Appetite: Being in his own Conscience satisfy'd, that no Severity could be too much for a Man that should do so base a Thing to please a Woman. He was not wanting neither to put her in mind of her Duty, both to herself and to her Husband, and of what she ow'd to Piety, Honesty, Custom, and common Fame. "What signifies (*says he*) a momentary Pleasure attended with a certain Repentance upon the Heel of it? A Heaviness of Heart for a Thing once done, and an utter Impossibility of recalling and undoing it? Perpetual Fears of Discovery and Disgrace?" "What

“ What does all this signifie, I say, in Ballance with the most
“ substantial Comforts, and the most necessary Duties of hu-
“ man Life? Whereas in a Conjugal State, the self same
“ Delights are all free, safe, innocent, and warrantable be-
“ fore God and Man. Consider again, how it would lessen
“ your Authority, to make your Servant your Equal, by a
“ shameful Participation in one common Crime. And pray,
“ is it not better to trust to a good Conscience that fears no
“ Light, than to commit Wickedness in the Dark, and spend
“ all your Days in a restless Dread of being detected?” *Joseph*
said this, and a great deal more, to try if it were possible to
do any good upon the Passion of an impetuous Woman, and
to reduce his Mistress to Sobriety and Reason. But all this
was only more Fuel to the Fire; so that what could not be
done with Words, she attempted by Violence; catching
hold of his Garment to force him to Lewdness with her.
But *Joseph* had such an Indignation for this shameless Wo-
man, that he brake loose from her, and so out of the Door,
and left his Coat in her Hand. She was at first miserably
distracted, and betwixt the Sting of the Repulse and the
Fear of being discover’d; but coming in an Instant to a Re-
solution of out-facing the whole Story and turning it upon
Joseph, by which means she consulted her Security and her
Revenge both in one, she kept herself close to her Chamber,
all in Tears and Trouble, imputing the Passion she was in
at the Disappointment of her Lust to the scrupulous Sense of
an Indignity offer’d to her Honour. While she was in this
Disorder and Confusion, in comes her Husband; who, tak-
ing notice of somewhat very extraordinary, enter’d pre-
sently into a strict Enquiry what might be the Matter. “ A-
“ las! My dear Husband (*says she*) you will not deserve to
“ live unless you make an Example of this perfidious insen-
“ sible Wretch your Man. He has forgotten what he was
“ when you took him into your House; how kindly and re-
“ spectfully he has been treated here, to a Degree beyond
“ his very Hope as well as his Desert; the Charge of your
“ whole Family is committed to him; the Command of
“ the rest of your Servants, and the Trust of all you have.
“ What will you think of this Fellow now, that, in requital
“ of all your Bounties and good Offices, could have the Im-
“ pudence to offer at the Violation of your Bed; and to
“ take the Opportunity of this Day of Freedom, when you
“ were out of the Way, to break in upon my Privacy and
“ press the Enjoyment of his beastly Ends? This thankless
“ Villain

“Villain that was effectually the Master of all other Things
 “under your Roof! Would nothing serve him but he must
 “have your Wife too? What a Countenance of Modesty
 “did this Wretch put on for a Blind to his Master, and not
 “one Grain of it in his Disposition and Nature! Nay fur-
 “ther, *says she*, in Confirmation of all I have said, here is
 “his Garment too, that I laid hold of when he would have
 “forc’d me, and he was fain to leave it behind him upon
 “the Struggle.”

This plausible Course of Words, and the Tears that went along with them, wrought so effectually upon the easie Credulity and Affection of *Potiphar*, that being thoroughly satisfied with the Virtue of his Wife, and reckoning himself as good as a Witness of it too, there was no Need or Thought of Enquiry or Examination, but all taken for granted, and his Wife celebrated for a Woman of a most inviolable unspotted Faith. This was enough to cast *Joseph* in the common Jail among the most infamous of Malefactors.

C H A P. V.

Joseph falsely Accused, and Committed to Prison; and what befel him there. His Interpretation of several Dreams.

† *Joseph*, in this Condition, never troubled his Head either to make Defences in his own Vindication or Remonstrances of the Truth of the Story; but committed his Innocence to the Protection of the Almighty, and bearing his Chains with Patience supported himself with this Comfort, that the Power of God, who knew the Justice of his Cause, was above that of his Enemies, as it soon appear’d in this following Providence: For the Keeper was so charmed with his Candour and careful Diligence in all he did, together with the Comeliness of his Person, that he discharged him of his Irons, and by this Means of a considerable Part of his Trouble; allowing him also a better Entertainment otherwise than the rest of his Companions. It was with *Joseph* and his *Fellow-Prisoners*, as it is commonly with other People in their Conditions. They had their Times of talking and fortifying themselves together, and would be naturally enquiring of one another what this and t’other was in for. Upon
 this

this Occasion *Joseph* contracted a Familiarity with *Pharaoh's Butler*, a Man much in the King's Esteem, though at that Time upon some unlucky Dissatisfaction he was a Prisoner there. This Butler had a high Opinion of *Joseph's* Parts and Understanding, and so took Liberty to tell him of a Dream he had, and to consult *Joseph* about the unriddling of it. He was very unhappy, *he said*, to be not only fallen under his Master's Displeasure, but perplexed also with Dreams and Visions of a more than ordinary Quality. "Methought I saw (*says he*) Three Branches of a Vine, and a Bunch of Grapes upon every Branch, all Ripe and ready to be gathered. I pressed them myself methought into a Cup the King had in his Hand; after which I presented his Majesty with the Wine, and he found it excellent." This was his Dream, and he desired *Joseph*, if he had any Skill that Way, to give him an Explication of it. *Joseph* spake a Word of Comfort to him, and bad him *have a good Heart, for in three Days Time he should be at Liberty. The King had Occasion for him, and he should have his Place again.* "The Fruit of the Vine, *says Joseph*, is a Gift of God, for the Use and Comfort of Mankind. God accepts it himself in his Sacrifices: It creates Friendships, composes Differences, dissolves Cares and Melancholy, and turns Sadness into Joy. The King, *you say*, received the Cup and the Wine from your Hand; this imports great Good to you, and intimates that within as many Days as you saw Branches, you may assure yourself of your Deliverance. Now, *says Joseph*, when you find this to be true, think of me, when you yourself shall be free and in Prosperity, do not forget those you have left behind you. I am not here a Criminal, but only punished as for preferring the Duty and Honour of my Master before a brutal Pleasure." This Interpretation could not but please the Butler, and he waited chearfully for the Event.

Pharaoh's Chief Baker was at that Time in the same Prison: And finding so favourable an Exposition given of the Butler's Dream, he pleased himself in the Hope of as fair an Interpretation of a Dream of his own too; consulting *Joseph*, as the Butler had done before, for the unfolding of it. "Last Night (*says he*) methought I had upon my Head three Baskets, two of Bread, and a third of Flesh, with other Delicacies for a Royal Table. The Birds of the Air fell violently upon them, and devoured them notwithstanding all I could do to fright them away." Now the Baker expected such another Construction of this Vision as the Butler had; but it proved the contrary. For *Joseph* told him that he could not speak

ſpeak ſo comfortable Things to him as he wiſh'd to do. “ The two Baskets, ſays he, ſignifie that you have only two “ Days to live; and that upon the third, your Body is to “ be hanged up, and expoſed to the Fowls of the Air, and “ there’s no Poſſibility of avoiding it.”

Every Thing came to paſs as *Joſeph* had foretold it; for upon the precise Day according to his Prediction, the Feſtival of *Pharaoh’s Birth-Day*, the King order’d the *Baker* to be hang’d up, and the *Butler* to be reſtor’d to his Office. When *Joſeph* had been two Years a Priſoner, and as a Man utterly forgotten by the ungrateful *Butler*, Providence made uſe of this Means for his Deliverance. *Pharaoh* had two Dreams in one Night, and the Viſion was expounded to him: He remember’d the Dreams; but forgot the Interpretation of them any further, than that in general they boded him no good. This ran ſo much in *Pharaoh’s* Head, that he ſummon’d a Convocation of the Learnedſt Doctōrs of the *Ægyptians* to attend him early next Morning, and to expound his Viſions. They met, and conſulted; but finding themſelves at a Puzzle, *Pharaoh* grew more out of Humour than before. This Occaſion brought the *Butler* to bethink himſelf once again of *Joſeph*, and of his Skill in that Way of Conjecture. Upon this he went to the King, and told him of *Joſeph*, and a Viſion of his own that he had expounded to him, while they were together in the Priſon. And for the greater Authority of his Predictions, he himſelf was reſtor’d to his Office, and the *Baker* hang’d, upon the very Day which he foretold. *Joſeph* he ſaid, was the Servant of *Potiphar*, and at that Time a Priſoner upon his Account. He paſſes for an *Hebrew*, and of no obſcure Family. You may be pleaſed, ſays the *Butler*, to ſend for him, without any Exception to the Meanness of his preſent Condition; for he will certainly inform your Maſteſty in what you deſire to know. * Let him be call’d immediately, ſays the King; and ſo the Servants went in all haſte, and brought him. *Pharaoh* treated the Young Man very reſpectfully, and taking him by the Right-hand, ſpoke to him courteouſly after this Manner. “ There is a Servant “ of mine, ſays he, that hath given you the Character of a “ wiſe Man: He tells me that he hath found you ſo himſelf, “ and very curious in one particular Faculty, wherein I have “ at this Inſtant a ſpecial Occaſion to employ you. He tells “ me you have a ſingular Talent in expounding of Dreams, “ and that you unriddled one for him; pray do as much for “ me,

* Gen. 41.

“ me, and I shall take it very kindly ; but be sure you make
“ Things neither more nor less than they are, either for Fear
“ or Favour ; but speak the Truth freely, whether it makes
“ for me or against me. I was walking, methought, along
“ the River, and I saw seven Large and well-fed Cattle come
“ out of it, and go their ways toward a Pasture : After
“ which I saw seven Lean ill-favour'd Beasts coming from
“ the Pasture to the River : They met, methought, and the
“ seven Lean Ones devour'd the Fat, and were never the
“ fuller for it.” After this Vision I waked ; and while my
Thoughts were at work upon the Nature of Dreams, I dos'd
upon it, and dropping asleep insensibly had a more wonder-
ful Apparition than the former, which put me into a great
Trouble and Affright. “ Methought I saw *seven Ears of Corn*
“ sprung from one Root. They were ripe and ready to cut,
“ and so heavy laden, that their Heads bow'd under the
“ Burden. Not far from this, I saw *seven other Ears*, thin
“ and blasted ; and these starv'd Ears to my Astonishment
“ devour'd the other.”

Joseph upon this, told the King, that these two Dreams,
how differing soever in Appearance, had but one and the same
Prospect. “ The Ox, says he, is a Creature design'd by Pro-
“ vidence for Labour and Tillage. By the *seven Fat Oxen*, and
“ the *seven Lean Ones* ; and so by the *seven Plump Ears of*
“ *Corn*, and the *seven Blasted Ones*, is intimated *seven Years*
“ *of Plenty* to come in *Ægypt* ; and after that *seven more of*
“ *Famine* ; and by the *Lean Oxen devouring the Fat*, and the
“ *Blasted Ears of Corn the Full and Plump Ones*, is given to
“ understand that the *first seven Years* will not be sufficient to
“ supply the Scarcity of *seven others to come* : Which I take
“ to be demonstrated in this, that when the *Lean Oxen had*
“ *devoured the Fat*, they were not yet *satisfy'd*. So that most
“ certainly the Extremity will be very great. Now God doth
“ not reveal his secret Purposes to Mankind, only to terrify
“ and afflict them ; but for a timely Warning to them, that
“ they may either provide against or prevent the worst. So
“ that if your Majesty shall be pleased to order the laying
“ up of Stores out of your Abundance in the Years of Plenty,
“ for a Reserve against a Time of Need, the following Scar-
“ city will be the less grievous.” The King stood in Admira-
tion at the Sagacity and Wisdom of *Joseph*, and so demand-
ed of him, what Course he would advise in the present Case
for the obviating of those Difficulties to come. *Joseph* pro-
posed a Regulation of Expences ; for Parsimony, and the
Retrenching of Superfluities, would go a great Way in the

Work. He was of Opinion also, for laying up Magazines of Corn in Barns and elsewhere, to be deliver'd out by Allowance, and no more to be distributed then what was absolutely necessary for Bread and Seed.

Pharaoh was as much delighted with *Joseph's Oeconomicks*, as with his Skill in *Dreams*; and so with great Honour to his Judgment and Counsel, he gave him full Power and Authority, as Supervisor of all his Stores, to put his Project in Execution, in such Sort and Manner as he himself should judge meet for the Service of his Master, and the Good of the Publick. Upon the conferring of this Commission, the King deliver'd him his Signet, and granted him certain Privileges of wearing Purple, and riding in a Chariot through all his Dominions. *Joseph* went now about his Business, storing up the Corn wherever he came, and distributing among the Husbandmen only such a Proportion, as might be barely sufficient for their Sustenance and to sow their Grounds, without telling any Creature the Reason of all this.

CH A P. VI.

Joseph highly in the King's Favour. The Adventures of Himself and his Brethren upon their coming into Ægypt.

Joseph was now thirty Years of Age, and so remarkably great in the King's Favour for his admirable Wisdom, that he gave him the Name of (a) *Psonthomphanec*, in the *Ægyptian* Tongue, the Finder out of hidden Things.

He took to Wife *Aseneth* the Daughter of (b) *Potiphera*, (c) High-Priest of *Heliopolis*, which was a Match of the King's making, and a very great Honour. He had two Children by her before the Famine. The Elder he called *Manasses*, or *Oblivion*, because *Joseph's* better Fortune made him forget the worse: The Younger *Ephraim*, or *Restitution*, because he was reinstated in the Freedom of his Ancestors.

Joseph's seven Years of Plenty in *Ægypt* were now past, and in the Eighth began the Famine, according to his Prediction. The Calamity was a Surprise, and brought huge Multitudes of People into Distress, flocking from all Quarters about the
King's

(a) Or *Psonthomphanec*. Scr. *Zaph-nath-paaneah*. (b) Gr. *Petiphres*.

(c) Scr. Priest of On.

King's Gates. Whereupon *Joseph* was presently call'd, who took such Care for their Relief, that with one Voice, they celebrated him as the Saviour of the Nation. And the Stores were not open only to the People of the Country, but to Foreigners also: *Joseph* reckoning upon it, that the Universality of Mankind are, in Truth, all of a Blood, and that it is the Duty of Men in Prosperity to assist their Brethren in Distress.

* Now this Misery did not fall upon *Ægypt* alone, but several other Provinces suffered under the like Scarcity; and *Chanaan* in particular: So that *Jacob* being informed that Strangers were admitted to deal for Corn in *Ægypt*, sent all his Sons thither to buy Provisions; save only *Benjamin* the Son of *Rachel*, and of the Blood of *Joseph*.

So soon as the *Ten Brothers* were come into *Ægypt*, they made their Application to *Joseph*, only for Leave that they might have Corn for their Money. Now *Joseph* was in so great Credit with the King, that there was nothing to be done at Court, but by his Influence. *Joseph* knew his Brothers at first Sight, though they knew not him; for alas! he was taken away Young, and had now upon him the Air and Fashion of quite another Person: Beside that no body could have expected *Joseph* either in that Country, or in that Post of Authority. Finding himself not known, and not so much as any Suspicion of him, *Joseph* resolved within himself to make some Trial of his Brothers, to see how they stood inclin'd: And so for a Countenance, he not only deny'd them Corn, but charged them as *Spies*, and Criminals of State. "My Friends, says he, You say you are Brothers, whereas you are in Truth, no better than a Cabal of Conspirators, and of several Nations too. How can any Body believe so many extraordinary Persons, as you undoubtedly are, to be only the Sons of one private Man? When hardly any Prince can boast of such an Issue." *Joseph* put this upon them to try if he could pump out any Thing concerning his Father, and how Matters had gone in the Family since his Time; and what was become of his Brother *Benjamin*; for he was heartily afraid that they might have served him, as they would have done himself. This Way of Proceeding put them all into a Consternation: They found themselves in Danger, and the End of a long Journey disappointed: But something must be said however, and *Reuben* in the Name of the Company was the Speaker. "We are not come hither,"

M 2

"says

* Gen. 42.

“*says he*, to pry into Matters of State, or to attempt any Thing upon the Person of the King or the Peace of his Government. It is pure Want of Bread that hath driven us hither for Refuge, or I might say, that your Humanity hath effectually invited us, in granting the Freedom of your Markets for Corn to Strangers, as well as to your own People, as we are informed you have. That we are one Man’s Children, may in some measure be collected from the very Resemblance of our Faces, and it is true we are so. Our Father’s Name is *Jacob*, by Birth an *Hebrew*. There were *Twelve Sons* of us that he had by four Women, and so long as they all liv’d, Things went well enough with us; but one of the Number whose Name was *Joseph*, being taken away, we fell into Misfortunes. Our Father lives still a Mourner for that Loss, and his insoluble Sorrows are no less an Affliction at this Day to us, than was the untimely Death of our dearest Brother. We come hither under your Favour, to buy Corn, and in our Absence the Care of our good Father is committed to our youngest Brother *Benjamin*. If it be doubted whether we speak Truth or not, it is but sending a Messenger to our Father to learn the Certainty.”

This was *Reuben*’s Speech, for the Satisfaction of *Joseph*, and on the Behalf of himself and his Brothers. Now *Joseph*, finding that his Father and Brothers were safe and well, commanded the Brethren to be all taken into Custody, upon pretence of calling them to a stricter Account at better Leisure. At three Days End, they were brought to him again; and well! My Friends, says *Joseph*, “Here you affirm to me that you are come hither without any malicious Design upon the Government, and that you are all the Sons of the same Father *Jacob*. Now for the Truth of all you say, you shall leave one of your Brethren with me, as an Hostage, that when you shall have deliver’d the Corn you come for to your Father, you shall come back again, and bring along with you the other Brother that you say you left behind. In the mean Time your Hostage shall be well used. *This, and nothing else will convince me that you are honest Men.*” These Words went to their Hearts; for they fancy’d themselves upon the very Brink of Ruin; they deplored their ill Hap, and were still harping upon it one to another, that all this was only a Divine Vengeance that pursued them for their Barbarity to their poor Brother. *Reuben* took them up short, for the Vanity and Folly of a late and of an unprofitable Repentance; telling them
frankly,

frankly, that there was no Remedy but Patience, under the Judgment of a just God upon a wicked Brood of Brothers. These Discourses passed among themselves in Confidence that no body there understood *Hebrew*. *Reuben*, with this cutting Liberty, wounded them to the Souls, lamenting one to another, why they could not think of this in Time, and their Consciences still minding them that the Wrath of God was fallen justly upon them. These Reflections put the Brothers into such a Horror of Desperation and Confusion, that *Joseph* was fain to withdraw for fear of discovering himself, being no longer able to forbear weeping. After a little Stay, he came in again, took *Simeon* for a Pledge of their Return, and gave them a License for their Corn; but a Servant was order'd under-hand to convey the Money they had paid for it into their Baggage, which was accordingly done, and so they departed.

Upon the Return of *Jacob's* Sons into *Chanaan*, they told their Father the whole Story of their Adventure in *Aegypt*; how they were clapt up for *Spies*, and could not be believed, either that they were all Brethren, or had left another Brother behind them; so that they were forc'd to leave *Simeon* for a Pledge that they should come back again, and bring *Benjamin* with them to vouch what they said; begging earnestly of their Father to let him go, without any further Scruple. *Jacob* was not at all pleas'd with what they had done in leaving *Simeon*; but then it went to the Heart of him to think of parting with *Benjamin*, though *Reuben* offer'd to answer with the Lives of his own Children for the others Safety and Return. They were in a dreadful Perplexity what to do; and nothing stumbled them more, than when they came to find their Money in their Sacks. But their Provisions wasting all this while, and their Wants increasing, *Jacob* was half in the mind sometimes to venture his Son *Benjamin* with the rest; for there was no Thought of ever returning to *Aegypt* without keeping their Conditions. Their Necessities pressed harder and harder upon them, and the Brothers Importunities were not wanting neither; but nothing could move *Jacob* yet, till in the Conclusion, *Judas*, a Man of a bold and free Spirit, took his Father to task after another Manner. "Methinks, says he to his Father, You are a little too sollicitous for *Benjamin*. He must submit to the Will of God, whether he be Abroad or at Home: And we are all to be deliver'd to a certain Destruction in the Loss of *Pharaoh's* Friendship, for fear of I know not what that may befall our little Brother: But what will you say now, if the

M 3

Egyptians

"*Ægyptians* should destroy *Simeon*, when you are trifling and
"whiling away Time about *Benjamin*. Trust God upon the
"main, and rest assured, that I will either perish my self,
"or bring him safe home again." *Jacob* was at length prevail'd upon, and deliver'd up the * Child; gave them double the Price of the Corn with them, and Presents of the Fruits of the Land of *Chanaan* for the Person they treated with; as *Balm*, *Myrrhe*, *Turpentine*, *Honey*, &c. and so with a Flood of Tears on both Sides, they tenderly parted: The *Father* in a desperate Anxiety for fear he should never see his Sons again, and the *Sons* in as miserable a Distress of Apprehension for fear this very Separation should be the Death of the *Father*. They spent a whole Day upon this mournful Subject, and in the End *Jacob* betook himself to his Solitude, and the Sons prosecuted their Journey, in Hope of somewhat to come that might ballance their present Affliction.

So soon as ever they came into *Ægypt*, they address'd themselves to *Joseph*; not a little in pain for fear the Money they found in their Sacks should be charg'd upon them as a Cheat. But upon laying the Matter before *Joseph's* Steward, and telling him, how that finding their Money in their Sacks, without knowing how it came there, they had now brought it back again to restore it; the Steward answer'd them boldly that he knew nothing of the Business. Their Hearts upon this were a little more at Ease; especially when they saw their Brother *Simeon* at Liberty. *Joseph*, by this Time, was come from waiting upon the King, and while they were making their Presents, he fell to asking them Questions; as how their Father did, and the like: They told him well. His Fears for *Benjamin* were now over too; for he saw him in the Company, and asked them again, if that were the youngest of the Brothers, and they told him, yes: Whereupon he said no more than this, *God's Providence is over all Things*, and so went out; for the Tears standing in his Eyes, he was so full, he could not conceal it. That Evening he gave them an Invitation to Supper with him, where he ranged them in the same Order they used in their Father's House, treating them all with exceeding Courtesie, but *Benjamin's Portion* was double to any of the rest.

After Supper, when the Company was retir'd; *Joseph* order'd the measuring of their Corn, and bad his Steward put the Money into their Sacks, as before, and to convey into *Benjamin's Sack* a certain *Silver Cup* that he himself had a
particular

particular Fancy for. This he did to try whether they would stand by *Benjamin*, in case he should be charged with the Theft; or leave him in the Lurch, and so return to their Father without him. This was all done, according to Order. By Break of Day the next Morning, they set forward for their Journey, not dreaming of any Trick to be put upon them, and mightily pleas'd at the Thought that they had got *Simeon* safe, and *Benjamin* so far on his Way back again, according to their Engagement. As they were Travelling on, they found themselves all on a sudden surrounded with Troops of Horse, and the Servant among them that put the *Cup* into the *Sack*. This Surprise transported them into Clamours and Exclamations against the Inhumanity of such a Practice from the same People that had but just now treated them with so much Hospitality and Honour. The *Ægyptians*, on the other Side, called them a Pack of Rascals, for returning only Injuries where they had received so many Civilities and Benefits; but they should pay for their Thieving and Roguery in Time convenient. They might put shuffling Tricks, *they said*, upon the Butler; but there was an All-seeing Eye above that would certainly find them out. They had brought Matters now to such a Pass, that there was nothing to be expected, but immediately to receive the just Reward of their Treachery. At this insolent Rate, they blutur'd and swagger'd; but the Servant above all the rest: Infomuch that the poor Wretches, that were ignorant of the Plot, took him to be no better than a Mad-man. They were likely Men indeed to pilfer, *they cry'd*, that, when some body had put the Corn-money into their Sacks again, had the Honesty to restore it; and nothing but their own Consciences to witness against them: But Searching, *they said*, would do more then Fending and Proving; and so without any more Words they offer'd-up themselves, Bagg and Baggage, to the Scrutiny, and if any one of them should be found guilty, they were all willing to suffer for it; so secure did they reckon themselves in the Conscience of their own Innocence. The *Ægyptians* took them at their Words, and fell to Searching: But *Heaven forbid*, they cry'd, *if any one of them should be detected, the Innocent should suffer for the Guilty*. They took them in Order, and so passed from one to the other, till they came at last to *Benjamin*: All the rest were now safe and clear, and they made no doubt of finding him so too; only they grumbled at the Importunity of these impertinent People, that had been such a Hindrance to them in their Journey. Being now come to

Benjamin's Sack, * out came the *Silver Cup*; which they that put it there could have found out as well at first, if the Method of the Contrivance would have born it. Upon this Discovery, they all brake out into Tears; extravagant Actions, and passionate Lamentations; tearing their Garments, and crying out like Men distracted, their Brother was undone, what would become of that poor Brother of theirs! How should they answer for him to his Father! and then to miscarry now too, when they thought all was over! It was not for nothing, *they cry'd*, that the good Man was so unwilling to part with him, and we must be pressing of him to let him go: So that our Father is ruin'd, and the Blame of all this must be laid at our Door.

The Officers carry'd *Benjamin* away to *Joseph*, and his Companions went along with him. *Benjamin* being now a Prisoner, and his Brethren in so sorrowful a Plight, *Joseph* looking upon them, reproach'd them in Words to this Purpose: "And is it so then, *says he*, You vilest of Men, that without "any regard either to the good Offices of Hospitality, or to "the Dispensations of Divine Providence, you should put so "ungrateful an Affront upon your Patron and Benefactor?" The Brothers interposing their Requests, that their Lives might be accepted of in exchange for that of their unfortunate Brother. And then they were up with *Joseph's* Name over and over again, how happy it was for him, that he was out of this miserable Life, (at least if so he was) or if yet Living, how much it was to his Honour, that the severe Vengeance of God should be inflicted upon them for his Sake. They went on, taking the Blame upon themselves, as the Authors and Instruments of their Father's Afflictions, in Reviving his old Sorrows with this new one; *Reuben*, at every turn, reproaching them with the execrable Murder of their Brother. *Joseph*, as upon Consideration, told them at length, that truly for the Innocent, as he did not think it fair to make one Man bear the Punishment of another Man's Transgression, so neither did he find it reasonable to discharge the Offenders at the Instance of the Guiltless, or to punish them all alike. Wherefore (*says Joseph*) you may return when you please, and it shall be my Care to provide you a safe Passage; and for your Brother, I shall content myself with him alone for an Example.

These Words struck them all dumb, save only *Judas*, who was a Man of Wit and Courage, and the only Person that brought

* Gen. 44.

brought over *Jacob* to part with his Son. This *Judas* took up a generous Resolution, upon this Occasion, of running any Risk to save him, as he had promis'd his Father : And hereupon apply'd himself to *Joseph* in these Words. * “ We cannot but confess, most excellent Governour, that the Fact now in Question is a heinous Transgression, and a Crime that deserves Punishment. The Guilt, it is true, falls only upon one of us, and the youngest ; but though we are not all in Fault, we are all ready yet to suffer for it. As to the poor young Man, we should give him for lost, if it were not for the Confidence we have in your Clemency and Goodness. We must therefore appeal from the strict Consideration of the Fact to the Benignity of your own Nature ; and to your native Tenderness, from the Heat of your Indignation, Anger being a Passion only for narrow Souls : And therefore we make no doubt but your Virtue and Moderation will set Bounds to your Displeasure. For, with Submission, it would not be for your Honour to destroy a Sort of People that voluntarily deliver up themselves to your Justice, and desire only to become indebted for their Lives to your Mercy : Which in effect would be but the Bounty of giving us the same Lives over again. For when we were in Distress for Want of *Corn*, what was it, but the Dispatch and Generosity of your Relief, that preserved us and our whole Family from perishing by Famine ? Now to relieve Men in extreme Necessity for Want of Food, and to forgive an Offender that stands in Need of a Pardon, is but an Effect of the same Tenderness in another Way of expressing it ; the one *Saves* the Life, and the other *Spare*s it. You are now but to *Save* whom you have *Fed* for the very *End* of *Saving* them : Which End is lost, if you do not preserve the Lives you have given ; and in so doing, we shall become your Debtors, not only for the Necessaries of Life, but for Life itself. This Occasion looks, as if God himself, for your greater Glory, had furnished Matter express for your Virtue to work upon ; and that the World may see you are as well merciful as liberal, and take more Delight in doing good Offices to others, than in revenging Injuries done to yourself. It is, I must confess, a generous Disposition to be human and charitable : But there is no Ornament that becomes Greatness like Clemency ; especially when that Clemency is exercis'd upon the Forgiving of Affronts offer'd to the Forgiver himself. Now if it be Praise-worthy to

“ pass

* Gen. 44.

“ pass over, even the smallest Faults, it is little less than
“ Divine for a Man to moderate the Resentment of a capital
“ Crime, and in his own Case too. It is not for the
“ Sake of our own Safety that I am thus solicitous, but out
“ of a Sense of the anxious Tenderneſs of a Father for a
“ Child, which I am the more sensible of, by the Experience
“ I have had of the Violence of my own Father’s Passion,
“ upon the Loss of our dear Brother *Joseph*. We should not
“ think our own Lives worth the struggling for, were it not
“ for the deplorable Consequences that our Ruin would have
“ upon our aged Father when we are gone ; saving that we
“ have some Sort of Ambition likewise, to become indebted to
“ your Vertue, and to declare ourselves the Monuments of
“ your Fame and Goodneſs. We do not beg for ourselves,
“ though a Company of young Creatures that have hardly
“ tasted Life yet ; but for an ancient Father, a Person wasted
“ with Time and Cares ; and in his Name only we implore
“ your Compassion upon his Children also, that have all forfeited
“ their Lives by this Day’s misſ-doing. He himself is
“ undoubtedly a good Man, and it is none of his fault if we
“ are not so too. He has a thousand Grievs and Terrors upon
“ him at this Day, for fear of us ; and it were great pity so
“ worthy a Person should suffer under so mortal a Calamity.
“ When he shall hear that we are dead, and upon what Account,
“ he most infallibly dies likewise. The single Thought
“ of the Infamy ; nay, the very Rumour of it will kill him.
“ We cannot deny, after all this, the Provocation to be
“ great, and your Displeasure just ; but we may yet petition,
“ that the Vengeance for it may not fall upon our innocent
“ Father, and that for his Sake you will be pitiful to us.
“ Be pleased but to consider his Age, and his Condition ;
“ and you may conclude, that when we are gone, he
“ neither can nor will live without us. Consider but our
“ Father, in your own ; and then in ours, the common Case
“ of all Fathers. There is something sacred in the very Name
“ of Father ; as being an Appellation, which God himself
“ vouchsafes to assume : And God the Father of all will
“ certainly bless you and your Posterity for all the Good
“ you shall do under the Honour of that common Name,
“ and on the Behalf of a Father that otherwise must be left
“ Childless. Our Lives are in your Hand, and it is at your
“ Choice whether to give or take : The one you may do with
“ Justice, and the other will be an Act of Grace ; and having
“ both indifferently in your Power, you may grant the latter
“ in Imitation of God himself, without putting the other to
“ the

“ the Strefs ; and employ your Prerogative for the Good and
 “ Preservation of Mankind. Now the more Lives you save,
 “ the more honourable will be your Fame, and in preserving
 “ our Brother, you preserve us all ; for upon his Safety de-
 “ pends ours, and we are never to see our Father again with-
 “ out him : So that whatever he suffers, we must suffer too.
 “ Neither have we, Most Illustrious Governor, any Thing
 “ more to crave, if we cannot obtain this, than that we may
 “ all be join’d in the Punishment, as if we had been Com-
 “ plices in the Fact ; which would be much easier to us, than
 “ to be forc’d by an unsupportable Despair to lay violent
 “ Hands upon ourselves. I might offer further on his Behalf,
 “ that he is Young, and has not seen much of the World ;
 “ and that under these Circumstances, it is a very rare Thing
 “ to put People to Extremities. But to come to a Conclusion,
 “ if we are condemn’d for want of a competent Defence, it
 “ must lie at my Door ; if acquitted, we shall ascribe it
 “ wholly to your Generosity and Goodness ; adding this fur-
 “ ther to your Honour, that in the saving of us, you give us
 “ a new Life, and consult better for us than we could do for
 “ ourselves : But if it shall yet be found absolutely necessary
 “ that somewhat be done for the Satisfaction of a rigorous
 “ Justice, I must affectionately beseech you to accept of me in
 “ the Place of my Brother, that I may abide his Punishment,
 “ and the young Man be sent away to his Father. Or if the
 “ Sentence should be *Slavery* ; my Body may be able to do
 “ you the better Service of the two ; and I am ready, indif-
 “ ferently, to submit either to the one or the other.”

When *Judas* had said and offer’d all that was possible to-
 ward the pacifying of the Governor, and the easing of his
 Brother, he threw himself at *Joseph’s* Feet, and all the rest
 after him, in a joint Mediation for *Benjamin*.

* *Joseph*, by this Time, found himself in such a Confusion,
 betwixt Tenderness and natural Affection, that he could no
 longer act the Part of an angry Judge, but order’d his People
 to withdraw, that he might make himself known to his Bre-
 thren, without any Witnesses to the Greeting : So that when
 he had them by themselves, he made a Discourse to them to
 this effect. “ I cannot, *says he*, but be exceedingly delighted
 “ to find you so friendly and compassionate to your Brother :
 “ Which, I must confess, I was a little doubtful of ; consi-
 “ dering some past Circumstances in my own Case that were
 “ not so good natur’d. It was my End, in what I have now
 “ done,

“ done, to make some Trial of your Brotherly Love upon
“ this Occasion; which I have now receiv’d so fair a Proof of,
“ that I cannot impute any Thing you ever did against me
“ to Gall or Malice; but the Hand of God was in it, whose
“ Providence hath now made Use of that Action as the Means
“ of a present Comfort to you, in giving us the Hope of great-
“ er Blessings yet to come, by the Continuance of God’s Fa-
“ vour and Protection. But since I am now come to under-
“ stand that my Father is in such a State, as I could better
“ wish than expect; and my Brothers the tender Men that
“ they ought to be: All past Injuries are as if they had never
“ been; and I am rather to give you my Thanks, as the In-
“ struments of Divine Providence for our common Advan-
“ tage, than to put you in mind of any Thing of old Date,
“ which at that Time perhaps carry’d a Countenance of Evil:
“ And pray let these Things be forgotten on your Part too,
“ and set your Hearts at Rest, without discomposing your-
“ selves for Errors not to be recall’d, and for lewd Purposes
“ long since gone and past that never took effect; since it
“ hath pleas’d God to bring Good out of Evil. Go your
“ way’s back therefore to your Father, with all Joy and Com-
“ fort, and tell him the wonderful Things that God hath
“ done for you. Go, and dispatch; for Fear of any ill Ac-
“ cident his very Grief and Apprehension may bring upon
“ him else before you see him, which would utterly blast all
“ the Hopes I have of Happiness, both in the Sight of him,
“ and in an Enjoyment with him of all the Blessings that I
“ am possess’d of. Wherefore be gone, and make haste back
“ again; and see you bring my Father, your Wives, Chil-
“ dren, and all your Kindred, along with you; especially at
“ such a Time as this is, for I should be loth to have my
“ dearest Friends at such a Distance from me, when there
“ are five Years of Famine yet more to come.” With these
“ Words, *Joseph* embrac’d his Brothers, who could not but
“ burst out into Tears and Lamentations, reflecting upon their
“ wicked Practices against him: But nothing went nearer their
“ Hearts, than to consider how basely they had dealt with so
“ worthy a Brother. They went after this to Supper.

When the King came to understand that *Joseph*’s Brothers
were come, the News was as welcome to him as if some
great good Fortune had befallen him, insomuch that he or-
der’d Waggon with Corn, Gold and Silver to be sent, and
Presents for their Father; beside what *Joseph* gave them,
some for the Father, some for the Brothers themselves; but
the best of all for *Benjamin*, and so they return’d.

C H A P. VII.

Jacob hearing how splendidly his Son Joseph liv'd in Ægypt, gives him a Visit there with his whole Family.

U Pon the Arrival of *Jacob's* Sons with their Father, they told him the whole History of *Joseph's* Adventures : How he was, not only living, after so long and sad a Mourning for him ; but in great Power and Splendour : *Pharaoh's* first Minister ; and next to the King himself, the most eminent Person in his Dominions. *Jacob* made no Difficulty of believing what was told him, but enter'd into a Contemplation of God's infinite Grace and Favour to him, (the late dark Interval only excepted) and so without any Delay, he and his People hasten'd away to *Joseph*.

* When *Jacob* came to the Well called *the Well of the Oath*, he offer'd up a Sacrifice ; but somewhat uneasy within himself, for Fear the Plenty of *Ægypt* should debauch his Sons, and tempt them to plant there, and so divert his Posterity from returning to *Chanaan*, and the Land which God had promis'd him. He had some Scruple too, lest God should strike him and his People with some judicial Calamity, even for undertaking the present Journey, without imploring Counsel and Direction from above : Or what if he himself should die before he came to *Joseph* ? As he lay drouzing with these Thoughts in his Head, he fell fast asleep ; and God appear'd to him in a Vision, calling him twice by his Name. *Jacob* asked who was there ; and the Vision made him this Answer. “ Hast thou forgotten thy God then *Jacob* ? The God of thy Forefathers that never failed, either them or their Posterity, in a Time of Need : That God that made you the Head of your Family, against your Father's liking ; and when you went single into *Mesopotamia*, blessed you with an advantageous Match, and brought you back again full of Wealth and Children : That God that hath still been the Protector and Guardian of your Family, and advanced your Son *Joseph*, whom you gave for Lost, to a Degree of Honour next to the King in *Ægypt*. I am now coming to be your Guide in your present Journey, and to foretel you, that you shall end your Days in the Arms of *Joseph* ; that your Posterity shall be powerful and fa-

mous

* Gen. 46.

"mous for many Ages, and come at last to the Land promis'd them."

Jacob, in the Strength of this *Vision*, marched chearfully on toward *Ægypt*, Himself, and his People, to the Number of *Seventy Persons*. Their Names are a little uncouth, and I should have passed them over; but for the Satisfaction of those that will have us to be *Ægyptians*, not *Mesopotamians*.

Jacob had *twelve Sons*. *Joseph* being gone away before, we shall only give an Account now of the rest severally, and of their Issue.

Reuben had *four Sons*; *Hanoch*, *Phallu*, (a) *Affaron*, and (b) *Charmi*.

Simeon had *six Sons*; *Jamuel*, *Jamin*, (c) *Ohad*, *Jachin*, *Zoar*, and (d) *Shaul*.

Levi had *three Sons*; (e) *Gershon*, (f) *Chaath*, and (g) *Merari*.

Judas had *three Sons*; (h) *Salah*, *Phares*, and (i) *Zarah*.

Phares had *two Sons*; *Efron*, (k) *Amyr*.

(l) *Iffachar* had *four Sons*; (m) *Thulas*, *Phuas*, *Jasob*, and *Samaron*.

Zabulon had *three Sons*; (n) *Sarad*, *Elon*, and *Jalel*.

Jacob had these Children by *Leah*; who carry'd with her, her Daughter *Dinah*; and all these together amount to the Number of *Thirty three Persons*.

Jacob had over and above, by *Rachel*; *Joseph* and *Benjamin*.

Joseph had *two Sons*; *Manasses* and *Ephraim*.

Benjamin had *ten Sons*; (o) *Bolau*, (p) *Baccharis*, (q) *Asabel*, *Gera*, *Naaman*, (r) *Ies*, *Ros*, (s) *Momphis*, *Opphis*; and *Arad*: And these *Fourteen Persons* added to the other *Thirty three*, make the Number of *Forty seven*. These were *Jacob's* Legitimate Sons, beside *Dan* and *Nephthali*, which he had by *Bilhah*.

Dan had but *one Son*; and he call'd him (t) *Ufis*.

Nephthali had *four Sons*; (u) *Jesfel*, *Guni*, *Iffares*, and *Selim*; and these added to those above, make the Number up *Fifty four*.

Jacob had also by *Zilpah*; *Gad*, and *Affer*.

Gad had *seven Sons*; (x) *Saphonias*, *Augis*, *Sunis*, *Azabon*, *Aerin*, *Eroed*, and *Ariel*.

Affer

(a) Scr. *Hezron*. (b) Scr. *Carmy*. (c) Jos. *Ouodos*. (d) Jos. *Saules*. (e) Gr. *Gersomes*. (f) Scr. *Coath*. (g) Gr. *Mararios*. (h) Scr. *Shelah*. (i) Scr. *Zerah*. (k) Scr. *Hamul*. (l) Gr. *Isacharos*. (m) Scr. *Tola*, *Phuvah*, *Job*, *Shimron*. (n) Scr. *Sered*, *Elon*, *Jahleel*. (o) Scr. *Belah*. (p) Scr. *Becher*. (q) Scr. *Ashbel*. (r) Scr. *Ebi*, *Rosh*. (s) Scr. *Muppm*, and *Huppm*, and *Ard*. (t) Lat. *Us*. Scr. *Hushim*. (u) Scr. *Jahzeel*, *Guni*, *Jezer*, and *Shillem*. (x) Scr. *Ziphion*, *Haggai*, *Shuni*, *Ezbon*, *Eri*, *Arodi*, *Arelis*.

Affer had one Daughter *Sarah*, and six Sons ; (y) *Jomnes*, *Ifus*, *Ifuis*, *Baris*, *Abar*, and *Melchiel*. Now these Fifteen added to the other Fifty four, make the precise Number of Seventy, as is said before, without comprizing *Jacob*.

As they were advancing upon the Way, *Judas* went before with the Intelligence to *Joseph*, that *Jacob* was coming, who presently set out to receive him, and they met at a Place call'd *Heropolis*. *Jacob*, with pure Joy, fell into such a Rapture that they had much a-do to keep Life in him ; and *Joseph*'s Surprise was not much less : But his own Danger did not hinder him from taking care of his Father, being the weaker of the two. After this, he took five of his Brethren along with him, and posted away to the King with the Tidings of their Arrival, ordering the rest to advance by easie Journeys. The King was very glad of the News, and enquir'd of *Joseph* what Business or Profession they chiefly apply'd themselves to. *Joseph* answer'd, that their Employment was wholly Pastoral, and that they minded little else. He gave this Answer for two Reasons : First, to keep them together that they might be within Distance of serving their Father. Secondly, to prevent Strife, and Emulation with the *Ægyptians*, by interfering with any of their Commissions ; for these People were not allow'd to concern themselves in Flocks and Pastures. † *Jacob*, upon his Arrival was carry'd to the King, who asking him his Age, he told him, a Hundred and Thirty : And he said further, (seeing *Pharaoh* in some Wonder at it) that his Ancestors commonly liv'd a great while longer ; so the King appointed *Jacob*, and his Sons to go, and live in *Heliopolis*, where the King had his Flocks and Shepherds.

The Famine at this Time encreased grievously in *Ægypt*, and no Redress. The Course of the *Nile* was stopp'd that uses to water the Country, and make it fruitful ; no Rain at all, and the Generality of the People for want of Foresight utterly without Stores, and no Grain to be had but for ready Money ; and when that fail'd, they dealt for Land, Cattle, and Slaves, in Exchange for Corn. By this means all came into the King's Hands, while the miserable Multitude went, some one way, and some another, submitting to any Misery rather than Starving. Only the Priests preserv'd their Freedom, and their Estates. This Necessity in the Conclusion

(y) Scr. *Jimnah*, *Ibuaah*, *Ifui*, *Beriah*, and *Serah* their Sister : The Sons of *Beriah*, *Hebor*, and *Malchiel*.

† Gen. 47.

clusion made the Peoples Minds as servile as their Bodies ; for they accounted nothing mean or scandalous, that would but put Bread in their Mouths, which Way soever they came at it.

Upon the Return of the *Nile* to it's usual State, and the Clouds to their proper Office of watering and refreshing the Earth, the Famine began by Degrees to abate, and every Thing to return to the Condition it was in before. *Joseph* hereupon visited all the great Towns and Cities ; call'd the People together, and put them into Possession of their Lands again, which they had parted with to the King, reserving a fifth Part of the Profits of them as a Duty to the Royal Pre-rogative : Charging them to be as good Husbands for the King as they would for themselves, if the Grounds were entirely their own. The Men were so surpriz'd with Joy at this unlook'd for Restitution, that they fell presently to work upon Tillage, and Improvement. This magnanimous Piece of Justice did mightily advance *Joseph's* Interest and Authority, both with King and People : And after this Concession, the aforesaid fifth Part was settled by an Act of State upon the Crown for ever.

C H A P. VIII.

The Death of Jacob, and of Joseph.

WHen *Jacob* had been *seventeen Years* in *Ægypt*, he departed this Life in the Arms of his Children, wishing them Plenty and Prosperity, and foretelling them that their Issue should in Time to come possess Part of the Land of *Chanaan*, which came afterwards to pass. He mightily recommended to them the Generosity of *Joseph*, for his Goodness, in returning only Friendship and Benefits for the most provoking of Injuries ; and expressing more Tenderness for his mortal Enemies than was usual with others to the best of Friends. Wherefore he laid his Command upon them to receive *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, *Joseph's* Children, into their Number, when they should come to share the Land of *Chanaan*. (But of this hereafter.) Desiring them at last, that his Body might be bury'd in *Hebron*. He died at a *Hundred forty seven Years of Age*, not inferior for Piety and Vertue to any

* Gen. 48, 49, 50.

any of his Predecessors, and by the Goodness of God he was crown'd with all Sorts of Blessings. *Joseph*, with the King's Leave, caused his Body to be transported to *Hebron*, where it was magnificently bury'd. But the Solemnity being over, the Brothers made a great Difficulty of going back again, for fear of a Revenge from *Joseph*, now the Father was dead, and no body left that could interpose to hinder Mischief; but *Joseph* quieted that Scruple and so got them back with him again: Bestowing upon them large Possessions, and upon all Occasions treating them with the most generous Respect imaginable. After this, *Joseph* also dy'd, at the Age of a *Hundred and ten Years*; a Man of an exact and punctual Virtue; of a wonderful practical Prudence, and one that made so modest a Use of his Power, that no Calumny would stick to him; no, not so much as that of *Potiphar's* Wife. In fine, he master'd all Difficulties, and was advanced to the highest Station in the Government, and no Man either to envy or to bespatter him. The rest of the Brethren liv'd and dy'd happily in *Ægypt* too, and their Bodies afterward, by their Posterity transported to *Hebron*, and there interr'd. The Bones of *Joseph* were carry'd last of all out of *Ægypt* into *Chanaan*, according to his own Appointment, at the Time when the *Hebrews* went away out of the Country. As to the History and Adventures of these People, and how they made their Way into the Land of *Chanaan*, we shall have another Place for't. But it would be first seen how they came to quit the Land of *Ægypt*.

C H A P. IX.

The miserable Slavery of the Hebrews in Ægypt, for 400 Years. The Birth of Moses, and the Providence of his Preservation, by the Means of Pharaoh's Daughter.

* **T**HE *Ægyptians* are naturally a peevish, lazy Sort of People; abandon'd to their Pleasures, and their very Souls set upon their Profit, let it come which Way it will. So that it was no wonder they should cast an envious Eye upon the *Hebrews*, whom they found (just in a Contradiction to their Humour) a laborious, industrious People; abound-

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* Exodus i.

ing in Men and Treasure : A People, in short, whose Happiness they were not able to bear ; beside a Jealousie they had that their Increase in Wealth and Number might make them dangerous. *Joseph's* old Services being now forgotten, and the Government of *Ægypt* translated into other Hands, the *Israelites* were no longer teated as Friends, but as Slaves ; for all servile and coarse Offices of Drudgery fell to their Share ; even to the Degree of putting their Wits to work, to find out new Ways of Vexation and Oppression. They put them to the Dreining of Rivers into Channels ; walling of Towns ; casting up of Dikes and Banks, to keep off Inundations : Nay, the Erecting of Phantastical *Pyramids* ; forcing them upon the Learning of several painful Trades, and tying them up to a perpetual Restlessness of Labour. This was their Life for a matter of *four Hundred Years*. The *Ægyptians*, on the one Hand, making it their Design to work the Generality to Death, and totally to destroy them ; while the *Israelites*, on the other, patiently made the best of their Misfortunes in all Difficulties.

While the *Ægyptians* were thus intent upon the destroying of them, there went a Discourse about, that made their Malice against them yet more implacable, even to the Degree of resolving to Root them out from off the Face of the Earth. There was a certain *Scribe*, as they call'd him, a Man in great Credit for his Predictions, who told the King that there was a *Hebrew* Child to be born about that Time, that would be a Scourge to the *Ægyptians*, and advance the Glory of his own Nation, and if he liv'd to grow up, he would be a Man eminent for Virtue and Courage, and make his Name famous to Posterity. This did so startle the King, that by the Counsel of the *Scribe* he order'd the *Ægyptian* Midwives carefully and strictly to attend the Labours of all the *Hebrew Women* ; preserving the Females, and casting the Males into the River. He committed this Trust to the *Ægyptians*, as the least likely to be Partial, and upon pain of Death to them and their Family, who shall presume to conceal any Child, or act contrary to this Command.

The Barbarity of this bloody Decree look'd several Ways ; first, as it depriv'd so many Parents of their Children ; secondly, as it made those Parents themselves accessory to the Murder of their own Issue : And then again, as they had in Prospect an utter Extinction of the whole Race for want of Males to continue it. They were now brought to the last Extremity ; but there is no opposing of Craft and Violence to God's Will and Providence ; for this Child, that the *Scribe* had

had foretold of, was born and brought up privately and safe, in despite of all Precautions, and liv'd to make good the Scribe's Predictions. The Matter was carry'd thus.

There was one (a) *Amram*, a *Hebrew*, a Man of eminent Quality and Credit, that found himself in a great strait upon this Decree, both publick and private; one Way, out of a Respect to the whole Nation that was to be exterminated by it; the other, in regard to his own Particular, for his Wife was then with Child. * In this Distress of Sorrow he offer'd up a Prayer to Almighty God, *that he would look down in pity upon a People that had never departed from his Worship; that he would Guide and Protect them, and in his good Time put an end to a Calamity that struck at no less than the Rooting out of the whole Stock.* His Prayer was heard, and God appear'd to him in a Dream, telling him that *as he had not forgotten the Piety of his Predecessors, so neither would he fail to reward them as he had done their Ancestors;* encouraging *Amram* to hope for better Things. "It was I (*said the Vision*) that made you so mighty a Nation from so small a Beginning: That brought *Abraham*, in his own single Person, out of *Mesopotamia* into *Chanaan*, and (beside other Blessings) gave him Children by a Woman that according to the Course of Nature, was past Child-bearing, and left vast Possessions to those that came after him: To *Ishmael* the Country of *Arabia*; To *Troglodytis* to the Children of *Gheturah*, and to *Isaac* the Land of *Chanaan*. You cannot (without extreme Wickedness and Ingratitude) forget the Glory and Successes of all your Exploits when I fought your Battles: My Blessings upon *Jacob* and his Posterity, who of Seventy Persons only that came into *Ægypt*, are at present multiply'd to six Hundred Thousand. The Vision also assur'd him, that *he would provide for the common Good of them all, and for himself in Particular;* for the Child that the *Ægyptians* stood in such Dread of, and for whose Sake all the *Hebrew Males* were to be put to Death: That Child, *the Vision said,* should be born to him; come happily into the World; scape all Spies; have an Education provided for him, beyond what could be expected, and in good Time deliver the *Israelites* from the *Ægyptian* Bondage, and make his Name glorious to Eternity far and near. This, and more, *says the Vision,* will I do for you and yours; and he shall have a Brother whom I will honour with the

(a) Gr. *Amarames*.

* Exod. 2.

"High-Priesthood, and it shall descend from him to his Heirs for ever."

Amram, upon waking, gave his Wife *Jochabel* the History of this Vision, and the Discourse put them both in great Perplexity what to think of it: For they were now not only solicitous for the Child, but to the highest Degree incredulous also of the wonderful good Things that were to come to pass: But after a while, *Jochabel* fell in Labour, and her Pains so short and easie, that all was over before the *Egyptian* Midwives could take notice of it; by which Providence they were brought to have more Faith in the *Vision*. After the Child had been kept close three Months, *Amram* at last, for fear of a Discovery that would destroy Father, Mother, Child and all at once, and likewise disappoint the Prediction, determin'd to leave all to Providence; reasoning upon it after this Manner. If the Child could be concealed, (as it was very difficult to do it, and very hazardous to attempt it) they must lie in Danger every Moment; but as to the Power and Veracity of God, they made no doubt of it, or of his Ability to save them: So that whatever he had promised, he would certainly make good. Upon this Discourse they came to a Resolution, and framed a little kind of a Basket of Bull-rushes, large enough for their Purpose; twisted them together, pitched the Joints, and when they had made it tight, and dressed it to hold Water; they put in the Child, and so committed them to the River, and to God's merciful Protection. In this Manner it was set a-float, and the Stream carry'd it along. (a) *Mariam* the Child's Sister was sent by her Mother's Order to watch it on the other Side of the River, and see what became on't. This may serve now to convince the World, that it is not for human Wisdom to think of defeating the Will and Pleasure of the Almighty; and to instruct us, that they, who for their own Interest or Security, meditate Mischief to other Men, though with never so much Art and Address, shall probably meet with many Disappointments in the End: As they on the contrary, that chearfully resign up themselves to the good Pleasure of God, shall find Relief, even by Miracle, where ordinary Means fail; as in the Case of this innocent Child.

Thermuthis, the King's Daughter, was at this Time taking the Air upon the Bank of the *Nile*, and happening to see somewhat pass floating along the Current, she presently sent out some Swimmers to bring it a-shore; and what should it be,

(a) Gr. *Marianne* & *Mariamne*.

be, but a fair goodly Child expos'd in a kind of a Cradle or Basket, as aforesaid, which the Princess was exceedingly delighted withal. Such was the Grace and Favour of God to *Moses*, that he was preserv'd, brought up, and provided for, by those very Persons that were in the Design of cutting off the whole Race of the *Hebrews* for his Sake. So that *Thermuthis* order'd some Woman to be call'd to give it Suck: But several being brought, and try'd, one after another, the Child turn'd away with such an Aversion, that they could not make it take the Breast. *Mariam* being there present, and seemingly more out of Curiosity, or by Chance, than any Thing of Concern or Business, she told the Princess that this would never do; "For, *says she*, if this Child be of one Country "and the Nurse of another, it is possible the Milk of a Stranger will not agree with it: But if there were ever a *Hebrew* Woman, the Child would perhaps allow that to suckle it." That which *Mariam* said seem'd so reasonable, that the Princess order'd her to try if she could get such a Nurse herself.

She went away presently to look after one, and in a short Time brought the Mother herself (whom no body there knew) to make the Experiment. She had no sooner offer'd it the Pap, but the Child fell to guzzling and drawing of it as greedily as could be: And the Princess observing it, desir'd *Jochabel* to take Charge of the Infant; and she accepted it. The Child had a Name given according to the Event of the Providence, and it was called *Mo-Yses*: (*a*) *Mo*, in *Ægyptian*, signifying *Water*; and *Yses*, as much as *preserv'd*: So that putting them together, *Mo-Yses* is as much as *preserv'd out of the Water*. This *Moses*, beyond all Controversie, proved in Time the wisest Man in the whole Nation, which was but according to what God had foretold of him. He was the *sixth Generation* from *Abraham*: *Amram* his Father being the Son of *Caath*; the Son of *Levi*; the Son of *Jacob*; the Son of *Isaac*; who was the Son of *Abraham*.

As he grew up, he shew'd a Pregnancy of Understanding much above those of his Years. Nay, the very Gayety of his little Plays and Sports was not without somewhat of serious and instructive in it: Doing every Thing with such a Grace, that in his very Childhood he gave the World to understand what might be expected from him in Time to come. After three Years of Age, he came to be such a Miracle of a

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Child,

(a) *Scaliger* in his Notes upon the *Fragment of Berosus*, p. 48. confutes this Etymology of *Moses*.

Child, for Beauty and Comeliness of Stature, that People would stop and stand Gazing at it with Delight and Admiration wherever they saw him ; and his Way was so Charming, that it wrought upon the most unsociable and morose of Men : Nor did he so much as move any where, but all Eyes were upon him ; and let People be never so busie, or so much in haste, they could yet hardly leave him.

So it was, in fine, that *Thermuthis*, out of a pure Affection to the Child, and wanting Issue of her own, took a Resolution to Adopt him for her Son ; carry'd him to her Father, and told him that she came to present him with a Successor, in case he should want one. " This, *says she*, is the sweetest " towardly Child that ever was born. I have brought it up " myself, and it was the Bounty of the River Nile that deliver'd it into my Arms. This Child do I intend to Adopt, " and make yourself a Present of it for *your Successor*." With these Words she gave the Child into the Hands of her Father. The King receiv'd him, and with an Affectionate Tenderness, pressing him toward his Heart : Took off his Crown to gratifie his Daughter, and plac'd it upon the Child's Head ; who wantonly turning it up and down, the Crown fell to the Ground, the Child, after that, trampling upon it with his Feet. This Passage was look'd upon as an *ill Omen* to the King and his Government : Infomuch that the *Scribe* (being then at hand) bawl'd out to have the Boy kill'd ; for that is the Child, *says he to the King*, that I foretold you would be the Destruction of *Ægypt*, and he has now confirm'd the Prophecy by the Affront he has put upon your Government, in treading your Crown under his Feet. This is he, in fine, by whose Death alone you can promise yourself to be secure : And take but him away once, the *Hebrews* have nothing more to hope for, nor the *Ægyptians* to fear. *Thermuthis*, upon this Outcry, took him instantly away, without any Opposition from the King ; it being God's Will for the Good of *Moses*, that he should not heed it. The Princess gave him all the Advantages of a generous and a polite Education, which put the *Hebrews* in hope of some great Good was to betide them. The *Ægyptians* on the other Side, were as jealous of Michief ; but having no Prospect of any Successor to the Crown that they could hope to be much the better for, the bloody Design fell to the Ground.

C H A P. X.

The War of Moses with the Æthiopians.

THus was *Moses* born, and brought up; and still, as he advanc'd further into the World, he gave every Day more and more Proofs of his Character and Courage, and of what Consequence his Valour and Conduct might be, either to his Friends, or his Enemies. As for Example.

The *Æthiopians* made an *Inroad* upon the Borders of *Ægypt*, rifling and spoiling that Part of the Country. The *Ægyptians* stomach'd the Affront, and march'd out against them with an Army to take their Revenge, both for the Dishonour and for the Injury. It came to a Battle, and the *Ægyptians* were routed; some kill'd in the Action, and others shamefully beaten home again. The *Æthiopians* were sufficiently puffed up with this Success, and follow'd the Blow so close, that they were not without some Hope of overrunning even their whole Country. They burnt and ravag'd without Controul; took Booty in Abundance, and carry'd all before them without Resistance: Insomuch that they march'd to *Memphis* itself, and so to the Sea, and all without Opposition. The *Ægyptians* were hard press'd, and in this Extremity had Recourse to their Divines and Oracles, what they had best to do. The Answer was, that they should call in a certain *Hebrew* to their Assistance. The King, forthwith upon this, tells his Daughter that he was resolv'd to levy an Army against the *Æthiopians* upon this Occasion, and that he should be glad to have *Moses* in the Head of it. The Princess promis'd to do her Part toward the engaging of him, as a Thing of great Importance to her Father's Service; but binding him under a sacred Oath before hand, that no malicious Practice should be attempted upon the Person of *Moses*; casting it in the Teeth of the Priests, how great a Shame it was, first to contrive and advise the Death of him, and then most wretchedly to implore his Friendship.

Moses was easily prevail'd upon, both by *Thermuthis* and the King, to undertake this Commission, which was highly pleasing to the holy Men of both Sides too. The *Ægyptians* flatter'd themselves, first with the Hope of Victory under his Conduct, and then with the Likelihood of an Opportunity, when their own Work was done, to destroy *Moses*. The *Hebrews*, on the other Side, delighted themselves with the Thought,

that under the Command of so great a General, they might one Day find themselves in Condition to shake off this *Ægyptian* Yoke. *Moses* bethought himself upon this Expedition how he might come to attack the Enemy at unawares. The Passage over Land was horribly infested with Serpents; many of them fierce and venomous, terrible to the very Sight, and several Sorts among them that are not to be found any where else: Some with Wings, that ly upon the Catch, and are as mortal in the Air, as upon the Ground. This Way was so deadly hazardous, that all People were against venturing of an Army through it: So that, for that very Reason, he rather chose the Inland Passage, than that by the *Nile*; and this he did upon a true Judgment of the Reason of the Thing. *Moses* was only in the first Place to provide against the Perils of this desperate Passage, which he did by this wonderful Stratagem. The Bird *Ibis* is a mortal Enemy to all Sorts of Serpents: They fly from the Pursuit of it as from Deer, till they are overtaken and devour'd. This Bird is only fierce to those Insects, and gentle to all other Creatures. I shall need say no more of it at present; for the *Greeks* are very well inform'd in this History. Now *Moses's* Invention, to secure his Army against these Creatures, was to carry with him so many of these Birds in Cages of Bullrushes to clear the Way for him.

Moses was no sooner advanced to this dangerous Quarter, but he let loose his Birds upon the Serpents, as against so many Enemies, and under their Protection went forward without any Harm or Interruption. So that pushing hard to overtake the *Æthiopians*, he came up with them, before they were aware; fought and defeated them: And having cut off their Retreat into *Ægypt*, he forc'd them back again to their own Home, destroying a great many of their Towns and Cities, and committing terrible Slaughter upon their People.

This Victory of *Moses* put new Life and Mettle into the *Ægyptians*, while the *Æthiopians*, on the other Hand, had nothing but Death, Destruction, and Slavery before their Eyes. They were at last driven into *Saba*, the Metropolis of *Æthiopia*, which *Cambyfes* afterward called by the Name of *Meroe*, having a Sister of that Name. *Moses* sat down before this Place, though in all Appearance impregnable, being surrounded by the *Nile*, and two other Rivers, (a) *Astapus* and *Astabora*, falling in to strengthen it; which made the Passage
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(a) Or *Astabus*.

so much the more difficult : Beside that standing in an Island, and being encompass'd with a strong Wall, it is likewise fortify'd with Ramparts, and other Works of Defence, to secure it from any Attacks or Inundations from the River.

Moses was not at all pleas'd with this Siege ; for the Army lay idle, and there was no forcing the Enemy to Blows : But while this pass'd, there happen'd a very extraordinary Encounter. The King of *Æthiopia* had a Daughter he call'd *Tharbis*, who had the Fortune once to see and to observe *Moses* with his Sword in his Hand, behaving himself with great Honour and Bravery under the Walls of the Town. She was so infinitely taken with the Courage and Action of the Man, looking upon him also as the Balance of the two Kingdoms, having recover'd the *Ægyptians* when they were at the lowest, and at the same Time humbled the *Æthiopians* in the very Height of their Victories, that upon all this together the Princess fell violently in Love with him ; and her Affection growing upon her still more and more, she brake her Mind at last to some particular Confidants she had, and sent them over to *Moses* to offer herself in Marriage to him, *Moses* agreed to it, but upon this Condition, (which was ratify'd with an Oath too) that upon delivering the City, the Marriage should be consummated, and it was scarce sooner said than done : But there was a great Slaughter made however of the Enemy : So that they had now only to give God Thanks, and celebrate the Nuptials ; and that being done, the Army of the *Ægyptians* went home again victorious.

CHAP. XI.

The ungrateful Egyptians Practice upon the Life of Moses, who flies from Egypt to Madian.

BUt so far were these ungrateful Wretches from acknowledging the Benefits they had receiv'd from their Deliverer and Preserver, that they returned him only a mortal Jealousy and Hatred, extending even to foul Practices upon his Person, in Requitall. They were afraid the Reputation and Interest he had acquir'd by his mighty Atchievements might perhaps put him in a Condition to set up for himself : And so to give a Stop to his Carriere, they exhibited an Information of Murder against him, which the King himself was well

well enough content to entertain ; partly out of Envy to the Fame of his Valour and Wisdom, and partly for Fear of that Destruction, which the Priests and Scribes were still buzzing in his Ears ; for they never left spurring him on to Mischief, till in Conclusion, they brought the King himself over into the Plot. *Moses*, in fine, was certainly design'd for Death, and he escap'd it so narrowly too, that if by Providence he had not got some Inkling of the Design, just when he did, and in that Instant slip't out of the Way, he had undoubtedly perish'd. He heard the Ways were laid, and therefore he was forc'd to take his Flight through a Desert, where he might reasonably presume no body would look after him. He went his Way without finding any Thing to eat upon his † Journey : So that there was no Remedy for Hunger but Patience. In this Condition he pass'd travelling forward, till he came about Noon within a little of (a) *Madian*, a City upon the Coast of the *Red-Sea*, that took its Name from one of the Sons of *Abraham* by *Cheturah*. He was now come within Sight of the Town, and down he sat by a Fountain, there to refresh and rest himself. In this Place there happen'd an Accident that took its Rise from somewhat of the Custom of the Country ; and it gave *Moses* an Occasion not only of shewing his Resolution and Justice ; but, as it fell out, of making his Fortune also. Water is so scarce in that Country, that happy is the Shepherd can get first in the Morning to the Fountain, before it be drawn dry, and not enough left for his Cattle. At this Time, there stood by the Fountain *seven Maiden Sisters*, the Daughters of (b) *Raguel*, a Priest, and a Person of great Reputation in that Quarter. These Maids had their Father's Flocks under their Care (which is commonly the Women's Business among the *Troglodytes*) and when they had taken their Proportion, they empty'd it into Troughs, the better to divide it among their Sheep ; but some Shepherds coming up at the same Time, they forced the Virgins away from their Station, and went to take the Water to themselves. This was so brutal, and so unmanly an Indignity to be put upon Women, that *Moses* had no Patience either for the Men that offer'd the Wrong, or for the Injustice itself. So he drove the Shepherds away, and help'd the Virgins, as it well became him to do. The Daughters had so generous a Sense of this Civility and Obligation, that upon returning to their Father, they gave him the whole Story at Length, both of the Shepherds Rudeness

† Exod. 2.

(a) Gr. *Madiene*. Scr. *Midian*.(b) Scr. *Rewel*.

ness and Violence, and of the Stranger's Courtesie and Respect: Joining in a Request to their Father, that he would be pleased to take some Notice of the Favour they had received. The good Nature and Gratitude of the Daughters was so highly approv'd by the Father, that he commanded them to bring the Stranger to his House, that he might make him some Acknowledgment suitable to his Desert. *Moses* being brought accordingly, the Father told him what a Character his Daughters had given of him, and how much they were all indebted to him for his Assistance and Protection. He had a great Admiration for his Virtue, *he said*, and would give him very speedily to understand that he had not cast away a Respect upon an ungrateful Person; for he should not be long in his Debt. Hereupon he took him for his adopted Son; gave him one of his Daughters in Marriage, and made him Head and Master of all his Cattel, which at that Time was all one with the entire Possessions of those People.

C H A P. XII.

Of God's appearing in the Fiery Bush, and of Moses's Rod.

† UPON this Advice of *Moses* in his Fortune, under the Favour of (a) *Jethegleth*, otherwise *Raguel*, he liv'd with his Father-in-Law, and had the Charge of his Flocks, which he drove sometime afterwards up to Mount *Sinai*, where there was excellent Grass and Feeding, and the highest Mountain in the whole Country. The People had an old Tradition, that God dwelt there; so that in ancient Time, out of pure Reverence to this Tradition, People forbore either feeding or walking there. Upon this Mountain there appeared a wonderful Prodigy: A Fire seen in a *Bush*, the *Bush* burning, the Flame fierce and violent, and yet neither Leaves, Flowers, nor Branches blasted or consum'd. The very Spectacle itself, and the Surprise of it, struck *Moses* with Astonishment; but he was much more amazed when he heard a Voice out of the Fire, calling him by his Name, and speaking to him: *How durst you presume* (says the Voice) *to set Foot upon this Ground, where never any Man living trod before you, out of a Veneration*

† Exod. 3.

(a) According to the ancient *Latin Version*, in the *Original* 'tis *Jetheglaïos* perhaps for *Jethraïos*, which in the *Scr.* is *Jethro*.

Veneration to the very Holiness of the Place? Commanding *Moses* to withdraw himself from the Fire, and to rest content with what he had seen, and what he was thought worthy of, as the righteous Offspring of so many glorious Ancestors; charging him over again to carry his Curiosity no further. The Voice foretold him, that through God's Assistance his Name should be great and honourable among Men; bidding him fear nothing, but go to *Ægypt*, where he should have the absolute Command of all the *Hebrews*, and deliver his Countrymen from their present Tyranny and Oppression; for (*says the Voice*) they shall come to inhabit the Lands, and to enjoy all the good Things that their first Father *Abraham* was possess'd of, and by your Wisdom be put in the full Enjoyments of all those Blessings. But be sure to remember, that so soon as ever you shall have brought the *Hebrews* out of *Ægypt* you offer up a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving in this very Place. Thus said the Voice that spake to *Moses* out of the *Fiery Bush*.

The Prodigy of the Vision gave *Moses* a frightful Amazement, but the Voice much greater. "Lord, (*says he*) I know, " and I adore thy Power, and so have all my Predecessors " done before me; so that I must be worse than mad, to " make any doubt of obeying it: But how shall I yet, a " weak private Man, find either Words or Credit to prevail " with such a Number of People; first to forsake a Place, " where they are at present settled, and then to follow me " upon Uncertainties, whithersoever I shall think fit to lead " them? Or otherwise, supposing that I had Interest enough " to draw them after me, who shall compel *Pharaoh* to let " them go yet, when so great a Part of the *Ægyptians* Happiness and Revenue depends upon their Labour?" The Voice commanded him again to rest satisfy'd upon the whole Matter, promising to be with him upon all Occasions: And that, if there were Need of Words, the Faculty of Persuasion should be put into his Mouth; or if of Works or Actions, he should be strengthen'd and supported. But for the fuller Confirmation and Conviction of *Moses*, the Voice * commanded him to throw a *Rod* down upon the Ground that he had in his Hand. He did so, and it was presently turn'd into a *Serpent*, rolling itself in Folds, and menacing with the Head, as if it threaten'd an Assault: And then this *Serpent* in a little Time became a *Rod* again. The Voice, after this, bad *Moses* put his Hand into his Bosom, which he did, and it came out again

* Exod. 4.

again as white as Chalk; returning in a very little Time to its native Colour. *Moses* was again commanded to take fair *Water*, and throw it upon the Ground, where it seem'd to be turn'd into *Blood*. *Moses* standing agast at these miraculous Operations, God commanded him to cast himself wholly upon him, and to depend upon the Assistance of an Almighty Power, which should enable him also to work the same Miracles, and give him the Credit of a Person acting by a Divine Commission, and in Obedience to the Will of God.

Upon this Deliberation, God commanded *Moses* away immediately for *Ægypt*, and to pursue his Journey Night and Day without Intermission; for the longer he staid, the longer would the *Hebrews* remain in Affliction and Slavery. It was not for *Moses*, after what he had seen and heard, to doubt of God's Power or Justice; for nothing could be clearer than the Certainty of the Grounds he went upon. He made it his Petition yet, that he might have the same Power of working Miracles continu'd too in *Ægypt*, which he had exercis'd here: With this further Supplication, that God would reveal unto him the Name of that infinite Power which he had seen and heard, to the end that in his Sacrifices and Invocations, he might know more explicitly under what Appellation to offer up his Address. God was pleas'd to grant him his Request, but it is a Name that was never known, nor heard of before, and I dare not so much as mention it. *Moses* had the Gift of working Miracles, not only for this particular Time, but so often as there should be Occasion for it: So that without any doubt at all of the Certainty of the Revelations and Predictions from the *Bush*, or of the Assurances of a Divine Assistance to go along with him, he settled his Thoughts in a firm Confidence of Living to see the happy Deliverance of the *Hebrews*, and the utter Confusion of their *Ægyptian* Enemies.

C H A P. XIII.

Upon the News of Pharaoh's Death, Moses and Aaron go into Ægypt, to the New King.

M*oses* had News by this Time of the Death of that *Pharaoh* that hunted him out of the Country; so he pray'd *Raguel's* Leave to return to his Friends and Relations in *Ægypt*,

Egypt, for their common Good. His Desire being granted, he took his Wife (a) *Zipporah*, the Daughter of *Raguel*, and his Children by her, (b) *Gershom* and *Eleazar*, and dispatch'd away with them into *Egypt*. Now *Gershom* signifies a *Foreigner*, and the other, *The Help of God*; because it was by the Aid of Divine Providence that *Moses* scap'd the Snare the *Egyptians* had laid for him. By the Time that he was gotten near the Borders, his Brother *Aaron*, by God's Direction, came to him. Upon their meeting, *Moses* gave him an (c) Account at large of the Wonders upon the Mount, and of all the Commands, Instructions, and Revelations that he had received from God. He was met upon the Way a little further, by great Numbers of the principal Men among the *Hebrews*, that upon notice of his Approach came out to bid him welcome. They had some Discourse together, but *Moses* finding that bare Words would not do his Work, he was fain to have Recourse to his (d) Gift of Miracles, in proof of his Authority, Power, and Commission; appealing also to their own Eyes and certain Knowledge, upon the Wonders that he wrought. This Evidence did so absolutely confirm, as well as it amazed them, that they made no longer any doubt but it was a Token of Assurance from Heaven, that God would provide for the Relief and Security of his People by some extraordinary Means.

Moses having brought the *Hebrews* over to him so far now, as to promise him all Respect and Obedience for the future, (beside what the Love and Hope of gaining their Liberty might draw from them) he went after this directly to the *New King*; minded him of the Services he had done the *Egyptians* against the *Aethiopians*, upon that ravaging and contemptuous Inroad they had made upon his Country; the Toils and Hazards he had undergone, and the Care he had taken to manage the War for the Advantage of the *Egyptians*, as if they had been his own Countrymen; and so he pass'd on to the unsuitable Returns they had made him for these good Offices. He told him likewise of the Vision upon Mount *Sinai*, and very particularly what God had said to him, and what Signs he had given him by Miracles and Revelations, to fix him in a firm Belief of all his Promises; beseeching *Pharaoh*, not to oppose God's Will by a fruitless Infidelity.

Pharaoh turn'd all these Things to *Ridicule*. *Moses*, for his better Satisfaction, did all those Miracles over again before him,

(a) Gr. *Sapphoora*. (b) Gr. *Geosor*. (c) *Exod.* 4. (d) *Exod.* 7.

him, that he had wrought upon Mount *Sinai* : Which put *Pharaoh* into a violent Outrage of Passion and ill Language. " You, *says Pharaoh* ; a scandalous Runagate ! First you " shew'd *Ægypt* a fair Pair of Heels to save yourself ; and " you are now come back again to juggle the People out of " their Wits with your Exploits of Slight of Hand and *Magick*. You take upon you (*says Pharaoh*) as if you alone, " forsooth, were skill'd in this Divine Mystery ; and value " your Reputation upon that idle Pretence, at such a rate, " as if the Multitude were to fall down and worship. But " after all this Vanity and Ostentation, my Priests, *says Pharaoh*, I would have you to know, can do all your Feats " after you." So the Priests were call'd, and bid to throw down their *Rods*, which was done, and they were immediately turn'd into *Serpents*. This does not move me at all (*says Moses*) for I am neither a Stranger to the Address of the *Ægyptians*, nor a Despiser of them ; but I may well affirm that the Operations I perform are as much more excellent than theirs, as the Power of God is above that of their *Magick*, or Things divine more illustrious than human : And I shall make it instantly appear that what I do is not a Fancy of imposing Illusions upon a credulous Multitude, under the Resemblance of Truth ; but the very Power of an Omnipotent God ; which will rise in Judgment against those Unbelievers, that shall shut their Eyes against so clear an Evidence. * With these Words, he threw his *Rod* upon the Ground, and commanded it to become a *Serpent* ; it did so, and while the *Magician's Serpents* were winding themselves upon the Earth, *Moses's Serpent* devour'd *their Serpents* one after another ; and then when it was return'd to its former Shape, *Moses* took it up again.

The King was so far from being the better for this Miracle, that instead of admiring the Power by which it was wrought he burst out into Indignation at the Fact ; check'd *Moses*, and still went on siding with the *Ægyptians* ; † and the same Time, ordering the Officers and Overseers, not only to keep the *Hebrews* to their Work, but to encrease their Task : Which was forthwith done by withdrawing their former Allowance of Straw toward the making of Brick ; so that they were fain to work all Day, and in the Night fetch Straw, which doubled their Labour.

Moses was not one jot discourag'd at these hard Words and Oppressions, but stood firm both against the King's Dis-

pleasure

* Exod. 7

† Exod. 5.

pleasure and the Grumbings of his own People, who would needs persuade him to be quiet ; for stirring, *they said*, did but make Things worse. But the Heart of *Moses* was set upon the Liberty of his Countrymen. Wherefore he went again to the King, to beg Leave for the *Hebrews* to go to Mount *Sinai*, and offer Sacrifice to God as he had commanded them : Telling *Pharaoh* also, “ That there was no opposing God’s Will ; wherefore he should do well not to “ seem to despise his Favour, but rather let the People go, “ for Fear of drawing those Judgments upon his own Head “ another Day, which do certainly attend the Unbelievers “ and the Disobedient. In such a Case, the very Earth and “ the Air, *he said*, would fight against him : His Women “ would be barren, and all the Elements would conspire to “ avenge God’s Cause upon him : All Things would go cross “ with him, and no avoiding it, even though the *Hebrews* should leave him, unless it were with *Pharaoh’s* “ License and Friendship : And rather than fail, God himself would bring it about at last, if *Pharaoh* would not.”

C H A P. XIV.

The Ten Plagues of Ægypt.

*THE King gave no Heed at all to what *Moses* said, and upon this Hardness and Contempt, the *Ægyptians* fell into miserable Calamities ; wherein I shall be very particular, both for the Novelty Sake, and to shew also that the Predictions of our Prophet were not idle. Besides, that finally it is for the Good of Mankind to know these Things, both for their Caution and Instruction, that People may keep clear of crying and provoking Sins, that bring down dreadful Judgments upon Mankind.

† In the first Place, the *Water* of the River *Nile* was turn’d to *Blood* ; which was the only Water they had to drink : And it was not so in Colour only, but it took those with Gripes immediately that were forced to make Use of it. Thus it was only to the *Ægyptians* ; but to the *Hebrews*, sweet and potable as at other Times. This Miracle put the King to his Wit’s End ; so that for Fear of a total Destruction, he gave the

* Exod. 4.

† Exod. 7.

the *Hebrews* leave to be gone. So soon as the present Evil was over, he repented of what he had promis'd, and recall'd his Word. * God was so incens'd against him for his Falseness and Ingratitude, after the Plague was removed from him, that he presently visit'd *Ægypt* with another Judgment; which was, such Swarms or Shoals of *Frogs* amongst them, that they cover'd the Earth, choak'd up the River, and so corrupted the Water that it was almost Death to drink it; the dead *Frogs* being turn'd to Mud, and others produced out of that Putrefaction. They crawl'd into their Bed-chambers, Cups, Dishes, Meat, and Drink; nothing escap'd them, and wherever they came, a poisonous Stink went along with them. This fell so heavy upon the *Ægyptians*, that *Pharaoh* sent for *Moses* a second Time, and told him that he might now take away his *Hebrews*; and be gone with them whither he pleas'd. The Word was no sooner pass'd, but both Land and Water were all clear'd of the *Frogs*, and every Thing in its former State. This Visitation was no sooner taken off then forgotten; for *Pharaoh* detain'd the People still, pretending that what he had promis'd was out of Fear, and consequently not binding; for his Will never consented to it: Which looked as if he had done it on Purpose to make a further Experiment. This unkingly Breach of Faith was follow'd with a Judgment of *Lice*: The Bodies of the People bred them, and they were all cover'd with them, gnawing and tearing intolerably, and no Remedy; for Baths and Ointments did no good. *Pharaoh* was so confounded at this new Plague, what with the Danger, the Scandal, and the Nastiness of it, that he was half sorry for what he had done; for he gave the *Hebrews* Permission to go their Way; but so soon as the Rod was off again, he demanded their Wives and Children as Hostages for their Return.

This was a Practice that exasperated God more than the rest; for it look'd as if they thought to have over-reach'd Providence, and as if *Moses*, not *God* had punish'd the *Ægyptians* for oppressing the *Hebrews*. Wherefore God sent numberless Swarms of *Flies* and *Insects*, and such Varieties of them as had never been seen before. They fill'd the whole Country, destroy'd the People, and cover'd the Ground so that there was no tilling of it, and they that escap'd present Destruction were in danger of being taken away by Diseases that were bred out of a poisonous Corruption: But all this was not yet enough to bring him to a Sense of his Sin, and a

O

Com-

* Exod. 8.

Compliance with the Will of God : But he was now for letting some of the Women and their Husbands go, but keeping back their Children.

* The Wisdom of God did not want Variety of Plagues in Abundance, and worse then the former, to inflict upon the whole Nation for the Wickedness of an incorrigible obstinate Prince. So he visited the *Ægyptians* with a Plague of inward *Ulcers*, which carry'd the People off in great Numbers.

When God saw that *Pharaoh* still persisted in the Defiance of a Divine Power, he sent upon the *Ægyptians* a Judgment of *Hail*, in the Prime of the Spring, which utterly destroy'd all their Fruits and Plants that were in the Bud. This was not only a Prodigy in *Ægypt*, where they had never seen Hail before, but beyond any other that ever had been heard of in the coldest Climates : † And what the Hail left was devoured by a following Plague of *Locusts* ; so that the whole Product of the Earth was lost for that Year. Now, one would have thought, if this King had not been besotted as well as abandon'd, these Judgments would have convinc'd him of the Vanity of contending with Almighty God, and have brought him to bethink himself of some Way in Time to prevent his final Ruin : But *Pharaoh* was not so mad all this while, as not to understand the true Cause of all his Afflictions ; but he seemed to take a Vanity in the Haughtiness of a contumacious Malice, to try Masteries with God Almighty, which should get the better of it ; and in this height of Stomach he resolv'd to sacrifice himself and his People to his Presumption. He came at length by Degrees to yield, that the *Hebrews* should have License to depart with their Wives and Children, only leaving their Goods behind them, for the *Ægyptians*, in Consideration for what they had lost. *Moses* did not think that Condition reasonable ; because, if so, they should not have any Thing left for a Sacrifice.

‡ This Dispute held so long that the *Ægyptians* were all wrapt up in a profound thick *Darkness* before it was over : Several of them perish'd by several Ways ; some were afraid of one Thing, some of another ; and not a few, of being all swallow'd up in the same *Abyss* together. After three Days and Nights, every Thing came to itself again, and *Pharaoh* standing firm yet not to part with the *Hebrews*, *Moses* went and spake to him in these Words. " How long, says he, will
" you

* Exod. 9.

† Exod. 10.

‡ Exod. 10.

“you set up your own Will against the Will of God! It is his Pleasure and Command that you dismiss the *Hebrews*, and there is nothing else in Nature to save you but that.” The King was so enraged upon this Liberty, that he declared it should cost *Moses* his Head, if ever he spake one Word to him more upon that Subject. *Moses* made Answer that he had now said all he had to say. But that he was well assured it would not be long before the King himself, and the Chief of his Nobility should of their own Accords speak to the *Hebrews* themselves to make haste to be gone: And with these Words *Moses* went his Way.

The impenitent Obstinacy of *Pharaoh* was so provoking, that God kept yet one Plague more in Store for him, which would be sure to bring down his proud Heart, and make him discharge the *Hebrews*. He commanded *Moses* to give notice to the People to prepare their Sacrifice on the (a) *thirteenth* Day of the Month *Xanthicus*, to be offer'd up on the *Fourteenth*. (That which the *Macedonians* call *Xanthicus*, the *Hebrews* call *Nisan*, and the *Ægyptians* *Pharmuthi*.) *Moses* was appointed to bring the *Hebrews* along with him, and all that belong'd to them: Which he did accordingly, gathering them together, and then dividing them into *Tribes* and *Companies*, but all in the same Place. Early in the Morning on the 14th (the Day assign'd) being all in Readiness to depart, they sacrific'd, purifying their Houses by sprinkling Blood upon them with a Bunch of Hyssop. After Supper they burnt the Remainder of the Flesh, as just entring upon a Journey; and this is our Way of Sacrificing unto this Day, upon the Festival of our *Pascha*, which signifies *passing over*, because God pass'd over the *Hebrews* without hurting them, when the *Ægyptians* were struck with a Disease; for the Plague made such Havock that Night with the *Ægyptians* *First-Born*, that People of all Conditions came thronging in Troops to the Palace with Clamours to have the *Hebrews* forthwith sent away. Whereupon the King call'd for *Moses*, and gave immediate Order for them to depart, upon an Opinion that *Ægypt* could never be happy so long as they stay'd in the Country; and that the Liberty of the one would be the Deliverance of the other. Several of the *Ægyptians* presented them upon their going away; some for Dispatch, others for Acquaintance Sake; and not without Tears at parting: Many of them repenting of the barbarous Cruelty they had formerly exercis'd over them.

(a) See *Bochart's Hierozoicon*, Part I. l. 2. c. 50. p. 582. Ed. Lond.

C H A P. XV.

The March of the Hebrews out of Ægypt, under the Command of Moses.

THE *Israelites* took their Way by (a) *Letopolis* ; a City at that Time deserted : And *Babylon* was afterwards built in the Place of it by *Cambyfes*, when he laid *Ægypt* waste. * They made long Marches, and on the third Day got to *Belzephon*, by the *Red Sea*. There was no Provisions to be had upon the Way in the Wilderness ; so that their Food was only Meal and Water, kneaded and bak'd into Cakes, and this was their Entertainment for thirty Days. They had now spent all they brought out of *Ægypt*, having manag'd it as sparingly too as was possible, providing barely for their Necessities, without filling their Bellies. † It is in Memory of this Scarcity that we celebrate the *Eight-Days Festival*, which we call that of *Unleaven'd Bread* : But the Multitude of the Travellers, with their Wives and Children was almost innumerable ; for there were full *six Hundred Thousand* Men that were able to bear Arms.

The *Hebrews* went out of *Ægypt* on the *fifteenth* Day of the Month of *Xanthicus* ; *Moses* being now *Eighty Years* of Age, and his Brother *Aaron*, *Eighty three*. It was *two Hundred and fifty Years* from *Jacob's* coming into *Ægypt*, and *four Hundred and fifteen* from the coming of our Father *Abraham* into *Chanaan*. They carry'd *Joseph's* Bones along with them, being a Trust that he had committed to the Charge of his Sons.

They had not been long gone, before the *Ægyptians* repented parting with them ; the King especially, who imputed all the Calamities that had befallen *Ægypt*, to the Incantments of *Moses*, and look'd upon them to be no more then the Works of his Practice and Contrivance. This Fancy brought them quickly to a Resolution of taking Arms and pursuing them, making no doubt at all of mastering and bringing them back again, being tir'd and unarm'd, if they could but overtake them ; the Difficulties of the Passage being troublesome, even to a single Traveller, much more to a marching Army. But *Moses* had several Inducements to make choice of this Way : First in case the *Ægyptians* should change their Minds, and send after them, the very Fatigue

(a) *Datus polis.** *Exod. 12.*† *Exod. 13.*

tigue of the Expedition would make them repent both the Perfidy and the Undertaking : And then *Moses* had no mind to have them go by *Palæstine* ; for the *Philistins*, that were Enemies to the *Hebrews* upon the Score of an old Grudge, and Borderers upon *Ægypt*, would perhaps have broken in upon them, if they could have had any Intelligence of their March. He led them, in fine, by the Way of the *Wilderness*, though a great Way about, and through many Inconveniences, with an Intent to sacrifice upon Mount *Sinai*, as God had commanded him, and so away to *Chanaan*.

By that Time they were come to the *Red Sea*, they found themselves overtaken, and encompass'd by the *Ægyptians*, with an Army of 600 *Chariots*, 5000 *Horse*, and 200000 *Foot* ; the main Body being drawn up in Order of Battle. They had clapt Guards upon all Passes, secur'd all Avenues, and shut the *Hebrews* up into so narrow a Compass, betwixt impassable Mountains and the Sea, that it was utterly impossible for them to make an escape. In this Strait, there was no Thought of Flying ; and, if they had never so much a mind to't, there was no Means of Fighting neither ; for they had no Arms : And then, if they continu'd where they were, they must inevitably starve : So that they had no more to do, *they said*, than basely to yield themselves Slaves to save their Lives. In this Pinch of Danger and Desperation, the whole Blame was laid upon *Moses*. They had forgotten the wonderful Things that God had done for their Deliverance, and the Miracles he had wrought for the strengthening of their Faith. They were so exasperated, in short, with the Outcries of Women and Children that gave themselves for lost, that they were upon the very Point of * Stoning their false Prophet, as they accounted him, and prostituting themselves once more yet to their former Slavery ; for they had nothing in Sight but Rocks, Seas, and armed Troops to encounter.

The Outrages and Madness of this Headstrong Multitude had no Effect at all upon the Providence and Courage of *Moses* : His whole Trust was in God, who he knew after so many Presages of Liberty, would never fail him, or suffer his People to fall into the Power of their Enemies, to serve and perish. “ Pray put the Case (*says Moses, addressing to the People*) that you had deposited some great Trust in the Hand of a Person that had hitherto manag'd it well and wisely for you ; might not you reasonably depend upon that Man for the same Care and Kindness, and in the same Case

* Exod. 14.

“ too, over again ? What a Madness is it for you to de-
 “ spond then, where God himself hath taken you into his
 “ Protection ; and of his own free Bounty made all good by
 “ me, that might contribute to your Freedom and Security !
 “ Nay, the very Pinch and Difficulty of the Case is an Argu-
 “ ment to inflame your Hope, rather than to discourage it.
 “ He hath brought you into this Distress, on Purpose to shew
 “ his Power and Kindness, in bringing you out again ; even
 “ to the Surprize and Admiration of yourselves, and your
 “ very Enemies. It is not God’s Time to interpose with his
 “ Almighty Power in small Matters : But in Cases of judicial
 “ and unaccountable Calamities, when all Hope of human
 “ Help fails us, that’s the Season for God to work out the
 “ Deliverance of those that cast themselves upon him : Where-
 “ fore fear nothing so long as you have him for your Pro-
 “ tector and Defender, that is able to raise the Lowly and
 “ the Oppressed, and to lay the Honour of their Persecutors
 “ in the Dust. Be not afraid of the *Ægyptians* armed Troops,
 “ neither despond of your Lives and Safeties, because you
 “ are at present lock’d up betwixt the Sea and the Moun-
 “ tains, and no visible Way in Nature to come off ; for the
 “ God whom you serve is able to level all these Mountains,
 “ and lay that Ocean dry. His Will, in fine, be done.”

C H A P. XVI.

The Israelites pass through the Red sea. The Ægyptians pursue them, and are drowned.

WITH these last Words in his Mouth, *Moses* led the *Hebrews*
 toward the *Sea*, the *Ægyptians* looking on ; who ha-
 ving them in View, and being extremely harass’d out with
 the Pursuit, thought it adviseable to refresh themselves, and
 put off Fighting till the Day following. So soon as *Moses*
 was come to the Sea-side, he took out his *Rod* (the Ensign of
 his Commission for working of Miracles) and call’d upon God ;
 imploring his Divine Aid and Assistance in a Prayer to this
 Effect. “ Lord ! (*says he*) thou seest thy Servants here reduc’d
 “ to so miserable an Extremity, that it is not in the Power
 “ of any natural Means, whether of Arms or human Poli-
 “ cy, to deliver us ; but it is the God alone whom we serve
 “ and trust in, that is able to do it. Lord, be merciful to
 “ these thy People that are now come out of *Ægypt*, in a pure
 “ Simplicity

“ Simplicity of Obedience to thy holy Will and Command-
 “ ment, and reposing themselves entirely upon thy gracious
 “ Promises. It is to thee, Lord, that we fly for Help, who
 “ alone canst rescue us out of the Hands of our unmerciful
 “ Enemies. Speak Comfort to thy Servants, and exert thy
 “ Power ; Let thy Relief be speedy, and inspire them with
 “ a new Life and Confidence, now in the Depth of their
 “ Despairs. Lord, we are under great Difficulties : Hemm’d
 “ in with the Sea and Mountains, but that Sea and those
 “ Mountains are thine, and if thou dost but say the Word,
 “ the one shall be levell’d, and the other turn’d into dry
 “ Land : Or otherwise, thy Providence may carry us off a-
 “ mong the very Birds of the Air, if it shall be thy Will to
 “ employ thy Power that Way to save us.” Immediately up-
 on this Prayer, *Moses* struck the Sea with his *Rod* ; where-
 upon the Waters parted and recoil’d : By that Means leaving
 a Way open for the *Hebrews* Passage and Escape. The Sea
 being now divided, and a Lane clear’d, *Moses* took the Pro-
 vidence aright ; and putting himself in the Head of his Men,
 (who with great Alacrity follow’d him) he bad them give
 God Thanks for the Blessing of so unexpected and unaccounta-
 ble a Deliverance, and in the Name of God to follow him
 chearfully through the Way which Almighty God had pro-
 vided for them. The *Hebrews*, in this Instant, marched for-
 ward, and the *Ægyptians* look’d upon them as so many Sots
 and mad Men, to throw themselves headlong into so certain
 a Destruction. But when they saw them a great Way in the
 Sea, and pressing further still, without any Inconvenience or
 Impediment ; they posted away after them, not making any
 Doubt but the same Road would serve them both. (a) They
 sent their Horse before : But while they were arming them-
 selves, and trifling away Time, the *Hebrews* gave them the
 Slip, and were gotten on the other Side of the Water ; leaving
 their Enemies behind them. This happy Success of the *He-
 brews* made the *Ægyptians* yet more eager upon the Chase,
 and more secure too ; for they did not understand that this
 Miracle was not wrought for the opening of a common Way
 to them both ; and that Divine Justice had made Use of it
 at the same Time for the Preservation of the People of God,
 and the Confusion of their Oppressors. They follow’d the
 Pursuit however, and when the whole Army was advanc’d
 within Compass, the Sea return’d upon it, and drown’d them
 all.

O 4

(a) Gr. *Kai protaxantes ten chippon katebainon.* Lat. *Præordinantes ergo equos ingrediebantur in mare.*

all. The Judgment of this Reflux was accompany'd with high and fierce Winds and Tempests, Storms of Hail and Rain, terrible Thundrings and Lightnings, and nothing in short wanting to make the Calamity more dreadful, or to set forth the Horrors of their Condition that fall under the Displeasure of an angry God. They were also overtaken with a dark pitchy Night; so that the whole Army was destroy'd, and not so much as one Soul left alive to carry the Tidings.

It is not in the Power of Words to express the Transports of the *Hebrews* upon this Deliverance: A Blessing so unlook'd for, and God himself the immediate and the profess'd Author of it; beside the Destruction of their Enemies before their Faces, to secure them in the Possession of their Liberty, and their Oppressors drown'd to a Man too. God's Hand was so eminently visible in the whole Process of this Affair, that never had Creatures such Cause of Rejoicing. And so they spent that whole Night in Hymns and Thanksgivings: *Moses* in particular composing a Song in *Hexameter* Verse, to the Honour of God upon this Occasion.

I have been the more particular in these Relations, because I find them in holy Writ; and let no Man think this Story incredible of the Sea's dividing to save these People, for we find it in ancient Records, that this hath been seen before, whether by God's extraordinary Will, or by the Course of Nature, it is indifferent. The same Thing happen'd one Time to the (a) *Macedonians*, under the Command of *Alexander*, when for Want of another Passage, the *Pamphylian* Sea divided to make them Way: God's Providence making Use of *Alexander* at that Time, as his Instrument for destroying the *Persian* Empire. This is attested by all the Historians that have pretended to write the Life of that Prince. But People are at Liberty to think what they please.

The next Day after this memorable Judgment upon the *Egyptians*, the Winds and the Waves forc'd their Arms ashore just at the Place where the *Hebrews* had pitch'd their Tents: which *Moses* understood to be another Providence, in furnishing the People with Arms that they so much wanted. So they were gather'd together, and distributed among the *Hebrews*, Man by Man. After this, and the arming of the People, he led them to Mount *Sinai*, there to offer Sacrifice, and present Oblations for the Deliverance of the People, in Obedience to God's Command, as aforesaid.

F L A V I U S

(a) As it is related by *Callisthenes* in *Eustathius* upon *Homer's* 3d *Iliad*. See *Huetius's* *Aletan*. *Quest.* l. 2. p. 206.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the THIRD,

[From the Year of the World 2454, to 2455.]

CHAP. I.

The Passage of the Israelites from Egypt to Mount Sinai. Their Hardships by the Way. Their Murmurings against Moses. The Miseries they endur'd by Hunger and Thirst, till they were reliev'd by Miracle.

THE Joy of the *Hebrews*, for so wonderful and unthought-of a Deliverance, was not a little damp'd by the extreme Hardships they were put to in their Way through the Wilderness to Mount *Sinai*. There was no Food to be got; the Water foul, scant and bad, and no Nourishment in it; insomuch that the very Cattle could not drink it, much less the Men: But this was the Way they were fain to take for Want of another. By the Advice of their Guides, they brought a Provision of Water with them into the Desert; and when that was spent, they digg'd Pits, but with very great Difficulty: For the Ground was hard, and the Water very bad and bitter when they came at it, and not enough of that neither.

In travelling forward, they came about Evening to a Place called (a) *Marah*, from the Taste of the Water; for *Marah* in Hebrew

(a) Gr. *Eis Mar topon*.

Hebrew is Bitterness. They were quite tir'd with the Journey: Beside that, their Provisions falling short, they began to be pinch'd with Hunger. But however, they agreed to make some little Stay there; and the rather, because of a Pit they had the Fortune to find there: Which though it could not answer the Necessities of their vast Numbers, there was yet some Sort of Consolation in it, the Country consider'd, and that there was no more Water to be expected from that Place forward. This was as bitter as the other, and a Drink that agreed neither with Man nor Beast.

Moses found the Peoples Hearts beginning to sink, and not one Word of Comfort that he could give them; for the Enemies they had now to deal withal were not to be encounter'd with Wisdom and Valour: But Men, Women, and Children were equally in Danger, and it was a hard Matter for him to advise others, that had the whole Burden of the common Calamity upon himself; for in their Distress they all came flocking to him, Women begging for their Children, Husbands for their Wives, Men for themselves; and all imploring Relief, when there was none to be had. *Moses* betook himself to his Prayers again, that God would be pleas'd to correct the Bitterness of those Waters and make them sweet. This was granted him at the first Request, and so he took a Piece of Wood that lay there by Chance, cleft it Length-ways in the Middle, and cast it into the Water; telling the *Hebrews*, that God had heard their Prayers, and promised them a Supply of Water to their liking, upon Condition that they should readily and chearfully do whatever he commanded them. They ask'd him, what he would have them to do to get better Water? Why then, says *Moses*, let the Well be drawn, and the lustiest young Fellows among you set their Hands to the Work. You shall find upon emptying out the better half of it, that the Remainder will be potable, and for your turn. They did as they were * directed, and the Water was so purg'd by the continual Agitation of it, that it went down with the Multitude for no contemptible Drink.

Upon decamping from hence, they went to a Place called *Helim*. The Prospect of it was pleasant enough at a Distance, for there appear'd a Plantation of Palm-Trees; but coming nearer, they found themselves much deceiv'd in their Expectation, for there were but seventy of them in all, and those but Dwarfs neither; for the Droughtiness of the Place starv'd what-

* Exod. 15.

whatsoever grew upon it. Nay, though there were twelve Springs there, the Plants were not one Jot the better for them; for they never mounted so high, as to distribute their Waters into Rivulets for the Refreshment of the Earth. The Soil was Sandy; no Veins of Water in it; or if now and then a Drop appear'd, it was so foul and dirty, there was no drinking of it. This Scarcity of Water spoil'd the Fruit-Trees too. The Multitude, upon these melancholick Thoughts, were so impatient under the Sense of this miserable Calamity, that they fell into direct Mutiny against their Leader, and laid the Blame of all at his Door. Their *Thirty-Days-Store* was spent; their Wants increas'd, and no Supplies to be got in the Wilderness. These Thoughts altogether put the People into a downright Desperation; and the Sense of the present Necessities made them forget all former Providences and Blessings, whether immediately from God himself, or instrumentally by the Hand of his Servant *Moses*; proceeding in their Ingratitude to such a Degree of Outrage, that they were within a very little of * Stoning their Commander to Death, as the Man they said that had been the Ruin of them all. While the People were as yet in the Heat of their Malice and Rage, with Stones in their Hands, and Clamours and Manaces in their Mouths, and nothing less than the Life of the Commander to pacify this Fury; *Moses*, in the Fear of God and with a good Conscience, stood forth among them, and with a Grace of Language and Address, peculiar to himself, opposed Argument to Violence, in Words to the following Purpose. " You must not think (*says he*) to cancel past Obligations with a Pretence of present Sufferings: But the Difficulties, you now labour under, should rather move you to a thankful Contemplation of God's Bounties and Mercies to you in Times past, even beyond all Hope and Expectation. And why may not the same Providence attend you now again? Why may not this Affliction be laid upon you for a Trial, to see if you have Courage, Patience, and Sense enough of Gratitude to stand the Test: And if you can distinguish betwixt the Force and Reason of past Benefits and present Troubles, as you ought to do? Have a Care that you do not make yourselves unworthy of God's Favour, by Impatience under Crosses, and by Unthankfulness for good Turns, and by opposing your present Passions to the Divine Will and Power; for it was God that brought you out of the Land of *Ægypt*, and it is with his Order

" and

* Exod. 16.

“ and good Pleasure that you now contend. And so for your
 “ Quarrel to me now, *says Moses*, my Fault is only the obey-
 “ ing of my Master's Order. I have done nothing without
 “ a Commission, and you cannot say I have ever deceiv'd
 “ you.” When *Moses* had laid before them the Reason of
 the Matter, he had then Recourse to Instances, and particu-
 larly what Judgments besel the *Ægyptians* for keeping the
Hebrews in Slavery, and detaining them contrary to the de-
 clar'd Will of God: How the *River* was turn'd into Blood;
 and how the same Water, that became *poisonous* to the *Æ-*
gyptians, was yet preserv'd *salutary* to the *Hebrews*. How the
 Sea open'd to make a Lane for the *Hebrews* in their Flight,
 and how the Waters clos'd again to drown the *Ægyptians* in
 the Pursuit: The former at the same Time being Spectators
 of the Overthrow of their Enemies; and receiving a large
 Supply of Arms by that Providence too, which they were
 wholly unprovided of before: And then, how many mira-
 culous Deliverances out of the very Jaws of Destruction God
 had wrought for them, even beyond the Force of human I-
 magination to conceive. “ Now God's Omnipotency (*says*
 “ *Moses*) is everlasting, and his Providence as gracious, and
 “ as extensive at this Day as ever it was: Wherefore you
 “ are not to despair of the Goodness of Heaven; but to bear
 “ all Turns and Chances with Moderation, and to consider
 “ that the Assistance that is deferr'd may come yet Time e-
 “ nough, and in Season: For so long as there's Life there's
 “ Hope. You are not, *says Moses*, to look upon yourselves
 “ in this Case, as neglected or abandon'd; but it is God's
 “ Pleasure to put your Greatness of Mind and Love of Li-
 “ berty to the Trial, and to see whether you had rather sub-
 “ mit to a pinching Necessity for Want of Meat and Drink,
 “ or lead the Life of Brutes in Slavery, that are only fed and
 “ fatten'd up for the Benefit of their Master. It is not for
 “ myself, *says Moses*, that I fear any Thing; for what am
 “ I the worse for an unjust Violence upon my Person? But
 “ for the Sake of your Safety, I reckon myself bound to take
 “ some Care of my own; for every Stone, you cast at me
 “ in this Cause, imports a Condemnation of the Counsels
 “ and the Doings even of God himself.

* These Words brought the maddest of the Company, in
 some Measure, to their Wits again, and made them cast a-
 way the Stones they had prepar'd for the Execution: *Moses*
 having convinc'd them of the Lewdness of their Intention,
 and

and modestly imputing that to their Necessities which could not be justify'd in Reason ; though the Temptation they lay under might seem in some Sort to extenuate the Offence. Upon this, *Moses* had Recourse to Supplications and Prayers, and withdrawing up to a Rock he besought God in Mercy to grant these miserable People some Relief ; for it was in his Power only to save them ; beseeching him likewise to forgive them their intemperate Passions, and to cast all the Things, that they had said and done amiss, upon the Account of human Frailty. God gave him this Answer, that he would take care of the People, and send them a speedy Succour.

Upon this Promise and Concession, *Moses* went down again to the Multitude with Joy in his Countenance : Which the People presently took notice of, and in the Strength of that good Omen, after all their Sadness, put on an Air of Chearfulness themselves too. *Moses* told them what had pass'd, and that God would have Compassion on them very suddenly : And so it prov'd, for soon after this, came a wonderful Flight of *Quails*. There are a World of them by the *Arabian Gulf*, and these Birds were so tir'd with crossing it, that they dropt quite weary into the Camp of the *Hebrews*. They look'd upon this as a Relief from Heaven ; all People putting in with Earnestness to have their Share of the Bounty. *Moses* went now to his Prayers again, giving God Thanks, both for what he had promised, and what he had done.

After this first Repast, God presently sent them another ; for as *Moses* was at his Prayers, holding up his Hands, there dropt from Heaven a kind of Dew upon them, and as it fell it stuck and thicken'd. *Moses* presently fancy'd it to be a second Supply, and upon tasting it was overjoy'd to find it so. It was now Winter, and the common Sort of People would needs have this Dew to be Snow. *Moses* told them they were mistaken, and that this was no Common Dew ; but such a Nourishment as they would find to be a competent Remedy against Famine : And so he first tasted of it himself, and then gave it them to try : Who after his Example lik'd it exceedingly well ; for it had the Smack of Honey, and some Resemblance also of (a) *Bdellium*, and about the Bigness of a *Coriander-seed*. There was great striving for it in the gathering, till the Matter was order'd by an Edict, appointing that all People should (b) gather every Day alike, and the Measure

(a) Gr. *Hoomaion de te toon aroomastoon Bdelle.*

(b) Jos. *Ex hisu affareona.*

sure of an *Omer* to be the Proportion ; being assured at the same Time, that there should be no want of that Food. This was order'd in favour of the Weak, that they might not be ran down, and to keep the stronger from taking more than came to their Share. Whoever should exceed his Measure, in Contempt of this Edict, did only take so much the more pains to no manner of purpose ; for whatever they kept till the next Day was good for nothing ; for it bred Worms, and turn'd bitter. There was one divine and incredible Quality in this Food, that whoever tasted it desir'd nothing else. They have in that Country to this very Day certain Dews and Rains, that seem to have somewhat of Resemblance to this that fell upon the Intercession of *Moses*. * The *Hebrews* call it *Manna*, and (a) *Man* in our Tongue signifies an *Interrogation*, as if we should say, *What is this ?* They celebrated this Blessing, with great Joy, as coming from Heaven ; and this was their Food for the forty Years they continued in the Wilderness.

† After their Removal from hence to (b) *Rephidim*, they found themselves parch'd up with an intollerable Thirst, having met with very little Water for some Days before. Being now come into a Country where there was no Water at all, they began to fall foul upon *Moses* again ; but he left them for a while by themselves, and stept aside once more to his Prayers, *Beseeching him, that gave them Meat when they were ready to starve, now to give them Drink to it when they were ready to choak ; for the one without the other would not do the Work.* God without any delay promis'd *Moses* a Fountain and a Flood of Water, where he least expected it ; commanding him to strike a Rock near at hand there with his Rod, and that Rock should supply them abundantly with what they desir'd, beside that it should come without Labour too. *Moses* having receiv'd this Answer went back to the People, who were now waiting with great Impatience for his Return, for they saw him coming down from the Mountain, looking intently upon him, to see what Tidings they could read in his Countenance. Upon his coming back to the People he told them that God would deliver them also from the Trouble of their Thirst, by a Way that they little dreamt of ; that is to say, by a River that should issue out of that Rock. They fancy'd that they themselves were to cut up the Rock to make way

* Exod. 16.

(a) *Drusius* in his *Quæst. Hebr.* l. 1. q. 62. and in his *Difficil. loc. Exod.* c. 26. rejects and confutes this Interpretation.

† Exod. 17.

(b) *Gr. Raphidin.*

way for the Passage ; which would have been a hard Piece of Work, they thought, for People to undertake, that were spent and half dead with Thirst and Toil already. *Moses* quickly unriddled that Mistake, by striking the Rock with his Rod ; which in that very Instant threw out a large Stream of Water as clear as Chrystal. It was hard to say whether the Spectators were more amaz'd at the Operation, or delighted in the drinking of it ; for they found it sweet and agreeable, and such as became the Dignity of the Presenter and the Present. They extoll'd *Moses* to the Skies, when they saw how much he was in God's Favour, and offer'd Sacrifices and Thanksgiving. We find it written in the holy Scripture, that is deposited in the Temple, that God had foretold to *Moses* this Miracle of the Water out of the Rock, in such Manner as we have heard.

C H A P. II.

A Confederacy of five Kings against the Hebrews. The Amalekites Routed by Joshua. The Arrival of the Hebrews at Mount Sinai.

THE Fame of the *Hebrews* was by this Time in every Body's Mouth, and their Reputation so great, far and near, that the Provinces were all *Alarum'd* at it, and laid their Heads together how they might keep them at a Distance, or else utterly exterminate and destroy them : And to this Purpose they sent their Ambassadors up and down from one to another to manage the Counsel of the League. The chief Instigators of this Design were the Inhabitants of the (a) Country of *Gobol*, and the City of *Petra*, which pass'd under the common Appellation of *Amalekites*, the most martial People of that Quarter. † They had *Five Kings* at Work upon this Plot of carrying on a War against the *Hebrews* ; and not only concerted it among themselves, but drew in as many as they could of their Neighbours to join with them. " These People, *they said*, were only a Vagabond Army of Fugitives that ran away out of *Ægypt*, because they would be no longer Slaves there, to make War upon others. Now the Way to deal with these People, *they said*, would be, " without

(a) Gr. *Gobolitis*.

† *Exod.* 17.

“without making too slight of them, to take them to task
 “in Time, while their Men were raw and undisciplin’d,
 “their Army in want of all Necessaries, and never a plentiful
 “Country to Friend that was able to supply them. In
 “short, the Way would be to begin with them, and not
 “stand looking on, till they should have the Confidence to
 “be the Aggressors. It would be but falling upon them in
 “the Wilderness, before they could make themselves Masters
 “of any Places of Strength and Importance, and the Work
 “would do itself.” They laid it down as a Piece of necessary
 Prudence, to nip the growing Power of an Enemy in the
 Bud, and not stand waiting till by Success upon Success he
 makes himself stronger, both in Power and Reputation : And
 that it was better to prevent the Danger, than to run the
 Risque of overcoming it. *Several Men several Minds* ; but
 upon the agitating of the whole Matter in the Confederate
 Council, it was resolv’d by common Consent to carry on an
 invasive War against the *Hebrews*, and so to force them from
 their Borders.

Moses was not a little surpriz’d at this Resolution, and
 his People were also in the greatest Confusion imaginable,
 at the Necessity of so unexpected a War with an Enemy that
 wanted nothing, and themselves at all Points so unprovided.
 He minded them of God’s multiply’d Declarations in their
 Favour ; his bringing them out of the Land of *Ægypt* ; what
 he had done for them already, and what he would do fur-
 ther : and so encourag’d them in Confidence of his Power and
 Goodness, to think of nothing but Victory. “Never reckon
 “upon the Advantages (*says Moses*) of Arms, Money, and
 “Provisions ; but consider, to ballance all this, that you
 “have God on your Side to fight your Battles, and then no
 “Matter for the Odds of Number and Stratagem. You
 “have all that and more in him that is your Helper, who
 “by his Almighty Power hath brought you out of greater
 “Difficulties already. Have you not found that God is a
 “Friend still to the *Hebrews*, and an Enemy to the *Ægyptians* ?
 “Witness his miraculous Preservation of you in your
 “Extremities of Hunger and Thirst, and in making that a
 “safe Retreat to you thorough the Sea, which at the same
 “Time swallow’d up your Adversaries. For a Conclusion
 “(*says he*) the gaining of this Victory will put you in Pos-
 “session of all the good Things of this World : Wherefore
 “behave yourselves like Men.”

This Discourse put new Life into the People, so that *Mo-
 ses* calling the Heads and Principal of the Tribes together,
 address’d

press'd himself to them all, both in general and in particular admonishing the young Men to hearken to their Elders, inculcating to all the rest their Obedience to their Commander. They were by this Time so perfectly cur'd of their Apprehensions, that they look'd upon any Thing of War with a Contempt, and under a kind of Impatience to Action, in the strong Hope and Expectation of Victory as would put a final End to their Misery. In that they press'd *Moses*, with great Earnestness, to lead them immediately to the Enemy; and not to lose so good an Opportunity of Fighting by any unseasonable Delay when the Soldiers were in so good Humour for it. † *Moses* then drew out a Detachment of the most likely Men he could find for Service in the whole Multitude, and set (a) *Jotham* the (b) Son of *Nun*, and of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, over a Man equally qualified both for Arms and Counsel; but for Piety, a Disciple of *Moses*, and one that did not desert his Master. He sent out several Troops of Guards; some to secure their Water, others their Tents; and some to take care of the Women and Children. All Things now in Readiness for an Engagement: The Soldierly part was all Night, waiting only for the Word of Command from *Moses*; who was himself also the whole Night in Council with *Joshuah*, and giving order about the Battle. When it began to draw toward Day, *Moses* recommended it to *Joshuah* to make good by his Actions what the World expected from him upon that Occasion, and by the Glory of the Day to perpetuate his Name to Posterity. He did then call all the Chief of the *Hebrews* apart, and so in course to the whole Body of the Army.

Having thus enflam'd their Resolutions into a generous ardour of Piety and Honour, *Moses* commended them to God, and to their General *Joshuah*, himself going up to the Mount.

The Bodies join'd immediately, with all Sorts of Engagement from their Leaders, and it was hard fought on both Sides. So long as *Moses* held up his Hands, the *Hebrews* prevail'd; but when he could hold them up no longer for weariness, the *Amalekites* had the better of it. But *Moses* seeing this, spake to his Brother *Aaron*, and to (c) *Hur*, the son of his Sister *Mariam*, to stand by him and hold up their hands for him, and to take care not to let them fall again. The *Amalekites* after this were totally defeated, and had

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† Exod. 17.

(a) Gr. *Iesus*. (b) *Nauenu uion*, Lat. *Jesum Navæ fil.* (c) Gr. *Ouroon*.

" without making too slight of them, to take them to
 " in Time, while their Men were raw and undiscip
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(a) Gr. *Iesus*. (b) *Nauenu uion*, Lat. *Jesum Navæ fil.* (c) Gr. *Ouroon*.

been all entirely cut off, if the Darkneſs of the Night had not cover'd the miſerable Remainder of them in their Flight.

This was a Victory ſo glorious and ſeaſonable, that the whole Hiſtory of our Anceſtors cannot pretend to any Thing beyond it; (a) for it was a total and an abſolute Overthrow, gain'd upon an invading Enemy, and an Action of ſo great a Reputation, that it ſtruck a Terror into all the neighbouring Provinces: Beſide a prodigious Booty over and above; the Pillage of the *Amalekites* Camp being of an inſtimable Value in Gold and Silver Plate, curious Braſs Veſſels of all Sorts, minted Money, rich Arms, and Soldiers Equipage, Horſes, Baggage, &c. both to Small and Great, and to thoſe, who themſelves were but in a ſtarving Condition the Day before. Thus Succeſs, in fine, made the *Hebrews* more daring, induſtrious, and forward for any virtuous Exploit; and it was of a mighty Advantage, even at preſent: But not comparable to what it was in the Iſſue and in the Conſequences of it: For this Battle brake the very Hearts, as well as the Bodies of the Enemy, and from that Time forward, all the adjoining Provinces ſtood in awe of the *Hebrews*. This was the Event of the Battle; and on the Day following, *Mofes* cauſed all the dead Bodies to be ſtrip'd, and their ſcatter'd Arms to be gather'd up and employ'd for Service: Rewards alſo to be diſtributed to thoſe that had made themſelves eminently remarkable in the Battle. He did Right alſo to the General, in Form, and with the Solemnity of a publick Declaration to the Honour of his Bravery and Conduct; the whole Army ſeconding that illuſtrious Character with Praises and Acclamations. The Slaughter of the *Amalekites* was ſo great, that they could make no Eſtimate of the Number, and not ſo much as one *Hebrew* ſlain in the Action. *Mofes* erected an Altar after this Victory, inſcrib'd to God the Conqueror: Where he worſhipp'd with Sacrifices and Thankſgivings, foretelling at the ſame Time the utter Extirpation of the *Amalekites*, for the Baſeneſs of the Attempt upon the *Hebrews*, when they were in Diſtreſs and ready to periſh in the Wilderneſs. *Mofes* concluded the Solemnity with Feaſtings and Rejoicings, treating the General, the Officers, and the whole Camp with Soldiery Entertainments ſuitable to the Occaſion.

This was the firſt Battle the *Hebrews* fought after their coming out of *Ægypt*: to the utter Ruin and Confuſion of their Enemies.

(a) Here a Liberty is taken in the *Translation*, yet ſo as not to injure the Senſe of the *Author*.

Enemies. When they had spent some few Days in Jollity and Refreshment, they march'd forward with a better order'd Army then before, and a much greater too; for the Enemies Arms that were taken upon the Rout, had much encreas'd their Number. Advancing at this rate by easie Marches, they reach'd Mount *Sinai*, the Place where *Moses* saw the Vision of the *Burning Bush*, which we have spoken of already. This was the *Third Month* after they left *Agypt*.

C H A P. III.

Raguel repaires to his Son-in-Law Moses, to joy him of his Success.

* **R**aguel had no sooner heard of the wonderful Success of *Moses*, but away presently he went to congratulate his Son-in-Law, and to see how it fared with his Daughter *Zipporah* and their Children. *Moses* was overjoy'd to see him, and so offer'd a Sacrifice, and feasted the whole Multitude, in the Order of their Tribes and Families, not far from the *Burning Bush* that the Fire could not consume. *Aaron*, in the mean while, with *Raguel* and the rest, chanted forth Hymns of Praise and Honour to the Author of their Safety, Freedom, and Deliverance: Not forgetting their admirable Leader, and how all Things prosper'd that he took in hand. Neither was *Raguel* behind hand in doing Right to the Army, and to the Dignity of their Preserver, by whose Authority and Direction so many wise and brave Men were steer'd and govern'd.

C H A P. IV.

Raguel gives Moses Advice about Religion and Government; and for the Ordering of his Army

Raguel took notice one Day, as his Son-in-Law was hearing of Causes, how intolerably he was oppress'd with the Importunity of attending so much Business; but he could

P. 2

not

not well say any Thing of it at present, without giving an Interruption to the Course of publick Justice : Beside that the People had so great a Reverence for the Authority of *Moses*, that they would have been better satisfied to be undone by the Justice of *Moses*, then to carry the Cause by the Corruption of any other Judge : But so soon as ever the Hurry of the Day was well over, *Raguel* took *Moses* apart, and gave him his Opinion upon the Matter. “ You have, *says he*, more “ Work upon your Hand then ’tis possible for one Man to “ dispatch. As for the Matter of private, personal Causes, “ they are so Numerous, you can never go through with “ them : Wherefore you should do well to employ other People, as you have Choice enough, for the Discharge of that “ Function : But, *says Raguel further*, as to what concerns “ Religion and Government, that must be your particular “ Province ; for there’s no Man so fit to be trusted with the “ Care of so many Thousand Souls as you yourself. You “ cannot but be sensible of the excellent Faculties that God “ has given you ; how instrumental you have been to the “ saving of the People under your Charge, and how necessary “ your Counsel and Assistance will be yet to them for the “ future. Wherefore do you attend the Worship of God, “ wherein you shall highly contribute to the common Welfare of yourself, and of those under you : And for the “ Trial of Causes betwixt Man and Man, you may leave it “ to such Ministers as you think fit. Now to your worldly “ Affairs, the Thing I would advise you is this. Take a “ Muster of all your Troops, and divide them into so many “ Bodies of ten Thousand Men a-piece, placing Officers over “ every one of these Bodies. You shall afterwards subdivide “ them into Thousands, five Hundreds, Hundreds, and Fifties, “ with Officers over them too ; and so divide them again into “ Thirties, Twenties and Tens, with distinct Officers “ also belonging to them, to take their Names from the “ Number of Men they command : And all these to have “ their proper Judges to determine Controversies : Those “ Judges to have the Approbation of the People for Men of “ Probity and Virtue. Yet in Cases of great Difficulty and “ Importance, let them repair to you. By this Means the “ People shall have Right done them, and you yourself be “ at Liberty to attend God’s Worship for the Good of the Army, without any Interruption.” *Moses* was so well pleased with this Scheme of *Raguel*’s, that he order’d the Project to be put in Execution, not as any Contrivance of his own, but as the Advice of his Father-in-Law, to whom he ascrib’d the

the sole Honour of it before the People. *Moses* has declar'd as much in his Writings also, ever accounting it more Laudable to give worthy Men their due, then for one Man to usurp to himself the Reputation of another Man's Merit. But this will be fitter for another Place.

C H A P. V.

Moses goes up to the Mount, where he receives the Law from God, and Communicates it to the People.

* **W**Hile they continu'd in this Place, *Moses* called the People together, and told them that he was going up *Mount Sinai* to speak with God, and not without Hope of bringing them comfortable News at his Return; commanding them in the mean Time however to pitch their Tents at the Foot of the Mountain, where they might be near at hand; and so *Moses* went up.

Mount Sinai is by much the highest Eminence in all those Countries, and betwixt the extreme Height and Cragginess of the Rocks, it seems not only inaccessible, but wearisome to the very Eye to look up at it. The Place is accounted sacred, upon the Credit of an antient Tradition of *God's* having his Habitation there. The *Hebrews* posted themselves at the Foot of the Mountain, as *Moses* had commanded them; lifting up their Hands to God, and musing within themselves what those good Tidings might be, that *Moses*, when he went up, promis'd to bring them at his Return. In his Absence, they kept their Festivals, purifying themselves, and living in Continence for three Days, even from their own Wives, as they were order'd; plying Almighty God with hourly Prayers to be gracious to *Moses*, and grant them somewhat by him that might conduce to the Peace and Happiness of their Lives. They feasted upon this Occasion with great Magnificence, and had their Wives and Children dress'd up with more Pomp and Ornament then usual. Two Days this lasted; but upon the third, before Sun-rise, in as clear a Sky as ever was seen, there appear'd a Cloud that cover'd and encompass'd the whole Camp of the *Hebrews*; the first Prodigy of that kind since the Creation. This was afterwards follow'd with a terrible Tempest of Thunder and Lightning,

ning, Wind and Rain; giving to understand, that God was there. The Reader may take this as he pleases; but it will not become me to depart from the least Title of what I find written in Holy Scriptures. The *Hebrews* were so terrify'd at what they had seen and heard, as well for the Novelty and Strangeness of the Thing, as for the common Rumour of God's dwelling upon this Mount, that they durst not so much as put their Heads out of their Tents; but fell into a Consternation, giving it for granted, that God in his Wrath had taken away *Moses*, and that they themselves were to expect the same Fate. As they lay ready to sink under this dreadful Apprehension, *Moses* appear'd; but with so much Joy and Majesty in his Countenance, that all their Fears vanish'd, and this Change made way for Hopes of better Things; the Air also recovering its former Serenity.

While this pass'd, *Moses* summon'd the People to attend, and hear what God had given him in Charge to deliver; Whereupon they drew together, and *Moses* betaking himself to a rising Ground, where he might be best seen and heard, address'd himself to the People in Manner following.

“ You Men and Brethren, *Habrews*: As our most gracious
 “ God hath been always hitherto propitious to your Prayers,
 “ so I am now to tell you, upon this present Occasion; that
 “ he hath received your Messenger with infinite Grace and
 “ Goodness: And you are likewise to rest assured, that he
 “ will take your Army into his Protection, and prescribe to
 “ you such Ways of Living, that you yourselves cannot so
 “ much as wish to be more happy, then a careful Obser-
 “ vance of those Rules will make you. Wherefore as you
 “ have any Reverence for that God, and for all the mighty
 “ Things that he hath done in your Favour, do not make
 “ flight, I beseech you, of what I am about to say. Do not
 “ think the worse of the Matter for the Meanness of the
 “ Bearer of it; but know, that at this Instant, it is God that
 “ speaks to you, though by the Tongue of a Man. You are
 “ only to consider the Goodness, and the Advantage of the
 “ Commands I bring you; and to adore the Majesty of that
 “ God, who for the promoting of your Happiness, hath con-
 “ descended to make use of me for the Reporter of his gra-
 “ cious Will and Pleasure towards you. Do not any longer
 “ look upon me as *Moses*, the Son of *Amram* and *Jochabel*;
 “ but as the Instrument that for your Sake caused the *Water*
 “ of the *Nile* to be turn'd into *Blood*, and with Variety of
 “ *Plagues* brake the Hearts of the *Egyptians*. He that pav'd
 “ you a Way through the *Sea*, and fetch'd Food for you from
 “ Heaven,

“ Heaven, and *Water* out of the Rock, for you to drink :
 “ He that made *Adam* Lord of the World ; sav’d *Noah* from
 “ the *Deluge* ; put *Abraham*, our Progenitor, in Possession
 “ of the Land of *Chanaan*. He that made *Sarah* bring forth
 “ *Isaac* in the old Age of his Parents, bless’d *Jacob* with
 “ twelve such wonderful Sons, and made *Joseph* Governour
 “ of *Ægypt* : It is he, in fine, that by my Hand, honours
 “ you with these Precepts and Commands ; and you are to
 “ value me only as the Interpreter of his holy Will. Keep
 “ these Commands sacred and inviolate, and let them be
 “ dearer to you than your Wives and Children : Your O-
 “ bedience shall make your Lives happy, the Sea calm, your
 “ Wives fruitful, your Lands shall bring forth Increase, and
 “ you shall be a Terror to your Enemies : For, says *Moses*,
 “ I have spoken with God Face to Face ; I have heard his
 “ Divine Voice, and I am likewise to assure you, that he
 “ hath a fatherly Tenderness for you, and will take care of
 “ your Posterity.”

At the End of this Discourse he conducted the People with their Wives and Children to a Place where they might hear the Voice of God speaking to them, and teaching them what they were to do. This he did for the Authority of the Promulgation ; for it would not have made so deep an Impression upon the Minds of the Hearers from the Lips of any Mortal : So they all heard a Voice descending from above ; and it was so distinct too, that they all understood it. But for the Commandments that *Moses* left in Writing in the *two Tables*, we are not to publish the very Words ; but the Minutes of them are as follow. We are taught ;

- * 1. That there is but one God, and that he alone is to be worshipp’d.
- 2. That no Image of any living Creature is to be ador’d.
- 3. That no Man is to swear rashly.
- 4. That the seventh Day is to be kept holy, and not to be profaned by any common Work.
- 5. That Parents are to be honour’d.
- 6. That we are not to commit Murder.
- 7. That we are not to commit Adultery.
- 8. That we are not to commit Theft.
- 9. That we are not to bear false Witness.
- 10. That we are not to covet any Thing that is our Neighbours.

The People were abundantly satisfy'd to hear the same Things over again from the Voice of God, which *Moses* had told them of before-hand, and so they went their Way. But before many Days were over, they fell to soliciting of *Moses* again and again, to procure them a Body of Laws for the ordering of civil Matters; who gratify'd them with a Provision also of such Laws; prescribing what to do, and what not, and how to govern themselves one with another. But I shall refer the greater Part of those Laws to a Tract by itself.

* It was about this Time that *Moses* went up again to the Mount, having first told the People of his Intent, that he might not want Witnesses of his Ascension. His Stay being longer then they expected, (for he was *forty Days* absent) the People began to be in Pain for Fear some Mischiefe might have befallen him; and in all their Troubles, nothing went nearer the Hearts of them then the Apprehensions of his being destroy'd. But they discover'd the Matter several Ways: Some, that had not much Kindness for him, would have it that he was devour'd by wild Beasts; others had the Charity to fancy that God had taken him to himself; but the wiser Sort debated it both Ways. "If it should prove, *they said*, "that he was indeed torn to Pieces by wild Beasts, what "was there more in't, than a Mishap in one of the common "Accidents of Life?" And then for the Supposition of his being *taken up to God*, it was in Truth but a Conjecture suitable to the Reverence they had for his Virtue. Betwixt these two Surmises, they were not cast down so much for his Sake as for their own, in the Loss of such a Governour and Patron, as was never to be repair'd. The Grief and Desperation left them no Place to hope for any Thing; and in this Hopelessness they could not yet forbear lamenting: Nay; they durst not so much as move their Camp, because of the Order they had to wait his coming back.

At the End of *forty Days* and *forty Nights*, and without either Meat or Drink in that Interval; *Moses* returns and shews himself, to the unspeakable Joy of the whole Army. He told them how much they were the Care of Divine Providence; for in these Days of his Absence, he had been instructed in the Measures and Conduct of a good and happy Life. He told them that it was God's Command they should build him a † *Tabernacle* for himself at any Time to come down to, and be among them; but rather as to a Visit, than
to

* Exod. 24.

† Exod. 26.

to a Place of Abode. After this, there would be no further Need, *he said*, of travelling to *Mount Sinai*; for God would come down to them. This *Tabernacle* was still to go along with the Army, where God would be always at hand to receive their Prayers.

As to the Measures and Model of it, *Moses* told them that he had his Instructions, and that there was nothing more for them to do, then presently to enter upon the Undertaking. With this, he produc'd * the *two Tables* of the *Ten Commandments*, five in each Column, and of God's own Writing.

CHAP. VI.

Moses builds a Tabernacle, according to God's Appointment, for his holy Worship.

THE Peoples Affections were so elevated with the Discourse and Presence of *Moses* (so lately given for lost) that they made Collections in Strife who should do most toward the advancing of this Structure. They presented Gold, Silver, Copper, curious Wood that would not take the Worm; Goats Hair; Purple, and Scarlet-colour'd Sheep-skins; and some white, some blew; Wool of the same Tincture; fine Linnen; precious Stones for Ornament, Set in Gold; Perfumes of all Sorts. Some sent in Cattle for Sacrifices: And all this toward the Use and Service of the *Tabernacle*, which was, in effect, but a Kind of an ambulatory, portable *Temple*. So soon as the Contribution was made, some giving to the uttermost of their Abilities, others even beyond them; *Moses* sets his *Architects* at Work upon it without Delay, as God had commanded. And they were so great Masters in their Way too, that the People would have pitch'd upon the same Persons, even if it had been left to their own Choice. Their Names we have upon Record † in the Holy Scriptures; as (a) *Bezaleel* of the Tribe of *Judah* the Son of *Uri* and *Mariam* the Sister of *Moses*, (b) *Aholiab* the Son of *Ahesamach* of the Tribe of *Dan*. Nay, the People were so free of their Money, Goods, and Pains, that *Moses* was forc'd to restrain them by a Proclamation, and bid them *hold their Hands*; there being more then enough brought in already. And the Master-
Builders

* Exod. 25.

(a) Gr. *Basalelos*.

† Exod. 26.

(a) *Eliabos Inamachu uios*.

Builders were of that Opinion ; so that they were now to go in Hand with the Fabrick : *Moses* directing the Magnitude, and the Proportion of it, according to what God had appointed in the Mount. He gave particular Order also for the sacrificing Vessels, with the Size and Number of those that were to be employ'd in the Divine Worship. The Zeal and Bounty of the Women too was very remarkable, in the sparkling Magnificence and Curiosity of the Sacerdotal Vestments, and whatever else might serve to illustrate, either the Place or the Duty.

Things being thus prepar'd, and the Gold, Silver, Brass, Loom-work, and other Materials all in Readiness ; *Moses* proclaim'd a Festival, where every Man was to attend, and sacrifice according to his Ability : And so soon as that Solemnity was over, he went immediately in Hand with the erecting of a Tabernacle according to this following Model.

The outward Court was to be fifty Cubits in Breadth ; a Hundred in Length, twenty brasen Pillars on each Side longways, ten a-crofs, and every Pillar five Cubits in Height, with Rings and Borders to it of Silver : The Bases of Brass, curiously wrought and gilded, and fasten'd into the Ground with Pins of a Cubit in Length, pointed at the End like the Foot of a Pike : Which with the Help of Cords, that pass'd through the Ringles, bound the whole Frame together, from Top to Bottom, and kept it firm and steady against the strongest Blasts. It was also encompass'd with a Veil of curious fine Linnen, that hung from the Cornishes down to the very Bases ; which serv'd for a Wall to the Enclosure.

These were the Dimensions of three Sides of the Work ; and it was also fifty Cubits in Front : Twenty of them left open for a Door or Entrance, with two Planks or Quarters like Gate-posts on each Side of the Passage. They were cover'd all over with Silver-work, only the Bases were Brass. There were likewise six other Planks, three on each Hand, that for Strength's Sake were jointed one into another, and a curious Curtain drawn over them. The Gate Space being twenty Cubits wide, was five also in Depth, and cover'd with a delicate Embroidery of Flowers and Figures (living Creatures only excepted) in violet Colours, Scarlet and Purple, upon a Veil of fine Linnen.

Within the Court-Gate stood a Laver for Water, being a large Vessel of Brass, with a Foot of the same, for the Priests to wash their Hands and their Feet in.

In the Middle of this Court stood the Tabernacle, fronting to the East for the Advantage of receiving the Beams of the
Rising-

Rising-Sun. It was thirty Cubits in Length, and twelve in Breadth ; and just as high as it was broad. One Side of it look'd toward the South, another to the North, and the back Part of it to the West. The two Sides were made up of forty wooden Planks, twenty of a Side, and the Form of them Quadrangular ; a Cubit and a half in Breadth, and four Fingers thick : Plated all over with Gold ; two Tenons to every Plank, and two Silver Bases, with Mortisses to receive those Tenons. On the West Side there stood six other Boards, which were likewise over-laid with Gold, and so nicely put together, that they seem'd to be all of a Piece. Now these twenty Boards, being each of them a Cubit and a half over, make up the just Length of thirty Cubits. The six Boards on the Western Side only nine Cubits ; but then there were two other Planks to join them, one at each Corner in the same Position, and of the same Length and Breadth with the other, but much thicker, to bind the Ends and that Side of the Tabernacle the faster together. Every Plank had Golden Rings or Staples driven into't, and all so orderly dispos'd, that they answer'd one another in a direct Line. Through these Rings there went several Bars, of five Cubits in Length, and plated all over with Gold : Which reaching from End to End, kept the whole Quarter tight, by framing one Piece into another. On the back Part, or the lower End of this Structure, the Boards were all rang'd and order'd after the same Manner, by passing a Gilt Bar through as many Rings as there were Plates, and accommodating one Bar to another. There were moreover Bolts and Staples at the Corners to keep End and Sides together ; which, with the Help of Mortisses to bind one Piece to the other, secur'd the Tabernacle against Wind and Weather.

The Inside of this Tabernacle was divided into thrice ten Cubits in Length. At ten Cubits from the Bottom, there stood four Pillars a-cross ; of the same Workmanship and the same Matter, and upon Bases of the same Make and Metal already spoken of ; standing at equal Distances one from the other. Within these Pillars was the *Most Holy Place*, which was inaccessible even to the Priests themselves : To whom the Rest of the Tabernacle was all open. This Division of it into three Parts, seems to hold some Analogy with the Consideration of the Universe. The first Part, where the very Priests were not permitted to enter, may be allow'd to have some Resemblance to Heaven itself, as the Throne of the Divine Majesty : And for the other twenty Cubits, where only the Priests had Admittance, it bare a Resemblance, in
some

some Sort, to the Earth and the Sea. At the Entrance into this Tabernacle, there was five Gilded Columns planted upon Bases of Brass, and all cover'd with Curtains of fine Yarn, dy'd into Blew, Purple, and Scarlet, and woven together. The first of these Curtains was ten Cubits square, and serv'd for a Covering to the Partition betwixt the *Most Holy Place* and the *Holy*, to keep the former out of Sight. The Temple itself was call'd *Holy*; but the Space within the four Pillars, bears the Name of *Sanctum Sanctorum*. This Curtain, or Veil, was beautify'd with all Sorts of Flowers and curious Figures; living Creatures only excepted. There was yet another Veil, that for Size, Colours, and Work, was not inferior to the former; and this overspread the five Pillars at the coming in: It was fasten'd at the Top with Hooks and Eyes, and so down to the Middle of the five Columns; leaving the rest open for the Priests to enter by. This Veil had another over it, of the same Largeness and almost contiguous to it; but the Ground Flaxen: And it had Rings tack'd to it, with a String run through them, to draw at Pleasure, especially upon Festival-Days, to give the People the Sight of the under Curtain, with all the Ornaments of its Embroidery and Figures. At other Times, and chiefly in foul Weather, the upper Curtain serv'd for a Cover to preserve the former, being of a Stuff that was Proof against *Rain*. This Kind of Curtain has been made use of at the Door of the Temple from the very Building of it to this Day.

There were likewise ten Pieces of Hanging, of eight and twenty Cubits compass each, and four Cubits deep; and so exactly coupled together with Golden Loops, as if they had been all but one entire Piece. These Hangings cover'd the whole Tabernacle, Top and Side, without one Foot of the Ground. There were likewise eleven Pieces more, of the same Depth, but somewhat longer: That is to say, they were thirty Cubits each, and made of Hair, as the other were of Wool, and the Workmanship every Jot as artificial. These Curtains were a Covering to the other ten; and as they hung down loose and flowing upon the Ground, they carried some Sort of Resemblance to the Canopy of a Bed. The eleventh Curtain was put, over the Door of the Tabernacle; the odd Number being specially design'd for that Service. This Covering of Goats Hair had yet another of Skins over that, for a Shelter against Heats and Rains. The Spectacle, in fine, was so great a Surprize to People at a Distance, by the Sky-colour Appearance of it, that it seem'd to the Eye a perfect Representation of the Heavens. Now these Curtains of Hair-cloth

cloth and Skins were, as that over the Gate, for a Fence against the Injuries of the Seasons.

* After the finishing of the Tabernacle as above, they went in hand with the *Ark* of God, which was made of a Wood that the *Hebrews* call *Heron*, the strongest and firmest of all Plants, and the most secure against Rotting or taking the Worm. The Figure of the *Ark* was this: It was two Cubits and a half in Length; one and a half Broad, and as much in Depth: Cover'd all over with the purest Gold, and so order'd both within and without, that there was no Wood to be seen. The Cover was cramp't together with Golden Hooks; curious, and firm to Admiration; and every where so smooth, that there was no Danger of one Part galling another. At the two Ends were riveted into the Frame four Golden Rings, one at every Corner: And through those Rings two Gilded Bars laid a-cross, on each Side one, to remove the *Ark* at any Time from Place to Place upon Occasion; for they us'd no other Way of Transporting it, then as the Priests and Levites carry'd it upon their Shoulders. Upon this Cover were two Figures, which the *Hebrews* call *Che-rubims*: A kind of wing'd Creature, answering the Description of what *Moses* saw about the Throne of God; and what no Mortal had ever seen the like of before. In this *Ark* were deposited the two Tables of the Decalogue: Five of the Commandments in each Table, and two and a half in a Column. This *Ark*, in fine, was laid up in the Sanctuary.

In this Tabernacle *Moses* plac'd a Table, not unlike that at (a) *Delphi*: Two Cubits in Length; one in Breadth; and the Height a Cubit and a half. The Feet of it from the Middle downward were exactly like those the *Dorians* make use of for their Beds, and made round; but from thence upwards square; with a Border of four Fingers Thickness, jutting out, and a Crown of Gold over and under it on every Side. Under this Border there were four Rings of Gold, fasten'd into the upper Part of the four Feet; one at each Corner, and Guilt Bars of the firmest Wood that pass'd through them, and serv'd for Handles upon the Removal from one Place to another. This Table stood in the Temple toward the North, not far from the Sanctuary itself. There were set upon it twelve Loaves of Unleavened Bread; six on each Side of the Table,

* Exod. 37.

(a) Not that this was made after the Fashion of the *Delphic Table*, but that the *Delphic Table* was made after the Model of this.

Table, and pil'd in Order, one over another. They were made of the finest Flower; *two Assars* in Quantity, or *seven Attick Cotyla's*, after the Hebrew Measure, each Cake containing two *Omers*. Over these Loaves were two Golden Dishes of Incense. At the End of seven Days these Loaves were taken away, and others put in their Places. Now the *Seventh Day* is that which we call our *Sabbath*: But we shall speak further of this in another Place.

Just over against this Table, on the South-side, stood a Golden Candlestick; the Work of the Founder, and cast hollow: The Weight of it a hundred (*a*) *Mines*, which the *Hebrews* call *Cinchares*, and the *Greeks* a *Talent*. This Candlestick was set out with Bowls, Lillies, Pomgranates, and little Cups and Dishes all of pure Gold, to the Number of seventy Pieces that shot up out of the Shank into seven Branches, answering the Number of the Planets, and they were ranged in an Order of Uniformity one to another. On the Top of these seven Branches were as many Lamps; which, as the Candlestick stood slopping, fac'd toward the East and the South.

Betwixt the Candlestick and the Table, as aforesaid, there was a little Altar for Incense of the same strong and incorruptible Wood with the Ark: One Cubit square for Length and Breadth, and the Height of it double: A Golden Fire Hearth, and a Crown of the purest Gold round about it from Corner to Corner, with Rings and Staves through them, for the Ease of Carriage.

* There was also another Altar erected before the Tabernacle: The Frame of the same Wood with the former; five Cubits square, and three in Height, finish'd after the same Design with the former; save that it was plated all over with Brass: And in the Middle of it, betwixt Top and Bottom, a brazen Grate of a Kind of Net-work, for the Ashes to fall through. There were also Funnels, Vials, Censers, Cups and Pans, and other Necessaries for the Service of the Altar, all of Gold. † This may serve for an Account of the Tabernacle, and of the Vessels thereunto belonging.

G H A P.

(a) *Mnas.*

* *Exod.* 38.

† *Exod.* 39.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Priests, and High-Priests Vestments ; Purifications, and Festivals.

TO proceed now to the Vestments appointed both for the ordinary Priests, and the High-Priest ; as well those that they call *Chaanæans* of the one ; as for the (a) *Anarabaches* himself, which signifies the Prince of the Priests, of the other. We shall begin with the former. No Priest was to officiate without being first purify'd, according to the Order and Direction of the Law. His Under-Garment was of fine twisted Linnen, and made up much after the Fashion of our Trowsses or Drawers : The *Hebrew* call it a (b) *Manachafe*, or a *Binder*. The Feet were to be put through it, and so drawn up over the Thighs ; open downward from the Top, and fast girt about the Loins.

Over this was a Coat of very fine Linnen, which the *Hebrews* call (c) *Chethemene* : That is to say, a *Linnen Cloth* ; as *Chethron* is taken for the *Flax* it is made of. It sat close to the whole Body, with strait Sleeves, and reaching down to the Heels. This Coat was fasten'd with a Girdle about the Middle, of four Fingers broad, and so artificially set out with Needle-work, in divers Colours, that it had some Resemblance to the Skin of a Snake. There were wrought into this Girdle several Flowers and Figures in Blew, Purple, and Scarlet, but the Ground was Linnen. It went twice about the Body of the Priest, and for the better Grace hung down from his Breast to his Feet, having only when he was in the Exercise of his Function, and in that case he cast it over his left Shoulder, to be the more at Liberty for the Discharge of his Office. *Moses* calls this Girdle *Abaneth*, and we at this Day call it *Emian* ; a Word that we have learnt from the *Babylonians*. This Garment was made without either Plaits or Folds ; wide in the Neck, and buckled together before and behind. The *Hebrew* Name for it is *Massabazanes*.

The Priest had also a kind of Mitre or Bonnet, like a small Helmet, that cover'd little more than one half of his Head :

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(a) Or *Chaanarabbes*. See *Braunius* conc. the Vestments of the *Hebrew* Priests, l. 1. c. 2. & 16. & l. 2. c. 1. & 2.

(b) Or *Machanase*, or *Michnase*.

(c) Or *Chethone*.

The Name of it is (a) *Mafnaemphthes*. It was made of Linnen, and bound together with Filleting over and over to keep it steady. There was yet another Cap of curious fine Linnen, that serv'd for a Covering to the former, and came so low, that there was not so much as a Stitch or a Seam of the other to be seen: And every Part of it was so secur'd one to another, that there was no Danger of any Thing loosening or falling, to disturb the Priest in his Office. This is enough said of the Priests Vestments in common one with another.

As to the High-Priest, over and above the Ornaments already exhibited, he had others peculiar to his Office: As a Purple Robe that came down to his Ancles, which we call (b) *Methir*; with such a Girdle for Colours and Figures, as that which we have formerly mention'd, saving only that this has also an Intermixture of Gold. The Skirt of this Vest was trimm'd with a Fringe, and hung round with Pomgranates and Golden Bells of a curious Workmanship, which were interchangeably plac'd, and at equal Distances one from another. This Garment was all of a Piece, and without Seam, and had no Opening to it, but only Length-ways, a little below the Shoulders behind, and so to the Middle of the Breast before, with a Border to it for Decency's Sake to keep the gaping out of Sight, with another Border likewise to that Part of it that was left open for the Arms to pass through the Sleeves.

Over this Vestment there was yet a third; which was call'd the *Ephod*, and was the same with the *Epomis* of the Greeks, according to the Description. It was a Cubit in Length, Embroider'd all over with Gold and a glorious Variety of Colours, covering the whole Breast: And it had likewise Sleeves to it; so that it was no other in effect then a short Coat.

Upon the Fore-part of this Robe, and in the Middle of the Breast, there was left a void Place, of a Span square for the (c) *Essen*, which the Greeks call *Logion*, as much as to say, in Latin, the *Rationale*, or the *Oracle*. This square piece did just fill up that Vacancy, which was in Truth left on Purpose for it. There were Golden Rings at every Corner, and Purple Ribbons run through them to fasten the *Ephods* and the *Rationale*, one to the other. And then to fill up all Spaces,

(a) *Ansel. Selerius*, in his Book *de Pileo*, shows it should be read *Mafnephtes*, or *Misnephtes*. (b) Or *Mecir*.

(c) *Braunius* for *Essen* reads *Gheschen*, l. 2. c. 20. p. 766.

ces, and cover the Seams, the Intervals were wrought over with Strings of the same Colour. The High-Priest had upon each Shoulder a *Sardonyx* set in Gold, which two Stones serv'd for Buckles to clasp one Part of the *Ephod* to the other, with Golden Ringles to bind *them* and the *Rationale* together. Upon these Stones were engraven in *Hebrew* Characters the Names of *Jacob's twelve Sons*: The six Elder upon that on the Right Shoulder, and the other six on the Left. There were set also in the *Essen*, or *Rationale*, twelve Stones of such a Size and Lusture, that both for the Ornament and the Value they were inestimable. These Stones were dispos'd of into four Rows, at three in a Row; and divided one from another by little Partitions of Gold to secure them from falling out. In the *first* Row there was a *Sardonyx*, a *Topaz*, and an *Emerald*; in the *second*, a *Ruby*, a *Jasper*, and a *Sapphire*; in the *third*, a *Ligyrius*, an *Amethyst*, and an *Agat*; and in the *fourth*, a *Chrysolite*, an *Onyx*, and a *Beryl*. In these *twelve precious Stones* were set down severally the Names of *Jacob's twelve Sons*, which we look upon as the Heads of our Tribes; and so their Names were there inserted in the Order of Seniority and Birth. Now whereas these Hooks or Fastenings were not sufficient of themselves to support the Weight of so many precious Stones, there were two larger and stronger Pieces tackt to the upper Part of the *Rationale* toward the Neck that stood out above the Work of the Garment: And to these were fasten'd two wreath'd Golden Chains that were convey'd by secret Passages up to the Shoulder Piece. The upper End of these Chains was carry'd about to the Back, and so hookt with a Ring behind them upon the Border of the *Ephod*; and this was the principal Goldfast that kept all firm together. There was also stickt to the *Rationale* a Girdle of the Colour before spoken of, but interwoven with Gold. It went twice about the Body, and being ty'd on a Knot before, the two Ends were let loose to hang dangling down, and a curious Gold Fringe to each of them.

The High-Priest's *Tiara*, or *Mitre*, was like that of other Priests, saving only that it had another of Purple or Violet Colour over it, and a Triple Crown of Gold about it: Over which Crown was the Resemblance in Gold of a kind of Cup, in Form like the Bud of the Plant which the *Hebrews* call *Saccharus*, and the *Greeks* *Hyoscyamos*. But for the Sake of those that have neither seen this Plant, nor know any Thing of it; or of others that perhaps may have heard of the Name, and yet Strangers to the Nature of it, it will not be amiss to give a short Description of it. This Plant rises

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commonly.

commonly to somewhat above three Spans in Height : The Root of it like that of a Turnep, and its Leaf like Mint. It branches out into a round Knob, with a Coat over it, which sheds as the Fruit ripens. The Cup as I told you, that was plac'd over the Golden Crown, was about the Bigness of the Joint of ones little Finger, round and hollow like the Inside of a Goblet : But I shall explain myself yet a little further for the Benefit of the Reader. The Figure of it was a kind of Hemisphere ; narrowing a little upwards, and then enlarging itself toward the Brims into the Form of a Bason, resembling a Pomgranate cut in two ; upon which there grew a round Cover, so curious by Nature as if it had been turn'd on purpose for it : And it had sharp Points rising out of it like the Prickles of a Pomgranate. Within this Cup and Cover, the Fruit was nourish'd and preserv'd. The Seed of it is like that of the Plant *Sideritis*, or Wall-sage ; and a Flower like *Plantane*. This was the Ornament of the Mitre from the Neck round to the Temples ; but the Forehead had a Golden Plate laid over it, with an Inscription upon it of the Holy Name of God. This is enough said of the Dress and Vestments of the High-Priest.

I cannot but wonder in this Place, at the hard Measure we meet with in the World among those that hate and traduce us as Blasphemers and Deriders of the Divinity that they adore. Let but any Man consider the Structure of the Tabernacle ; the Sacerdotal Vestments ; and the Holy Vessels that are dedicated to the Service of the Altar ; and he must of Necessity be convinc'd that our Law-giver was a pious Man, and that all the Calumnies against us and our Profession, are only Calumny and Scandal. For what is all this but the Image of the whole World ? As will appear to any Man that does but soberly and impartially examine the Matter. The Tabernacle of thirty Cubits is divided into three Parts ; that is to say, two for the Priests in general, as a Place in common to them all, and as free of Access as the Earth and the Sea. The third Place, where no Mortal must be admitted, is as the Heaven reserv'd only for God himself. The twelve Loaves of Shew-bread upon the Table, signifie the twelve Months of the Year. The Candlestick is made up of seventy Pieces, and refers to the twelve Signs of the *Zodiac*, through which the seven Planets take their Course ; And the seven Lamps on the Top of the seven Branches bear an *Analogy* to the Planets themselves. The Curtains with the four Colours, that are wrought into them, represent the four Elements. The fine Linnen signifies the Earth, as the Flax

Flax takes it Growth out of it. By the Purple, is to be understood the Sea, from the Blood of the Fish (or *Murex*) that gives it the Tincture. The Violet Colour is the Symbol of the Air, and the Scarlet, of the Fire. By the Linnen Garment of the High-Priest is design'd the whole Body of the Earth: By the Violet Colour, the Heavens. The Pomegranates answer the Lightning; the Noise of the Bells, the Thunder. The four colour'd *Ephod* (since it pleas'd God to order it so to be) bears a Resemblance to the very Nature of the Universe, and the interweaving of it with Gold seems to me to have a Regard to the Rays that give us Light. The *Rationale* in the Middle of it imitates the Position of the Earth in the Centre of the World. The Girdle about the Body of the Priest, is as the Sea about the Globe of the Earth. The two Sardonyx-stones are a kind of Figure of the Sun and Moon: And the twelve other Stones may be understood either of the twelve Months, or the twelve Signs in the Circle, which the *Greeks* call the *Zodiack*: The Violet colour'd *Tiara* speaks a Resemblance of Heaven; and it would have been an Irreverence to have written the sacred Name of God upon any other Colour. The Triple Crown and Plate of Gold gives us to understand the Glory and the Majesty of Almighty God. This is as plain an Illustration of these Matters as I thought needful. And I would not lose any Opportunity, either upon this, or upon any other Occasion, of doing all possible Right to the Honour and Wisdom of our incomparable Law-giver.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Priesthood of Aaron.

† **W**Hen the Work of the Tabernacle was thus far advanced; and the next Thing in Order was to be the Dedication of it: God appear'd to *Moses*, and gave him in Charge to settle his Brother *Aaron* in the Priesthood, as a Person of all Men living that best deserv'd the Dignity. So *Moses* call'd the People together, and treated them with a moving Discourse upon the Virtues of *Aaron*: Setting forth the Zeal and Passion he had for the Good of the Publick; even to the Degree of hazarding his Life upon several Occasions for
 Q. 2 their

† Exod. 28. and 29.

their Sake. *Moses* found the whole Congregation so well satisfi'd with the Reason of what he said, and the 'Choice of the Person, that he proceeded to his Business in these Words.

" Good People of *Israel*, says he, we have now gone
 " through the great Work that God requir'd at our Hands, to
 " the uttermost of our Power. But in regard that God himself
 " will vouchsafe to honour this Tabernacle with his Presence,
 " and that it is now to be consecrated, it will become us in
 " the first Place to make choice of a High-Priest that is eve-
 " ry Way qualify'd for the Exercise of the Holy Function,
 " and to offer up Prayers and Sacrifices for us. I must con-
 " fess indeed, if the Election were left to me, I should make
 " no Difficulty of assuming the Honour to myself, not only
 " upon the Score of human Frailty, as all Men are naturally
 " Lovers of themselves ; but I should reckon myself to have
 " some Sort of Title to it upon the Merit of the Dangers and
 " Hardships I have undergone for the common Good. But
 " so it is in the present Case, that God, whose Officer the
 " High-Priest is, already hath singled out and decreed *Aaron*
 " to the Dignity ; as the most worthy of the Sacerdotal Robe.
 " So that *Aaron* is design'd from this Time forward to offi-
 " ciate at the Altar, and to offer up Vows and Supplications
 " to the Almighty on your behalf ; which coming from an
 " Intercessor of God's own Appointment, will be the more
 " graciously receiv'd." The People were all highly pleas'd
 with what *Moses* had deliver'd, giving their Assent unani-
 mously and chearfully to the Choice : For no Man had so
 fair a Pretence to the sacred Character as *Aaron* had, either
 in respect of his Family, the Gift of Prophecy which he had
 receiv'd, or the excellent Qualities of his Brother *Moses*. Now
Aaron had at that Time four Sons ; (a) *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Ele-*
azar, and *Ithamar*.

As to the Remainder of what had been given toward the Building of the Tabernacle, *Moses* order'd the Overplus to be laid out in Veils and Coverings for the Tabernacle itself ; the Golden Candlestick ; the Altar of Incense, and other holy Vessels, to secure them upon any Occasion of Removal from either Wet or † Dust. After this *Moses* gave the People a Summons, and laid an Imposition upon them, of half a Shekel a Head, toward the Charge of the Work in Hand ; reckoning an *Hebrew* Shekel at four Attick Drachma's. They submitted to the Tax, in fine, with all the Chearfulness in the World. The Number of the Contributors was six Hun-
 dred

(a) *Jos. Nabad.*

† *Exod.* 37.

dred and five Thousand five Hundred and fifty: Freemen all, and from twenty Years of Age to fifty. Which Money was all employ'd in the Service of the Tabernacle.

Moses apply'd himself, in the next Place, to the purifying of the Tabernacle and the Priests; and the Manner of it was this. He took of the choicest Myrrh five Hundred Shekels-worth; and of *Iris* the same Quantity: Cinnamon and Balsam, (which are wonderfully fragrant) the one half. These Ingredients he order'd to be beaten together, and macerated in a Hin of the best Oil-Olive: (which Hin is a Vessel that holds as much as two *Attick Choa's*.) This Composition being then set over the Fire, and prepar'd according to Art, produc'd an Ointment of the most grateful Odour imaginable. With which Ointment, *Moses* anointed the Priests and the Tabernacle, and this was the Ceremony of Purification; offering up several Sort of Sacrifices also in the Tabernacle. As to the Golden Altar, and the precious Perfumes that were dedicated upon it; I shall rather pass over the Particulars, than tire out the Reader with many Words. But in general, there was Incense offer'd twice a-day; that is to say, before Sun-rising, and about Sun-setting, and purifying-Oil preserv'd for the Lamps of the holy Candlestick: Three to burn all Day, and the rest to be lighted up in the Evening. The Fabrick was now finish'd, and the two Master-workmen concern'd in it were *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, whose Office it was to superintend the rest! improving other Mens Inventions, and supplying new ones of their own: But of the two, *Bazaleel* had the Preference. All this was done in seven Months Time, and within the Compass of a Year from their coming out of *Egypt*.

* In the Year following, and on the New Moon of the Month *Xanthicus*, according to the *Macedonians*, or *Nisan*, according to the *Hebrews*, the Tabernacle was consecrated, and so were all the Vessels belonging to it. Upon this Occasion, God Almighty gave the *Hebrews* to understand by a remarkable Providence, how graciously he accepted of their Zeal for his Service, and that their Labour was not lost in the erecting of that glorious Structure: And this he manifested by descending to take up his Habitation there, and vouchsafing them the Blessing of his Presence. As for Instance: It was so clear an Air that there was not one Cloud to be seen, but just over and about the Tabernacle. And this Cloud was not either so thick as to threaten foul Weather,

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nor

nor so thin as to be Transparent : But there issu'd from it so gentle a Dew, that all that saw it, and believ'd an Almighty Power, took it for a Divine Influence, and an evident Token that their Prayers were heard, and that God himself honour'd them with his Presence.

When *Moses* had gratify'd the Artificers, that erected and beautify'd this Structure, with Encouragements and Rewards answerable to their Deserts, he sacrific'd in the Door of the Tabernacle, as God had commanded him, a Bullock, a Ram, and a Kid, for the Sins of the People. As to the Ceremonies properly belonging to the Sacrifices, I shall handle that Point more particularly when I come to speak of the Sacrifices themselves ; and I shall likewise shew what those Burnt-Offerings are, which the Law has appointed to be totally consum'd, and those again that the Law permits to be eaten. When the Beasts, as aforesaid, were now kill'd, * *Moses* took of the Blood, and sprinkled it upon *Aaron* and his Sons, purifying them with Water of the Fountain, and anointing Oil, and so hallowing them for Priests of the Lord. This Form of Consecration was repeated in all the Parts of it for seven Days one after another successively, with the Oblation of the same Sacrifices, one of a Sort every Day. On the eight Day, † *Moses* appointed a Festival, and order'd the People to come in and sacrifice according to their Abilities ; Who were so ready and chearful in their Compliance, that they did not only contend in a pious Emulation one with another who should go furthest ; but made it a Point of Honour and Conscience even to outdo themselves. The Sacrifices were no sooner laid upon the Altar, but there broke out a Flame from them of its own accord, like a Flash of Lightning, which consum'd them all.

‡ There was a dreadful Calamity after this that befel *Aaron*, and would have gone to the Heart of him, both as a Man and as a Father, if he had not been fortify'd against all Events, and a Person absolutely resign'd to God's Holy Will and Pleasure. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the two eldest of *Aaron's* four Sons already spoken of, as they were about to sacrifice upon the Altar, not according to the Prescription of *Moses*, but after a Manner formerly in Practice, were all on a sudden blasted and consum'd with a judicial Fire, their Bodies and their Faces shrivel'd up, and themselves scorch'd to Death with a Flame not to be quench'd. *Moses*, upon this, order'd their Father and their Brothers to take up the Bodies, and carry

* Levit. 8.

† Levit. 9.

‡ Levit. 10.

carry them out of the Camp, and so to give them a decent Burial. The unexpected Death of these Brothers was so terrible a Surprise to the Multitude, that their Grief was in effect inconsolable: But *Moses* earnestly exhorted the Father and the Brethren not to lay this Tribulation to Heart; and rather to consider that it did not stand with the Dignity of the Priesthood to prefer an impotent Passion to the Honour and Glory of God: *Aaron* being at this Time invested with the *Sacerdotal Stole*.

Moses, in fine, deliver'd himself up so entirely to the Service of God, that he never minded the Addresses and Acclamations of the People. He went no longer now to Mount *Sinai* for Counsel; but into the Tabernacle, for Instructions how to govern himself; and in all Respects like a private Man, save only in the Exercise of his Charge and Function, for the Good and Well-being of the Publick. He gave them also the Laws and Precepts in Writing, for the leading of their Lives acceptably in the Sight of God, and for the preserving of themselves in Piece and Union: Which Laws and Precepts were no other then the Dictates of God himself. Of these Laws I shall say somewhat further in another Place.

But before I proceed, I must here supply one Remark about the Vestments of the High-Priest, which I have hitherto omitted. And it is this: That to prevent all Possibility of putting any Imposture upon the World, under the Countenance of the holy Robe, or a Pretext of the Gift of Prophecy, it is to be observ'd, that whenever God vouchsaf'd to honour these Sacrifices with his special Presence, he never fail'd of accompanying that gracious Descension with some signal visible Circumstance or other, to convince, not only his own People, but Strangers also, of the Reality of that Divine Appearance. To instance in the two *Sardonyx's* on the High-Priest's Shoulders, (which we have formerly spoken of, and every body knows the Nature of them:) What a wonderful Light does the Stone on the Right-Shoulder of the High-Priest cast at a great Distance, beyond the natural Lustre, upon the Occasion of God's shewing himself well-pleas'd with the Sacrifices, and not otherwise! and this to the Admiration and Satisfaction of all Men living, save only such as set up to gain the Reputation of wise Men by a profess'd Contempt of our Religion. But there is another Thing yet that is still more amazing. I speak of the twelve precious Stones that the High-Priest wore upon his *Essen*, or *Rationale*, when God presag'd a Victory: For there came out of them so sparkling a Glory, that all the People look'd upon it as a Divine Influence, and as

an Earnest of God's Assistance. And hence it is that the *Greeks*, that have any Sort of Esteem for our Rites and Solemnities, and are convinc'd of the Miracles by their very Eyes, call this *Essen*, *Logion*, which signifies an *Oracle* [as well as *Rationale*.] But it is now two Hundred Years and upward that this *Sardonyx* and *Essen* have left shining, or at least discontinu'd the Manifestations of their miraculous Light and Splendor; for God hath been offended with us for our Sins, as I shall shew elsewhere: And so return to my Narration.

The *Tabernacle* being now consecrated, and all Things dispatch'd that related to the Service of the Almighty, the People were so transported with Joy, to consider that God was come down to dwell among them, that they gave up themselves wholly to Hymns and Sacrifices, and to the Thought of living at Ease, without so much as dreaming of any more Difficulties to come: Some of the Tribes in general, and others in particular, presenting their respective Oblations.* The Heads and Princes of the twelve Tribes brought six Waggons, and a Pair of Oxen to each of them, for the Service of the Tabernacle, upon any Occasion of Removing: Over and above a Silver Charger of a hundred and thirty Shekels-weight, and a Silver Bowl of seventy Shekels, both full of fine Flour mingled with Oil, to be us'd in the Sacrifices; with an Incense-Cup also full of Perfumes, and valu'd at *ten Daricks*. They offer'd likewise a young Bullock, a Ram, and a Lamb of a Year old for a Burnt-Offering; with a He-Goat for a Sin-Offering. They had likewise their Peace-Offerings: That is to say, two Bullocks a-day, five Rams, with as many yearling Lambs and He-Goats. These Sacrifices continu'd for twelve Days, at one every Day.

Moses, as I have said already, went no longer up to Mount *Sinai*, but into the *Tabernacle*, to receive God's Directions about the Laws and Rules that were to be establish'd: Which being wholly of Divine Appointment and Institution; and above the Reach of human Understanding, it was but Reason that the sacred Authority and Obligation of them should be perpetual. I have said enough elsewhere to prove these Laws the Gift of God, and indispensibly binding to the *Hebrews*, as well in the Liberties of Peace, as in the Necessities of War. But I shall have Occasion to handle this Point more at large in a Tract by itself.

C H A P.

* Numb. 7.

C H A P. IX.

Of Sacrifices.

BEing now to handle the Point of Sacrifices and Purifications, I shall only mind the Reader of some few Laws upon that Subject. There are two Sorts of *Sacrifices*: The one particular and private; the other popular and publick: And these two differ in the Manner of the Celebration. One of them is call'd * a *Burnt-Offering*, or a *Holocaust*; as who shall say, *the whole Sacrifice is to be burnt*: The other is an Offering of *Thanksgiving*, and to be eaten by the Presenters of it. To begin now with the former. When a private Man makes an Oblation of a *Burnt-Offering*, he brings a *Bullock*, a *Lamb*, and a *Goat*: The two latter not above a Year old; but the first may be allow'd to be somewhat over: They must all be *Males*, and entirely consum'd by the Fire. When they are kill'd, the Priest sprinkles the Blood of them round about the Altar; and after they are well wash'd, cuts them in Pieces, strows them with Salt, and lays them all together upon it; where the Wood lies ready kindled beforehand. He washes the Feet and the Entrails, and then casts them into the Fire with the rest. The Skin belongs to the Priest. And this is the Ceremony of a *Burnt-Offering*.

† If the Oblation be a *Peace-Offering*, or an Offering of *Thanksgiving*, the *Sacrifices* are of the same Sort of Creatures, only they must be upward of *Yearlings* without Blemish; and Male and Female. The Priest, after the killing of them, sprinkles the Blood upon the Altar, and lays also the Kidneys, the Kell, and the Fillets of the Liver, with all the Fat upon them, and the Rump of the Lamb. The Breast and the Right-Shoulder is the Priest's Due, and for the Overplus, they that offer the *Sacrifice* may eat of it during two Days; and the Remainder afterwards to be burnt.

‡ The same Method is observ'd in the *Sin-Offering*; only those that are not able to furnish these Sacrifices, shall offer two young Pigeons, or two Turtles; the one for a *Burnt-Offering*, and the other for the Priests to eat. But I shall explain myself more at large, when I come to treat further of *Sacrifices*.

If any Man falls into the Sin of *Ignorance*, his *Sacrifice* shall be a *Lamb*, or a *She-Goat*, of the same Age as before, for a *Sin-*

* Levit. 1.

† Levit. 3.

‡ Levit. 5.

Sin-Offering; and the Priest, instead of smearing the Altar with the Blood all over, shall only sprinkle it upon the Horns, or Corners of it: The Kidney with the Kell and the Fibres of the Liver to be laid upon the Altar. The Flesh and the Skins are to be reserv'd for the Priests, and the Flesh to be spent that Day in the Temple; it being against the Law to leave any Part of it till the next Day. If any Man commits a wilful Sin, though so close that it is impossible to produce any legal Proof against him, the Law appoints a Ram for his Offering; and the Priests to eat the Flesh of it; provided it be in the Tabernacle and the same Day. The *Sin-Offering* of the Heads of the Tribes is the very same with that of private Men, saving only that the *Sacrifices* are to be a *Bull* and a *Goat*, and the latter a Male.

† According to the Law, in all *Sacrifices*, as well private as publick, there was to be a certain Proportion of fine Flower: The (a) Quantity of an *Affar* to a *Lamb*, two to a *Ram*, and three to a *Bullock*; and this was to be consecrated upon the Altar with a Mixture of Oil. It was Part also of the Oblation; half a *Hin* of Oil to a *Bullock* (an ancient Hebrew Measure of about two Attick Choa's) a third Part of it to a *Ram*, and a fourth to a *Lamb*. They were oblig'd likewise to provide just as much Wine as Oil, and to pour the Wine about the Altar. If any one shall make an Offering of fine Flower for the Performance of a Vow, without sacrificing, let him lay a Handful of it upon the Altar, and the Priests to eat the rest either boil'd, (for it is kneaded with Oil) or made into Cakes; the Sacrificer taking out of it what he finds necessary for *Burnt-Offerings*. The Law forbids the sacrificing of the Dam and the young One at the same Time, if the young One be not at least eight Days old. There are likewise other Sacrifices for the Recovery of Health, and divers such like Occasions; where Cakes are eaten with the Flesh of the Sacrifice, and the Priests to take their Part; but nothing of it must be left till the next Morning.

C H A P.

† Levit. 2.

(a) Gr. *Affaroonos metron*.

C H A P. X.

Laws and Ordinances for the Regulation of Priests, Sacrifices, Festivals ; and other Matters political and civil.

* **T**HE Law hath also order'd and appointed a yearling Lamb to be sacrific'd every Day, Morning and Evening, at the publick Charge : And two upon the *seventh Day* or *Sabbath*, after the same Manner. And so likewise at the Beginning of the Month, over and above the ordinary Sacrifices, two *seven yearling Lambs*, a *Ram*, and a *He-Goat* for a *Sin-Offering* in case of any Thing forgotten.

On the *seventh Month*, which the *Macedonians* call *Hyperberetæus*, the Offering was a *Bullock*, a *Ram*, and *seven Lambs*, beside those already mention'd, and a *He-Goat* for a *Sin-Offering*.

On the *tenth Day* of the same Month, was a Fast till Night ; and the Sacrifices were a young *Bullock*, two *Rams*, *seven Lambs*, and a *He-Goat* for *Sin* ; with two other Goats over and above. One of these Goats was presented alive before the Lord, and so let go into the Wilderness as a *Scape-Goat* to expiate for the People. The other was carry'd out into some sweet, clean Place near the Camp ; and there burnt to Ashes, Skin and all, without reserving any Part of it : And the Bullock was likewise burnt at the same Time. Now this Bullock was not provided by the People, but by the High-Priest : Who, after the killing of him, and the bringing of his Blood with that of the Goat into the Temple, dipt his Finger into the Blood and sprinkled the Cover of the Tabernacle seven Times, and so in like Manner the Floor ; the whole Temple ; the Golden Altar ; and the great Altar before the Door of the Tabernacle. After this, the extreme Parts of these Creatures, the Kidneys and the Fat, with Part of the Liver, were laid upon the Altar, the High-Priest furnishing a Ram also upon his own Account, and all presented to the Lord for a *Burnt-Offering*.

† Upon the *fifteenth Day* of the same Month, Winter drawing on, the People were commanded, with their respective Tribes, to secure and fortify their Tents, against the Rigour of the Season ; and likewise that, whenever they should come into the Land that God had promis'd them, they should repair

* Numb. 28. and 29.

† Levit. 23.

repair to the *Metropolis*, as the Seat of the *Holy Temple*, and there celebrate an *eight-Days Festival*; with *Burnt-Offerings*, *Sacrifices*, and *Peace-Offerings*: Carrying Boughs in their Hands of Myrtle, Willow, Palms, and little Sprouts of Peach.

On the *first Day* of the *eight* was to be presented a *Burnt-Offering*, of *thirteen young Bullocks*, *fourteen Lambs*, *two Rams*, and a *Goat* for an Offering of *Atonement*. The Number of the Lambs and Rams, with the Goat, was to be the same for six Days; but one Bullock to be abated every Day till the Number was brought down to seven. * The *eighth* was to be a Day of *Rest*, and there were dedicated to God (as I have said before) a *Calf*, a *Ram*, *seven Lambs*, and a *Goat* for a *Sin-Offering*. This was the *Feast of Tabernacles*, upon the *Hebrews* erecting their Tents; and it has been constantly observ'd with all Ceremony by our People.

† In the Month *Xanthicus*, which we call *Nisan*, and reckon upon as the Beginning of the Year: On the fourteenth of the Moon, when the Sun is in *Aries*; and that being the Month when our Forefathers came out of *Agypt*, the Law enjoins us to offer the same Sacrifice every Year over again, which our Predecessors did at their Deliverance from the *Agyptian Bondage*, under the Title of the Feast of the ‡ *Passover*. This Festival we celebrate through all our Tribes, without leaving any Remainder of the Oblation till the next Day. The *fifteenth* is the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*; which lasts seven Days, and follows in Order next to the *Passover*. The Sacrifices are *two Bullocks*, *one Ram*, and *seven Lambs* for a *Burnt-Offering*; to which is added a *Goat* every Day for a *Sin-Offering*, toward the Entertainment of the Priests. On the second Day of the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*, and the sixteenth of the Month, they make an Offering to God of the *First-Fruits* of their Grain, before they taste of it themselves; judging it a reasonable Thing that the Author of all the Blessings they enjoy should be serv'd first. And the Method of the Oblation is this. They take a Quantity of Corn-Ears, and dry them before the Fire upon a clean Hearth. After this, they break and bruise them, and so offer upon the Altar an *Affar*; one Handful of it to be left there, and the rest goes to the Priest. The People after this, are allow'd to reap at Pleasure: And the Offering in this Case is a Lamb for a *Holocaust*.

* On

* Exod. 12. 13. 23.

† Levit. 23. Num. 9. Deut. 16.

‡ Exod. 23. Levit. 23.

* On the *Fiftieth Day* after the Feast of the *Passover*: That is to say, at the End of seven Weeks or forty nine Days, was celebrated the Feast of *Pentecost*, so call'd by the *Greeks*, as denoting the Number of *Fifty*: The *Hebrews* call it (a) *Affartha* for the same Reason. On this Day they offer'd to God a Wheaten Loaf of *two Affars* bak'd with Leaven, and two Lambs for a Sacrifice; which serv'd for the Priests Supper: But nothing was to be left of it till the next Morning. The *Burnt-Offerings* were three Calves, two Sheep, fourteen Lambs, and two Goats for a Sin-Offering. Now there are *Burnt-Offerings* and Rest from Labour prescrib'd in all their Feasts, according to certain Rules and Limitations in both Cases: With Directions also which of the Sacrifices are to be Eaten.

There was likewise a Provision order'd out of the publick Stock of 24 *Affars* of Fine Flour, to be made into Loaves of Bread with Leaven, two and two to a Loaf. Now this Bread was to be bak'd on the *Sabbath Eve*, and set upon the holy Table next Morning; six Loaves on each Hand, and one directly against the other, with two Golden Cups of Incense over them; which were there to remain till the next Sabbath-day, and then given to the Priests to eat, and others set in their Places. The Frankincense being also burnt in the holy Fire, which consumes the *Burnt-Offerings*; there was fresh Incense immediately supply'd upon fresh Loaves. The High-Priest moreover offer'd twice a-day of the finest Flour steeped in Oil, and a little bak'd to the Proportion of an *Affar*: One half of it to be cast into the Fire in the Morning; the other in the Evening. But without more Words at present, I shall have Occasion to be more copious upon this Subject in another Place.

C H A P. XI.

The Tribe of Levi set apart for the Service of the Altar. Of Meats, and Persons, Clean and Unclean. Laws for Women in Child-Bed; and in case of Adultery and Jealousie.

+ **T**HE Tribe of *Levi* being now set apart from the rest of the People for the peculiar Service of God, *Moses* purify'd

* Levit. 23.
Epiphanius, p. 63.

(a) *Petavius* confutes this in his Notes upon
† Numb. 3.

purify'd them with Water of the Fountain ; and, Sacrificing according to Custom, committed the *Tabernacle*, the *Holy Vessels*, and all other Things belonging to it, to their Care and Charge, under the Orders and Appointments of the Priests ; inſomuch that they were now look'd upon as conſecrated to God.

† *Moses* declar'd himſelf at the ſame Time, upon the Difference of *Meats Clean and Unclean* ; what might be eaten, and what not : Which we ſhall afterward give the Reaſon of, as it falls in our Way. But for the *Blood* of any Creature whatſoever, it is abſolutely forbidden ; upon an Opinion that the very Life and Spirit of that Creature is in it : Neither is the Fleſh of any Thing to be eaten that dy'd of itſelf ; and ſo for the Fat of a Goat, a Sheep, or an Ox, it is all prohibited.

‡ It was alſo order'd that all *Lepers*, and ſuch as Labour'd under a *Gonorrhœa* ſhould be turn'd out of the City ; and ſo for *Women*, during the Time of their *Natural Purgations*, to withdraw from the Converſation of Men for ſeven Days, and then permitted to return as purify'd. And ſo for one that has aſſiſted at the Burying of a Corps, he ſhall not be reputed clean till ſeven Days after. But where the Pollution out-laſts the ſeven Days, let the Patient ſacrifice two Lambs : One to be Dedicated, and the Priests to take the other. And the ſame Sacrifice ſerves in the Caſe of Nocturnal Pollutions ; only the Patient to dip himſelf ſtrip'd in cold Water, as Men uſually do upon a Congreſs with their Lawful Wives. But the *Lepers* are to all Purpoſes baniſh'd the City, and effectually human Converſation ; as People little better then dead. But if it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver any Man from this Affliction upon his humble Supplications, and to reſtore him to a ſound Habit, there are ſeveral Sacrifices that he is oblig'd to offer up to God in Acknowledgment of the Benefit he had receiv'd : But of this hereafter. This is enough to lay open the frivolous Vanity of that Story, that will have *Moses* driven out of *Ægypt* as a *Leper*, and none ſo fit as he to conduct the *Hebrews* into the Land of *Canaan*, that were tainted with this Malady as well as himſelf. For if it had been true, he would never have eſtabliſh'd ſuch a Law for his own Honour ; but on the contrary, he would rather have oppos'd it if it had been propounded : Eſpecially conſidering that in ſeveral Parts of the World, *Lepers* are ſo far from being ſubjected to Indignities and Contempt, that they

† Levit. 7. 17.

‡ Levit. 13. 14.

they are many Times advanc'd to Commissions of Honour and Trust, in Charges Military, Ecclesiastical, and Civil. Now if *Moses* and the Multitude were in Truth tainted with this Malady, how came it that he did not rather establish Laws in Favour of it? And is it not now as clear as Day, that this scandalous Report was only a malicious Fiction, to make us and our Profession odious? But *Moses* being clean himself, and conversing with those that were so, he ordain'd this Law for the Glory of God, and with a Regard to those that were infected. But every Man is at Liberty to think of this Matter as he pleases.

* In the Case of a Woman that is newly deliver'd of a Child, if it be a Male, she is not allow'd to enter the Temple, or to be present at Divine Service for forty Days after; nor, if it be a Female, for twice as many. But at the End of the Term aforesaid, she is bound to offer Sacrifices; Part to God, and the Remainder to the Priests.

† If a Man suspects his Wife of Adultery, his Offering must be an *Affar* of Barley-Meal; laying a Handful of it upon the Altar, and giving the rest to the Priests to eat. Some one of them sets the Woman at the Gate that looks toward the Tabernacle; uncovers her Head, and writing the Name of God upon a Parchment, commands her to declare upon her Oath, if she had ever been false to her Husband's Bed: To which she answers with this Imprecation: "If I have, *says she*, may my Thigh rot, and my Belly burst, and let me die miserable: But on the other hand, if it shall be found to be only a Fancy, and an extravagant Jealousie of my Husband's, I beseech God to grant me the Blessing of a Male-Child, within ten Months from this Day." After this Oath, the Priest took Water, and wash'd the Sacred Name of God clear out of the Parchment; and then straining the Water into an earthen Vessel, cast of the Dust of the Floor and Walls of the Temple into it, and so gave it to the Woman to drink. If she was innocent, she should suddenly conceive, and go happily through with her Burden: But if guilty of Incontinence and a false Oath both in one, she was sure to perish with Horror and Infamy, as is said before. These are the Laws that *Moses* gave to his Countrymen, concerning his *Sacrifices* and *Purifications*: Beside a Prescription of other Laws and Provisions, as follows.

C H A P.

* Levit. 12.

† Numb. 5.

C H A P. XII.

Laws against Adultery and Incest. Priests restrain'd in their Marriages. The Seventh Year's Sabbaoth; and the Hebrews Jubilee. Ordinances of War. The People number'd. Two Silver Trumpets, and the Use of them.

A *Dultery* was absolutely and expressly forbidden; *Moses* very well understanding that there could be no Happiness in a Conjugal State, but in a mutual Faith and Confidence betwixt Man and Wife: And likewise how much it concerns, as well Governments as Families, that the Members both of the one and of the other should be lawfully begotten. * He condemn'd *Incest* as a most horrible Wickedness; whether with the Mother; the Mother-in-Law; the Aunt, whether by Father or Mother; the Sister, or the Daughter-in-Law. He prohibited the Wife to live so much as with her own Husband, in the Time of her Purgations. He pronounc'd also a most abominable Sin to have to do with Boys, or Beasts; and all these Transgressions he made Capital.

As to the Priests, *Moses* laid them under a double Obligation: For over and above the tying of them up to the same Laws with other People, they were likewise under a Prohibition of Marrying with some Sorts of Women; as a Mercenary Prostitute, a Maid-Servant, a Slave, a Publick Hostess, or a Woman divorc'd upon any Account whatsoever. † Now there were some certain Allowances also permitted to the Priests in Ordinary, and yet deny'd to the High-Priest; as the Marrying of a Widow, when the High-Priest was only to marry a Virgin. He was also enjoin'd not to come near the Dead; whereas the other Priests were suffer'd to pay all customary Respects to the Bodies of their dead Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, or Children: *Moses* commanding them to behave themselves with all Candour and Simplicity both in Word and Deed. If a Priest happen'd to have upon him any maim or corporal Defect; he had his Part however of the Oblations among his Fellows; but *Moses* would not suffer him to officiate at the Altar, or so much as to enter into the Temple: Looking upon it as the Duty of a Priest to demean himself with Purity and Reverence; not only in the Exercise

* Levit. 18, 20, 21.

† Levit. 21.

cise of his Function, but in the Government also of his Life and Manners. * Those therefore that behave themselves as they ought to do in the Sacerdotal Robe, are sober and spotless in all other Respects as well as in their Office : Neither are they allow'd so much as to taste of Wine in their Priest's Vestments. Their Sacrifices are offer'd whole and without Blemish.

These were the Laws that *Moses* gave in the Desert, and which he caus'd to be observ'd during his Life : Prescribing others also for the Government of the People when they should come into the Possession of the Land of *Chanaan*. † He order'd every *Seventh Year* to be a Year of Rest to the Earth, without either Planting or Plowing, answerable to what he had establish'd in the Case of the *seventh Day*. He appointed likewise that all the Fruits which the Earth should produce in that *seventh Year* should be in common to *Strangers* as well as *Hebrews*, without laying up any Thing in Store. The like was to be done after *Seven times Seven Years* ; the next Year being the Fiftieth, or the *Hebrews Jubilee*, wherein Debtors are discharg'd, and Servants made free : That is to say, such as for some Transgression of the Law had commuted Death for Servitude. Upon the Approach of this *Jubilee*, which signifies *Liberty*, there is a Restitution also of Lands to the ancient Possessors ; and it is done after this Manner. The Buyer and Seller meet about it ; and, upon ballancing the Profits of the Estate with the Expences upon it, if the Profit be found greater then the other, the Seller takes his Ground again : But on the other Side, if the Charge exceeds the Profit, the Purchaser receives what falls short, and so quits the Possession : If the Profit and Charge shall fall out to be equal, the Estate goes to the first Owner. This was the Rule also upon the Sale of Houses in open Villages ; but for those in wall'd Towns, there was another Method ; which was this. If the Seller laid down the Purchase Money before the Year was out, he had a Right to Re-enter ; but the Year once elaps'd, the Purchaser was confirm'd in his Possession. *Moses* receiv'd this Body of Laws from God himself upon Mount *Sinai*, for the People which were then encamp'd at the Foot of the Mountain ; and caus'd a Copy of them to be transcrib'd for the Use of Posterity.

‡ *Moses* having now sufficiently provided for the settling of Religion, and the Civil Government, his next Business was to establish certain Laws and Ordinances of War for

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* Levit. 10.

† Levit. 25.

‡ Numb. 1.

the Regulation of the Militia. And the first Thing he did towards it, was the issuing out of Orders to the Heads of all the Tribes (*Levi* only excepted) to take an exact List of the whole Number of the People that were able to bear Arms. Now the *Levites*, being dedicated to the Service of God, could not attend any other Duty. * There were found, in fine, upon the View, six Hundred and three Thousand, six Hundred and fifty Men, from Twenty to Fifty, that were able to draw the Sword. † And in the Place of *Levi*, *Moses*, made choice of *Manasseh*, the Son of *Joseph*, and of *Ephraim* for *Joseph*, himself: According to the Request of *Jacob* to *Joseph*, when he adopted *Joseph's* two Sons to himself, as is said above.

Upon their pitching of their Tents, the Tabernacle was erected in the Middle of the Camp; with three Tribes on every Side, and large Streets and Passages betwixt them, and also with a Market-place; where all Necessaries were to be sold, and several Sorts of Tradesmen orderly dispos'd of in Shops and Standings about it; insomuch that it had the Resemblance of a regular and well-contriv'd City. ‡ The *Priests* and *Levites* had the Quarter assign'd them that was next the Tabernacle: And an Account of the *Levites* was taken apart; which upon the Review amounted to 23880 Males, reckoning them from the Age of thirty Days upwards. || So long as the Cloud before spoken of hover'd over the Tabernacle, they took it for an Intimation of God's Presence there, and the Army rested and lay still; but as the Cloud mov'd, the Army decamp'd.

† *Moses* caus'd two *Silver Trumpets* to be made, according to this Description. They were near a Cubit in Length; the Tube about the Size of a Flute, somewhat larger then a Reed, and just wide enough in the Mouth to receive the Breath for the Toning of it; turning up at the End like the Lips of a Bell, or of an ordinary Trumpet. The *Hebrews* call this Instrument *Asophra*. One of them was to call the People together: The other to summon a Council of the Princes about Affairs of State. And the Sounding of both together was a Summons for a *General Assembly*. Upon the moving of the *Tabernacle*, this was the Method. The three Tribes to the *Eastward* of it were to decamp upon the first Sounding: Those to the *Southward*, upon the second. The *Tabernacle* was then to be taken in Pieces, and mounted upon Carriages, half and half, betwixt six Tribes marching before

* Numb. 26.

† Gen. 48. 5.

‡ Numb. 9.

|| Exod. 40.

† Numb. 10.

before it, and the other Six that were to follow it; the *Levites*, all this while, keeping close to it and round about it. Upon the third Sounding, that Part of the Camp mov'd that was toward the *West*; and upon the fourth, that to the *Northward*. They made use of these Trumpets also in their *Sacrifices*, and upon their *Sabbaths*, and other Occasions. *Moses* now sacrific'd; and it was the *first Paschal Solemnity* after that in the Desert, upon the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt*.

C H A P. XIII.

A Muttering against Moses for want of Food, and a Flight of Quails to supply it.

* **T**HE Army was now decamp'd from *Mount Sinai*; and passing from Place to Place, (of which hereafter) they came at last to *Iseremoth*; where the Multitude fell into a direct Sedition against *Moses*, telling him that it was at his Persuasion, they were inviegl'd out of one of the best Countries in the World, to come thither into a starving Necessity; where, instead of the Blessings he had promis'd them, they were already upon the Point of perishing for want of Water: And if their *Manna* should now fail them, they were all lost beyond Redemption. When they had gone on a while, at this and a more insolent rate of Outrage against the good Man: One of the Company told them, they should do well to call to mind the Difficulties, Labours, and Hazards, that *Moses* had undergone for their Sakes, and wholly to cast themselves upon the Goodness of God for their Relief; but this made the Matter still worse and worse, and serv'd only to enflame the Mutineers. When *Moses* saw the Multitude abandon'd to this Degree of Desperation, he spake Words of Kindness and Comfort to them; notwithstanding all the provoking Affronts and Indignities that had been put upon himself: Bidding them depend upon it that they should suddenly have Flesh sufficient to supply them many Days; but they gave no Credit to it, and breaking out into Exclamations, asking him in Scorn, how he should take upon him to feed so many Thousand Men! His Answer was this, that God and his Servant *Moses* would see them provided for, notwithstanding all their Reproaches, and it should be sud-

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denly

* Numb. 11.

denly too. The Word was no sooner out, but the whole Camp was fill'd with *Quails*; and the People gather'd them up; but it was not long before God took Vengeance upon the *Hebrews* for the Offences they had committed against *Himself* and *Moses*: For they were visited with a Plague that cost them a great many Lives. The Place where this Judgment befel them is call'd *Cabrothaba*, or the *Graves of Lust*.

C H A P. XIV.

Spies sent into Chanaan. The Delicacy, Plenty, and Strength of the Country tempts and affrights the Deputies. A Conspiracy against Moses. Joshua and Caleb compose it. Moses and Aaron obtain Mercy for the People.

* **W**HEN *Moses* had brought the People into a Place call'd the *Streights*, upon the Borders of *Chanaan*, and an incommodious Quarter to live in, he call'd them together, and spake to them after this Manner. "There are two Blessings that God has promis'd us; Liberty, and the Enjoyment of a happy Land. By his gracious Bounty at this Instant we are in Possession of one of them, and it will not be long before you come to be establish'd in the other. We are already upon the Borders of *Chanaan*, and it is not in the Power of any King, City, or Nation, to hinder our Progress into the other. Let us also in the first Place provide an Army for the War; for there will be no gaining of this Country, but by Labour and Danger, and we must cut our Way to it by the Sword. Wherefore let us send *Spies* to take a View of the Condition of the Land, and the Strength of the People: But above all Things, let us be unanimous, and ascribe all Honour to God; who will both assist us and fight for us."

When *Moses* had made an end of speaking, the People highly approv'd of what he said, and upon his Motion made choice of twelve eminent Men, one out of every Tribe, to send before them for Discovery. They made the Tour of the whole Land of *Chanaan*, from *Aegypt* and the Parts thereabouts, and so to the City *Amathe*, and to Mount *Libanus*.

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* Numb. 13, 14.

When they had well examin'd the Nature of the Soil, the State of the Country, and the Manners of the Inhabitants, they came back again ; with a particular Account of what they had seen ; finishing the whole Work in forty Days. The Report they made, was so much to the Advantage of the Place for a delicious fruitful Country ; and the Samples of the Fruits themselves that they brought along with them, were so tempting and lovely, that the People were one and all for a War to make themselves Masters of it. But then, on the other Hand, * when the Deputies came to reflect on the Difficulties of the Enterprize ; the impassable Rivers, and unaccessible Mountains and Precipices ; the strong Holds, and fortify'd Cities that they were to encounter upon the Way ; beside a Race of Giants in *Hebron*, of so monstrous a Bulk and Strength, that from their coming out of *Ægypt* to that Instant they had never seen any Thing comparable to them : Their own Hearts fail'd them in the first Place, and so they infected the Multitude with the same Apprehension.

The People were so discourag'd upon this Discourse at the Hazard of the Undertaking, that they brake up in a Confusion, and spent that whole Night with their Wives and Children in Lamentations and Outcries against God and *Moses*. God promises fair, *they cry'd*, but he does nothing for us. They fell upon *Moses* then again and again, and upon his Brother *Aaron* the High-Priest. When they had pass'd away the Night in Outrage and Blasphemy, they join'd early next Morning in a Conspiracy to stone *Moses* and *Aaron* out of Hand, and so go their Ways back again into *Ægypt*.

Upon this desperate Disorder, (a) *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and *Caleb* of the Tribe of *Judah*, (being the Two only Dissenters of the Twelve that had been employ'd in the Discovery) did all that was possible to keep the Peace, for fear of the dreadful Consequences that might attend such a Tumult, delivering themselves to this effect. " How is it possible for you, good People, to distrust the Veracity and Goodness of God, and at the same time to give " Credit to vain Stories and Amusements about the Land of " *Chanaan*, that are put abroad on Purpose to abuse you ! " Why should not you rather believe, and follow those that " have taken so much Pains to put you into the Possession " and Enjoyment of those Blessings ? What's the Height of " Mountains, or the Depth of Rivers to Men of undaunted
R 3 " Spirits,

* Numb. 13.

(a) Gr. *Iesus tu Navechu*.

“ Spirits, and of honourable Resolutions ! especially when
 “ God is both their Protector and Defender. Wherefore
 “ let us advance and attack the Enemy, *they cry'd*, without
 “ so much as the least Question of the Event. Only trust
 “ God for your Guide and follow us where we lead you.”
 This was the Course they took to pacifie the People : But
Moses and *Aaron* threw themselves prostrate upon the Ground;
 and besought God, not for their own Sakes, but to compose
 the troubled Minds of the ignorant People, and to deliver
 them from the Distemper of their impotent Passion. Their
 Prayers were heard ; and there appear'd a Cloud over the Ta-
 bernacle, giving them to understand that God was present.

C H A P. XV.

*Moses tells the People from, God, that they themselves
 should never enter into the Land of Chanaan ; but that
 their Children shall. They repent, and humble them-
 selves. Moses, a Person of great Credit and Authori-
 ty. A miserable Famine in the Reign of Claudius.*

M*oses*, in the Strength and Confidence of this Vision,
 thrusts himself into the Croud, and there laid before
 the People the Judgments that God had denounc'd against
 them for their Insolence and Disobedience : Not as a Punish-
 ment answerable to the Degree of the Transgression, but as a
 Fatherly Correction to his Children : “ For, *says he*, upon my
 “ entring into the Tabernacle with Supplications and Tears,
 “ to implore the Almighty in his infinite Goodness and Mer-
 “ cy, not utterly to destroy you from off the Face of the
 “ Earth, God was pleas'd to represent how ungrateful a Re-
 “ turn you had made him for all his Benefits, and the In-
 “ dignity you have now offer'd him in giving more Credit
 “ to the Impostures of your Spies, then to the Promises of
 “ God himself. I can yet assure you after this, that you
 “ shall not all perish, neither will God ever suffer the Race
 “ of his chosen People to be wholly rooted out : But for the
 “ Land of *Chanaan*, you must never expect to enjoy either
 “ the Possession or the Comforts of it ; for you are condemn'd
 “ to a wandering Life for *Forty Years* in the Wilderness,
 “ without either House or Home, as a Punishment for your
 “ Iniquities.

“ Iniquities. Now this will not hinder, but that in God’s
“ good Time your Children shall yet come to be Lords of
“ that blessed Land, which their Fathers render’d themselves
“ unworthy of, by their Stubbornness and Unbelief.”

Upon this denouncing Prediction of *Moses*, the People went all flocking to him, in a Passion of Astonishment and Dread, to beg his Mediation to Almighty God on their Behalf for Pardon of their Sins, and a Deliverance out of the Wilderness. He told them that it was not with God as it is with Men in the Cases of human Frailty, to be wrought upon by unreasonable Importunities ; for the Proceedings of the Almighty are founded upon certain Knowledge, Wisdom, and Justice : And it was upon this Ground that Sentence had now pass’d upon them. It may be wonder’d at, perhaps, that *Moses*, being but one Man, should be able to encounter the Rage of so many Thousands, and bring them at last within the Bounds of Moderation and Reason : But God assisting him, the Minds of the Multitude were prepared to be overcome. They had found by Experience, upon several Mutinies and Essays of Sedition, that struggling did them no good : And this is a common Case in other Calamities.

Moses was a wonderful Man also in divers other Respects : That is to say, for his Piety and Resolution : And so likewise for the Credit he had got in the World, to be believ’d in whatever he said ; and that not only in his Life-time, but his Authority continues still as sacred to Posterity. For the *Hebrews* stand in as much Awe of his Laws and Precepts, at this very Day, as if he himself were present to punish them for their Disobedience ; and their Consciences accuse them without Need of any other Witnesses. One might give several Instances in Proof of the Veneration all Men had for him, as a Person of an Authority more than human. And this for one among others. There were some People that came once from beyond *Euphrates*, a Four-Months-Journey, and with great Hazard and Expence, out of a Respect to our Way of Worship. They offer’d Sacrifice, but were not allow’d any Part of their own Offering ; the Laws of *Moses* in some Cases forbidding it : Others were not permitted to sacrifice at all ; and some again were forced to give off at half Way : Others, in fine, were not so much as admitted into the Temple, and so quietly went their Way ; choosing rather to resign to the Appointments of *Moses*, then

to gratify their own Inclinations : (a) And this out of no other Apprehension then from their own Consciences : But looking upon the Laws themselves as of Divine Institution, they had the greater Reverence for the Legislator. There happen'd not long since, in the Reign of *Claudius* and in the Pontificat of *Ishmael*, a little before the *Jewish War*, so pinching a Famine in *Judæa*, that Flour was at four *Drachma's* an *Affar*. There was brought up at that Time to the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*, *seventy Corus's* ; (b) that is to say, 31 *Sicilian Medimni*, and 41 *Attick*. The Priests were ready to starve for Want of Bread, and yet not so much as one Man of them touch'd the least Bit of this Provision : So tender were they of their Duty to the Law, and of incurring God's Displeasure, even for their most secret Sins. Who shall any longer doubt now of the Wonders *Moses* wrought, when our very Enemies are forc'd to acknowledge the Divinity of the Writings he hath left behind him : And to confess that the Founder of our Common-wealth was no other then the immediate Instrument of God himself ! But every one is left to the Liberty of his own Thoughts.

(a) See *Selden de Synedriis Hebr.* l. 2. c. 3. p. 70. Ed. *Amstel.*

(b) See a Letter of *Salmasius* in the third *Fasciculus* publish'd by *Cremonius*.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the FOURTH.

[From the Year of the World 2455, to 2493.]

CH A P. I.

The Israelites make War upon the Chanaanites, contrary to the Advice of Moses, and are shamefully overthrown.

* **T**HE Hebrews had a hard Time in the *Wilderness*; and it was yet the most sensible Part of their Calamity, that God would not give them leave to make War upon the *Chanaanites*. Their Hearts, in short, were set upon't; but *Moses*, from Time to Time, advising them still against it; they told him plainly in the Conclusion, "That they would e'en go their own Way to Work, and do their Business without him. He had a Mind, *they said*, to keep them in Misery, and make himself necessary to them, and that was all he look'd after." In this Freak, Hand over Head, they resolv'd upon the War, depending, as they said, upon God for his Assistance: Not so much for *Moses's* Sake, as for the Love he bear to their Nation, and to the Memory of their worthy Ancestors. They made no doubt, but, if they behav'd themselves like Men, he that had formerly given them Freedom, would now give them Victory: Or at worst, they could deal well enough with the *Chanaanites*,

* Numbers 14. Deut. 1.

Chanaanites, even though *Moses* should do all he could to set God against them. " We are to maintain our common Liberty, *they cry'd*, without leaping out of one Slavery into another. What Matter is it to us, whether we serve *Pharaoh*, or *Moses* ? We change our Master, 'tis true, but not our Condition ; so long as we suffer ourselves to be seduc'd by the Illusions of this Man's Vanity and Ambition. What a Stir does he keep with Stories of his *Divine Colloquies* and *Revelations* ! as if *Moses* were the only Confident to the Privacies of God's secret Purposes and Counsels ! Are not all *we* here of the Race of *Abraham*, as well as *he* ? How comes *Moses* then by the sole Privilege of a Divine Presence, and a Gift by himself in the Faculty of foretelling Things to come ? Is not this the Land that God has promis'd us ? Why do not we *dispatch* then, and take Possession of it, without being fool'd any longer under a Mask of *seeking God*, and subjecting ourselves to the Arrogance of one single Person ? Let us bethink ourselves, as we ought to do, of our present Distress ; the Inconveniencies of a Desert ; our Wants daily growing upon us, &c. and what Remedy at last, but fighting the *Chanaanites* out of Hand, taking God for our Leader, without troubling our Heads any longer for the Consent of our Legillator ? " This was the Sense of the Field, without Contradiction ; and in that Heat the *Hebrews* march'd up furiously to the Enemy : But neither the Fierceness of the *Charge*, nor the Odds of *Number* was able to put the *Chanaanites* off their Guard and Resolution ; for they stood the Shock, and routed the *Hebrews* ; kill'd a great many upon the Place, and pursu'd the rest ; that ran away most shamefully, up to their very Camp. This unexpected Defeat went to the very Hearts of the *Hebrews* ; for they were still in fear of worse to come, and so conscious of an ill and a rash Thing done, in striking a Battle without God's Direction, that they look'd upon this Overthrow as a just Judgment for their Fool-hardy Wilfulness.

The Spirits of the Multitude were so broken and sunk with this Disaster, and the *Chanaanites* on the other Hand so puffed up and elevated with the Success, that *Moses* found no better Expedient in this Extremity, then to march them back again into the *Wilderness*, for Fear the Enemy should follow the Blow, and do them yet a greater Mischief. The People were convinc'd by this Miscarriage, that nothing prosper'd with them, but by the Advice of *Moses* : So that upon the Promise of an unconditional Obedience to him for the Future,

ture, the *Hebrews* decamp'd, and return'd into the Desert; with a Resolution never to attempt any Thing again upon the *Chanaanites*, without a Direction from Heaven.

CH A P. II.

The Schism of Corah against Moses and Aaron, about the High-priesthood.

* **B**UT it far'd here, as it does commonly with other great Bodies, when Things go cross, there will be Fault-finding, Faction, Calumnies, and Disobedience; and so it happen'd with the *Jews*. They were 600000 Men upon the Muster, and a People not over-tractable, at best, to their Superiours; but upon any Pinch of Necessity or Misfortune, altogether intolerable; as well one to another, as to their Governours. This malevolent Humour of theirs gave a Rise to the most formidable † Sedition that ever was heard of, either amongst *Greeks* or *Barbarians*; and it had destroy'd them to all Manner of Purposes, if *Moses* had not interpos'd to the preserving of them, generously forgetting and forgiving all past Injuries, even from those very People that were so lately within a little of stoning him to Death. But after all the Indignities they had put, not only upon God's Commandments, but effectually upon God himself, in the Person of his Legislator, Providence would not yet totally cast them off, but graciously deliver'd them from the imminent Danger of the most desperate Defection that ever was contriv'd. We are now to shew what this Sedition was, and how *Moses* manag'd Affairs after it was compos'd: But first of the Cause and Occasion of it.

‡ There was one (a) *Corah*, a Man famous among the *Hebrews*, both for his Blood and Possessions, and one that had the Art of humouring the People; no Man living more popular. This *Corah*, seeing *Moses* mounted above all his Fellows, and in the Exercise of sovereign Power, took up an envious Pique against him. Now being both of a *Tribe*, and *Kindred*; *Corah*, the *Wealthier* of the two, and as well *born*; he thought it hard that *Moses* should have the Preference, and not without some Grumbling too; which made a mighty Noise among

* Numb. 16. and 29.

(a) Gr. *Kores*.

† Ver. 41.

‡ Numb. 16.

among the *Levites*, and his Relations, wherever he told his Tale. " Why 'tis a Scandal, *says he*, and a Thing not to be endur'd, for *Moses* to take upon him at this Rate, and to carry on his Ambition thus under a Mask of Holiness and Religion; and by that Means to raise himself a Reputation to the Wrong of other Men.: As he gave lately the Priesthood, and other Dignities to his Brother *Aaron*, without any Right or Colour for it; no Consent of the People to't, nor any Pretext of Authority, save only his own arbitrary Will and Pleasure. And that which makes it worse yet, is the Way he has of screwing himself so insensibly into the Government, that the People have lost their Liberty before they know where they are. He that in his own Conscience finds himself worthy to be a Ruler, will take the Good-will and Approbation of the People along with him, without any Need of Violence for the gaining of his End. Nay, in many Cases, where Fairness and Honesty will not do the Work, the very Fame of Probity and Square-dealing keeps Men within some tolerable Compass. But then what cannot be effected by Force, may be supply'd by Craft and Undermining: And that dark Way of Proceeding ought to be made exemplary in Time, before it breaks out into open Practices upon the State. What has *Moses* to say for himself, for the conferring the High-Priesthood upon *Aaron*, and his Sons after him? If God (*says he*) has annex'd the Honour to the Tribe of *Levi*, I myself may pretend to a Right to the Preference, being of the same Stock with *Moses*, and his *Superiour*, both for Riches and Years. Or if it be to pass by Seniority, it belongs to the Tribe of *Reuben*; to *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and (a) *Phala*, who are the Seniors of that Tribe, and Men of eminent Credit every Way among them."

Corah's Pretext all this while was the publick Good; but his Business, in Truth, was to insinuate himself into the Dignity by the Supplanting of *Aaron*. This Calumny was deliver'd in Terms plausible enough, and so it pass'd from one to another, gathering still as it went, till in the End the whole Camp was full of it, and no less than two Hundred and fifty of the principal Men among them join'd with the Faction, in a Conspiracy to take away the High-Priesthood from the Brother of *Moses*, and transfer it to *Corah*. This set the Multitude all in an Uproar, crouding up to the *Tabernacle*, and roaring it out, " Stone him, stone him; take away this

(a) Gr. *Phalaus*.

“ this Tyrant ; and set the People at Liberty from the un-
“ merciful Oppressions that this Man lays upon us. If God
“ had had a Hand (*they cry'd*) in this Choice, he would never
“ have conferr'd the Honour upon a Person so much below
“ the Dignity of the Function ; or if God had design'd it for
“ *Aaron*, it should have come to him by the Suffrage of the
“ People, not by the Favour of his Brother.”

Moses knew very well what *Corah* was a-doing, and what Effect his artificial Way of Slander had upon the enrag'd Multitude. But in the Comfort and Support of a good Conscience, and in the certain Knowledge that his Brother was promoted to the Priesthood by God's Appointment, and not upon any private Account of his own, he made no Difficulty (being well skill'd in popular Arts) of presenting himself before the People : And so he addresses to *Corah* in Words to this Purpose.

“ I give it for granted, *Corah*, (*says he*) that you yourself,
“ and your noble Companions here (*pointing at the two hundred and fifty of the Faction*) are all worthy of Honour ; in
“ the mean Time, not excluding the rest of this Multitude of
“ People, how inferiour soever to yourself, upon the Comparison, both in Riches and other Faculties. *Aaron* was not
“ made *High-Priest* for his *Wealth* ; you yourself are worth
“ two of him : Nor for his *Nobility* ; for we are all of a Family, and derive from the same Progenitor : Neither did I
“ rob any Man of his Right in what I gave to my Brother :
“ Or if I had any Thing in my Eye, but Honour and Justice, I should have given it to myself instead of him, for
“ *Charity begins at Home* : Beside that I must have been a Madman to expose myself to Danger, by doing an ill Thing
“ for another, and reaping no Benefit by it myself. But far
“ be it from me to be guilty of such an Improbability. God
“ Almighty would never have suffer'd, either himself to be
“ contemn'd, or you to be ignorant of the most acceptable
“ Things you could do to please him. It was God himself
“ that chose the Priest ; and it was God's Act that has discharged me of the Crime. But now supposing *Aaron* to
“ be possess'd of the holy Character purely by a *Divine Choice*,
“ and without any Inclination of *Partiality* of mine, to intervene, he shall make no Difficulty of casting the Cause upon your Suffrages yet over again, without insisting upon
“ the Legality of what has been done already, though with
“ your own Approbation. This is to shew you that he hath
“ no Ambition in him ; and that he is ready to part with
“ any Thing, let it be never so much his Right, for the pur-
“ chasing

“ chafing of your Peace. As to the Acceptance of what God
 “ hath been pleas’d to offer us, there can be no Offence in it;
 “ and so on the other Hand, it would have been highly im-
 “ pious to have refus’d it. But nothing however can be
 “ more reasonable then to allow the Benefactor a Right of
 “ ratifying and making good his own Bounty. Wherefore
 “ you cannot do better then to refer the Matter once again
 “ even to God himself, and so to abide by the Person he
 “ shall be pleas’d to make Choice of for the sacred Function.
 “ Now it would be a strange Thing for you, *Corah*, by your
 “ Ambition, to bar God the Liberty of choosing his own
 “ Priest. This is the very Case, and without any further
 “ Controversy, one Day more will bring this Point to an Is-
 “ sue. Let all the Pretenders to this Dignity appear To-
 “ morrow-Morning with their *Censers* in their Hands, and
 “ Fire and Incense in them. You must have Patience, *Corah*,
 “ and wait God’s Determination, without presuming to set
 “ up your own Authority above his : But do you appear also
 “ yourself, among the other Candidates for the Dignity ; and
 “ I know not why *Aaron* may not come up too, as one of
 “ the Family, and a Person that hath behav’d himself fault-
 “ lessly in the Function. When you are altogether, offer up
 “ your Incense in the Sight of the People, and let that Per-
 “ son whose Sacrifice shall be found most acceptable to God,
 “ be declar’d to be the High-Priest, and then in Course con-
 “ firm’d by my Authority. This will set every Thing right
 “ upon the whole Matter in Dispute, and likewise discharge
 “ me from the Calumny of Partiality toward my Brother.”

C H A P. III.

*God’s Judgment upon Corah, Dathan, and Abiram ;
 and the Priesthood settled upon Aaron and his Posterity.*

WITH this Discourse *Moses* both quieted the People, and
 ingratiated himself into their better Opinion at the
 same Time ; insomuch that they look’d upon all he said as
 exceedingly to the Purpose, and gave him in fine the Cha-
 racter of a very good and a wise Man ; and here the Coun-
 cil broke up.

* The next Morning all the People gather’d together to
 attend

attend the Sacrifice, and to see what would become of the Election then in Question. The Multitude was tumultuous and uneasy; divided in their Inclinations, and not a little sollicitous betwixt Hope and Fear, what might be the Event of that Contest. Some were for having *Moses* expos'd; but the Men of Sense and Sobriety were for Peace and Quietness; for if the Rabble got a Head once, they did not know but they might over-run the Government. For the common People are naturally fond of new Things; querelous and envious against their Superiors; apt to receive and to spread Calumnies, and carry'd about with every Wind and Rumour. *Moses* however sent a *Summons* to *Dathan* and *Abiram*, to attend the Business of the Day, and put in their Claims as they pretended; but the Messengers brought Word back, that they absolutely refus'd; saying that *Moses* had gotten a Power into his Hands by indirect Means, and that they were resolv'd to submit no longer to the Usurpation. Upon this Answer and Return, *Moses* call'd to such and such of the Elders, and bad them follow him, which they did, without any Difficulty or Delay; and so away went *Moses* (how much below him soever otherwise) in Person to the rebellious Faction. *Dathan* and his Companions hearing that *Moses* and his Train were coming towards them, went out of their Tents with their Wives and Children, and there stood waiting to see what would become of this extraordinary Visit; but with their Guards all at Hand to repel Force by Force, in case of any Violence. *Moses* went peaceably forward, till he came to *Dathan*, and there he stopt, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and calling upon God with a loud Voice, that the whole Field might hear him.

“ Blessed God, *says he*, thou that art the Lord of the Heavens, the Earth and the Sea; the irrefragable Witness of
“ all my Actions, and that whatever I have hitherto done
“ hath been perfectly in Obedience to thy special Direction:
“ Thou that in Compassion to the *Hebrews* hast so graciously
“ provided for them in their Flight, and in their miserable
“ Necessities; having been likewise upon all Occasions my
“ constant Support! Lord hear my Prayer: Thou that
“ knowest all Things, and searchest the very Secrets of our
“ Hearts, vouchsafe to bring the Truth to Light, and to lay
“ open the Ingratitude of my unrighteous Accusers. Thou
“ that art privy to the whole History of past Ages, and of
“ my Life in particular, not by Hearsy, but upon certain
“ and infallible Knowledge; Lord do thou bear Testimony
“ to my Innocence, against the malicious Calumniators of
“ my

“ my Integrity and Conduct. Thou know’st, good God,
 “ that at such Time as I was settled in the comfortable State
 “ of a quiet, easie Life, under thy Blessing upon my Industry,
 “ and by the Kindness of my Father-in-Law *Raguel*, I quit-
 “ ted all the Pleasures and Conveniencies of a plentiful and
 “ a safe Privacy, in exchange for troublesome, and dange-
 “ rous Commissions on the Behalf of these People; Expo-
 “ sing myself, first for their Liberty, and now for their Se-
 “ curity, to all Labours and Hazards. But since so it is, af-
 “ ter all this, that I am now fallen under the Jealousie and
 “ Displeasure of those very People, who by my Care and
 “ Providence have been redeem’d out of so many Extremi-
 “ ties; Lord, *says he*, thou that did’st vouchsafe to appear
 “ to thy Servant out of the Fire upon Mount *Sinai*, to let
 “ him hear thy Voice, and make him a Witness of the Prodi-
 “ gies there wrought: Thou that gav’st him the Honour of
 “ an Embassy into *Ægypt*, bringing down the *Ægyptians*
 “ Pride, and delivering the *Hebrews* out of their Bondage:
 “ Thou, *says Moses*, that laid’st the Power of *Pharaoh* at my
 “ Feet, turning the *Sea* into *dry Land*, and that *dry Land*
 “ into *Sea* again, for the Safety of thy People, and the Con-
 “ fusion of the *Ægyptians*; furnishing those with Arms that
 “ were defenceless; converting *corrupt Water* into *Sweet*;
 “ fetching *Fountains* out of *Rocks*, in the Extremity of Drought;
 “ Food out of the *Sea*, and Meat from Heaven to supply
 “ their Wants: (a Thing never heard of before) Lord, *says he*,
 “ thou that hast laid the Foundations of our Government,
 “ and modell’d our Laws; thou that art the Judge and Wit-
 “ ness of all Things, avenge my Cause, and bear this Testi-
 “ mony for me: That I never was corrupted into the Favour
 “ of an unjust Cause, or of a rich Man against a Poor: And
 “ yet, now Lord, *says he*, I find Male-Administration laid
 “ to my Charge, as if I had elevated my Brother to the High-
 “ Priesthood, not by Divine Appointment, but by the Im-
 “ pulse of a private Affection, and without any Authority
 “ from above for what I did. Lord be pleas’d to make it
 “ appear now, that all Things are govern’d by thy Providence,
 “ and brought to pass by the Interposition of thy holy Will,
 “ not by Chance; and out of thy wonted Kindness to the
 “ *Hebrews*, vindicate thyself and them, upon *Dathan* and
 “ *Abiram*, for the Insolence of suggesting thee to be circum-
 “ vented by my Impostures; which is all one with rendering
 “ thee passive and insensible. Lord, *says he*, visit these blas-
 “ phemous Detractors from thy Glory with an exemplary
 “ Vengeance: Let them not die the common Death of other
 “ Men

“ Men ; but as they are not worthy to live upon the Earth,
“ let the Earth swallow them up with their Families and
“ Substance, for the Honour of thy Power, and for a Docu-
“ ment to Ages to come, that they may think more reve-
“ rently of thy Divine Majesty : And if I myself shall be
“ found guilty of the Charge exhibited against me, may all
“ those Curses light upon my own Head, and my Opposers
“ be happy and free. But when thou shalt pour out thy
“ Wrath upon the Disobedient and the Troublers of thy Peo-
“ ple, Lord preserve the rest in Peace and Unity, safe and
“ untouch’d, that live in a dutiful Conformity to thy Com-
“ mandments : Neither will it stand with the Methods of
“ thy Justice, either to confound the Innocent with the Of-
“ fenders, or to punish the Guiltless for the Faults of the
“ Guilty.”

These Words were interrupted with Tears, when all on a sudden the Earth fell a Trembling into an Agitation like the rolling of an angry Sea in a Storm, which struck the whole Multitude with a profound Astonishment and Horror ; and a dismal Outcry was heard upon it, that ran through all their Tents. In the Conclusion the Ground open’d under the Feet of the Faction with a terrible Noise, and swallow’d them all up, every Man of them, with all that was dear to them ; closing again immediately so exactly that the very Mark of the Rupture was not to be perceiv’d.

This was the End of a seditious, schismatical Faction ; and an illustrious Instance it was of God’s Providence and Power at once. And to make the Case more compassionate there was not so much as one of their Relations and Acquaintances that pity’d them. Nay, the whole Multitude had nothing in their Mouths but Joy and Acclamations, in Contemplation of this Effort of Divine Justice. They look’d no further back upon Things past, then to raise in them a Detestation for the Memory of those People, as the Pest of their Nation, and Men that did not deserve so much as human Tendernefs. After the Extinction of *Dathan* and his Complices, *Moses* conven’d the Candidates for the *Pontificat* : Committing the Choice to God once more, to be conferr’d upon him whose Sacrifice should appear to be best accepted. There were gather’d together *two Hundred and fifty Persons*, that both for their Fathers Sakes and their own, had an eminent Reputation among the People ; and with these Men came forth *Aaron*, and *Corah* ; who standing before the *Tabernacle*, offer’d such Incense in their *Censers* as they brought with them. While they were thus employ’d, there appear’d

all in an Instant, so fierce a Fire, that the Flame of burning Mountains, the Conflagration of whole Forests, with Winds and Brush-wood to assist it, was as nothing to it. It was clear and flagrant, and came undoubtedly from Heaven; for no natural Ingredients could have produc'd so subtle a Flame: By the Force of this Fire, *Gorah* and his *two Hundred and fifty Companions* were so totally consum'd, that there was not so much as any Remainder of their Carcasses to be found: Only *Aaron* surviv'd, untouch'd, as a most certain Evidence that this was the supernatural Work of an Almighty Power. *Moses*, for the perpetual Memory of this Judgment, in the Transmitting of it to Posterity, commanded *Eleazar* the Son of *Aaron*, to fasten their *Censers* about a *Brasen Altar* for a Warning to Generations to come, not to trifle and play Tricks with God Almighty. By this Time it was evident beyond all Contradiction that *Aaron* was not elevated to the *Pontificate* by canvassing or Favour, but by God's Appointment; and that he held it ever after by the same Title.

C H A P. IV.

What befel the Israelites in the Desert, during the Space of Thirty eight Years.

*BUT all this did not yet put a final End to the rebellious Humour, for it was follow'd with another Sedition, if possible, worse then the former; which took its Rise from such Causes as in all likelihood would not be easily suppress'd: For when they had once taken up a Persuasion that all Things came to pass by Providence and by the Will of God, they reckon'd every Thing to be done for *Moses's* Sake. So that all the Severities of Divine Justice were cast upon his Account, as if God would not have been so rigorous against Sinners, if *Moses* had not press'd him to it, and it was not so much for their Wickedness that they were punish'd, as to gratifie *Moses*. "What was the Fault, *they cry'd*, of all those noble and excellent Men that lost their Lives upon *Moses's* Instigation; but the excessive Zeal and Affection they had for the Worship of their God? And *Moses, they said*, made his Profit of theirs and of the Peoples Ruin, by confirming his Brother in the Pontifical Dignity, and en-
"tailing

“tailing it upon his Line : For after paying so dear for the “Competition, no Body else would ever pretend to it again “for the Future.” Now this was a Time for the Relations of the deceas’d to menage with the Multitude, and to dilate upon the absolute Necessity of putting some timely Check to the Pride and exorbitant Power of *Moses* : Which the People might easily do, they said, and it concern’d them to take it into their Care. *Moses* found a Storm a-coming, and very prudently, to prevent the mortal Consequences that might probably follow upon such a Tumultuary Practice and Disposition, he order’d an Assembly to be call’d, where he heard their Grievances, and without one Word of Answer, for fear of making Matters worse, appointed the *Heads* of the Tribes to bring their *Rods*, with the *Names* of their Tribes inscrib’d upon them : and He to be preferr’d to the Dignity, upon whose *Rod* should be found any particular Mark of God’s Favour. † This they all agreed to, and brought their *Rods* with *Inscriptions*, as directed ; *Aaron* among the rest : And his *Rod* bare the Inscription of the Tribe of *Levi*. *Moses* laid them up for the present in the Tabernacle of God, and the next Day produc’d them, which were easily known again ; for the Princes that brought them, and the rest of the People, saw their own Marks upon them. They found all the rest of the *Rods* just as they left them the Day before, only *Aaron’s* sprouted out with *Branches* and *Buds* ; and which was yet a greater Wonder, bearing *Ripe Almonds* ; the *Rod* being of that Wood. The Strangeness of this Spectacle put the People to their Wit’s end ; but though they had some grudging still to *Moses* and *Aaron*, the Animosity and Passion of the Enmity was yet taken off, and they all stood in Admiration at the Judgment of God ; resign’d themselves to his holy Pleasure, and yielded the Right of the Election to *Aaron*, who was now the third Time confirm’d by God himself in the Priesthood, where it rested without any following Contradiction. This, in fine, put a happy Period to the Troubles of the *Hebrews* after a long Course of Violence and Sedition.

The Tribe of *Levi* being set apart for the Service of God in holy Offices and Duties, *Moses* exempted them from the Burden of all Military Charges ; and for fear the Care of providing Necessaries for Life might divert them from attending the Duties of their Function, he order’d it, that so soon as ever the Land of *Chanaan* should by God’s Assistance come to

be conquer'd, there should be *Forty eight* of the best and fairest *Cities* allotted for the Entertainment of the *Levites*, with *two Thousand Cubits of Land* round about, and contiguous to the Walls of the Place; beside the Imposition of a *Tenth Part* of the Yearly Profits arising from the Fruits of the Earth, to be paid as a Duty on the whole People, to the *Priests* and *Levites*: Which hath been religiously observ'd ever since. Let this suffice as to the Revenue of *this Tribe* upon the People, and we shall now come to what properly belongs to the Priests themselves.

Moses provided that of the *Eight and Forty Cities* before spoken of, the *Levites* should yield *Thirteen* of them to the Priests, and the *Tenth Part* of the *Tithes*, beside the *First-Fruits* of all the Products of the Earth as an Offering to God: The *Firstling* of all Four-footed Beasts offer'd in Sacrifice; if a Male, it is to be brought to the Priest to sacrifice; to be eaten in the City with their Family; but for those which the Law of the Country will not permit to be eaten, the Owner shall present a *Shekel and a half* instead of a *Firstling*, and for the first Born of a Man, *five Shekels*: And there is a Duty also to be allow'd upon Wool and Corn, as a Cake upon those that bake Bread.

* As for the *Nazarenes* that tie themselves up by a Vow, neither to cut their Hair nor to drink Wine; when the Time of their Vow is expir'd, and they present themselves to have their Hair consecrated; whatever they offer in Sacrifice belongs to the Priests: And so for those that call themselves *Corban*, that is by Interpretation a *Gift*, when they desire to be discharg'd of their Obligation and voluntary Vow, there is a Duty belongs to the Priests, of *fifty Shekels* for a *Man*, and *Thirty* for a *Woman*; and they that have not wherewithal, must remit themselves to the Discretion of the Priest.

They that kill Beasts for private Use, and not for Sacrifice, must allow the Priests the Breast of the Beast, and the Right Shoulder. This was the Allotment of *Moses* for the Priests, beside *Sin-Offerings*, which we have spoken of in the last Book before this. He ordain'd likewise that in all Contributions to the Order of Priests, their Wives, Children, and Servants should have their Share; saving in *Sin-Offerings*, and those are only to be eaten by the Priests that Officiate. It must be in the Temple too, and on the same Day.

Matters being thus settled. and the Sedition crush'd, *Moses* decamp'd, and with his whole Army march'd to the Borders
of

* Numb. 6.

of *Idumæa*, sending his Ambassadors before-hand to the King there, to desire a free Passage for his Troops through his Country; "upon Assurance that he would give him no manner of Trouble, and that whatever he had he would pay for." His Passage was however refus'd, and an Army drawn up to the Frontiers ready to oppose him if he should offer to force his Way. *Moses* had recourse to God for Advice, whose Answer was, that he would not have him the Aggressor, and so he withdrew to take his Way by the *Desart*.

* At this Time dy'd *Mariam* the Sister of *Moses*, at the Beginning of the Month *Xanthicus*, and in the fortieth Year compleat after her coming out of *Ægypt*. She had a publick and a splendid Burial upon a Mountain known by the Name of *Sin*: And after thirty Days of Mourning, *Moses* † purify'd the People. The Priest took a young red Heifer, that had never known the Yoke, brought it out a little Way from the Army, and there in a very clean Place kill'd it, dipping his Finger seven Times in the Blood, and therewith sprinkling the *Tabernacle* of God. After this he put the Heifer whole into the Fire, Skin, Entrails and all, with a Stick of Cedar, Hyssop, and a little Scarlet-colour'd Wool. When all was consum'd, a young Man, of an unspotted Virgin Chastity, was employ'd to gather up the Ashes, and lay them up in the cleanest Place that could be found. Now whoever stood in need of being purify'd, either for touching a dead Body, or for assisting at a Funeral, he had no more to do, then to cast of these Ashes into Fountain-water; dip a Bunch of Hyssop in it, and sprinkle himself with it on the Third and the Seventh Day: And this was the Ceremony of the *Purification*, which *Moses* commanded to be observ'd whenever the *Hebrews* should come to be possess'd of the Land which God had promis'd them.

After this *Purification* was over for the Death of his Sister, *Moses* led the Army through the *Desart* into *Arabia*, and coming to their Capital City, formerly call'd *Arce*, at present *Petra*, where there was a very high Mountain, *Aaron*, being foretold by *Moses* that he was near his End, went up to this Mountain, took off his *Pontifical Stole*, and deliver'd it to his Son *Eleazar*, as the next Heir to the Dignity, and in the Sight of the whole Army ended his Days there, in the Hundred twenty and third Year of his Age, and in the first Moon of the

S 3

Month,

* Numb. 20.

† Numb. 19.

Month, which the *Athenians* call *Hecatombæon*, the *Macedonians*, *Lous*, the *Hebrews*, (a) *Sabba*, and the *Romans*, *Augustus*. His Sister dy'd also in the same Year.

CHAP. V.

Sehon and Og defeated by Moses, and their Lands distributed by Lot to two Tribes and a half of the Hebrews.

† **W**hen the Mourning for *Aaron* was past, (which lasted thirty Days) *Moses* march'd with the Army to the River *Arnon*, that falls from the Mountains of *Arabia*, and running through the whole *Desart*, empties itself into the Lake *Asphaltitis*, dividing the *Moabites* from the *Amorites*. The Country is very fruitful, and wants for nothing. The King's Name of the latter was (b) *Sehon*, to whom *Moses* sent very respectfully for leave to pass his Troops through his Country, offering any Security to save him and his People harmless to all manner of purposes. *Sehon* deny'd him Passage, and march'd his Troops presently to prepossess the Foords of the River, and oppose his coming over.

When *Moses* found that the *Amorites* were resolv'd upon a War, he could hardly digest the Affront, and so reckon'd it his best Course for himself to give the first Attack: For the *Hebrews* being a slippery People, he did not know but Want and Idleness might debauch them into their old Freaks over again. But however, for fear of the worst, he consulted God in the first Place, whether he should attempt the forcing of his Way by the Sword, or not. This he did, and obtain'd not only a Permission to do it, but an Assurance of Victory. *Moses* upon this Encouragement, animated the Army into a Confidence of Success; telling them, "that now was the Time to signalize their Valour, when they had both divine Approbation and human Authority to second their Inclinations." Upon these Words, without any Hesitation or Delay, they march'd up, and made a furious Charge upon the Enemy. The King and his Army fell into a *Panick Terror* upon the very Sight of them, and after all their Big-words and Menaces at a Distance, they had not the Heart so much

as

(a) *Bochart*, in his *Hieroz.* part 2. l. 3. c. 13. shews it should be *Ab*, or *Abba*.

† Numb. 21.

(b) Gr. *Sichoon*.

as to look the *Hebrews* in the Face. Their only Hope was in their Heels, and in their wall'd Towns, if they could come at them : But they were so close pursu'd, that their Flight little avail'd them. They fell into a direct Rout upon the very first Shock, and in that Confusion they all ran several Ways to save themselves ; the *Hebrews*, light-arm'd and swift of Foot, at the Heels of them, with their Slings, Darts and Arrows, reaching those at a Distance that they could not otherways overtake. A World of them were cut off at the River ; *Sehon* their King among the rest : Where they stopt to quench their Thirst, for it was an excessive Heat. The Slaughter, in fine, was terrible, and never a more absolute Victory. The *Hebrews* had the Spoil of the Field, a prodigious Booty, and that which they most wanted, Corn in Abundance ; for the Harvest was yet upon the Ground : All was their own in short ; they went whither they would, did what they would, and took what they would, without either Resistance or Controul ; for there were hardly any left behind to oppose them ; and, the Work once over, they were at leisure to make merry.

This beset the *Amorites*, for want both of Conduct and Courage ; for they had neither Foresight to prevent the Mischief, nor Resolution to encounter it. This Place, which the *Hebrews* had now made themselves Masters of, is a kind of *Peninsula*, betwixt three Rivers ; *Arnon* on the South, *Jaboc* (that drops into the River *Jordan*) on the North, and the River *Jordan* itself on the West.

While Matters were in this Condition, the *Israelites* found they had yet another Enemy to cope with, which was (a) *Og* the King of *Galadene*, and of *Gaulanitis*, who was marching with a powerful Army to the Relief of *Sehon* his Friend and Ally. He was met with upon the Way with the News of the Battle, and a total Defeat ; but this was not enough yet to deter him from putting the main Cause to the Issue of another Trial. He did so, and his Confidence deceiv'd him ; for he and his whole Army were cut off to a Man. After this Victory, *Moses* pass'd the River *Jaboc*, and made an Inroad into *Og's* Dominions, destroying all the Cities wherever he came, and putting the Inhabitants to the Sword ; which were a very rich, and a powerful People. The King himself was brave, and daring to the highest Degree, and to his Courage, a goodly Man of Strength and Stature, as appeared by the Dimensions of a Bed of his, that was found in

(a) *Gr. Oges.*

his Palace at *Rabatha*. The Frame of it was of Iron; the Breadth of it four Cubits, and the Length nine. The Fall of this Man did not only settle the *Israelites* in a present State of Security and Quiet; but laid the Foundation of great Advantages to come: For they possess themselves of no less than *sixty* of his *strong Holds*, and well fortify'd Cities, and the whole Army to a Man all this while most prodigiously enrich'd with the Booty.

C H A P. VI.

Moses makes War upon the Madianites. The History of Balaam and Balaak. Zimri opposes Moses, . Phineas kills Zimri and Cosbi.

S OON after this, *Moses* remov'd his Camp to a great Plain over against *Jericho*, an opulent City, and famous for Palm-Trees and Balsam. The *Israelites* were now so flush'd with Victories, that nothing would down with them but more War; and *Moses* thought it pity this martial Humour should ly idle: So that after Sacrificing and Feasting, he sent away a Detachment from his Army to lay waste the Country of the *Madianites*, and to destroy their Cities. The Ground of the War was this.

* *Balaak*, the King of the *Moabites*, and an ancient Allie of the *Madianites*, finding the *Israelites* grow so fast, began to have some Apprehension for himself, and of his own Safety. He did not know, it seems, that God had forbidden the *Hebrews* to tempt any other Conquest then that of *Canaan*; so that he was either not well inform'd, or not well advis'd upon this Matter. As to the Point of making War upon a People elevated, and puffed up with such a Course of Successes, it was a Thing he durst not so much as think of; but he was willing enough yet to put some Stop to their further Progress, and to send his Ambassadors to the *Madianites*, to consult what might be done for the common Security of them both. The *Madianites* sent away presently *Balaak's* Ambassadors, and some Men of Honour with them, to one *Balaam* that liv'd beyond the *Euphrates*; a famous Prophet in those Parts, and their particular Friend; desiring him only to come over to them, and curse the *Israelites*. He treated the

* Numb. 22, 23, 24.

the Ambassadors with great Generosity and Respect, asking Counsel of God after Supper, what Return he should make them. His Order was, that he should not comply with them; and so with that Answer he went back, telling them that he had the greatest Mind in the World to gratify their Desires, but that God was against it, to whose Goodness he stood indebted for the Reputation he had gotten of a true Prophet; declaring further to them, that the Army which they would have him to curse was highly in God's Favour. And therefore it was his Advice, that they should rather address themselves to the *Israelites*, and secure a fair Understanding with those People upon what Terms soever. With this Resolution he discharg'd the Ambassadors: But the *Madianites*, upon the violent Importunity of *Balaak* (who was much unsatisfy'd with the Answer) sent the same Messengers a second Time upon the same Errand; and *Balaam*, out of a Desire to keep fair with the World, went and consulted God a second Time upon the same Question. *Why then you may go along with the Ambassadors*, says the Oracle: And *Balaam*, not considering with what Air it was spoken, went simply along with them. As they were upon the Way, an *Angel* met them in a narrow Place betwixt two Walls, and not Room enough for two to pass. *Balaam* was mounted upon an *Ass*, which, at the Sight of this Vision, stopt, and upon his striking, and pressing to make her go forward, she crush'd him up against the Wall; the *Angel* keeping the Way still, and the Prophet still correcting his *Ass*. But it pleased God at length to open the *Ass*'s Mouth, in a Complaint of the Injustice of her Master, to beat her at that Time for not going forward, when the *Angel* of the Lord stood there in the Passage, to divert him from doing what he was about to do. The *Ass* urging also, that this was the first Time she had ever disobey'd him. *Balaam* was surpriz'd, and affrighted to hear the *Ass* talk like a Man; and the *Angel* rebuked *Balaam* for what he had done, telling him, "That it was not the Fault of the *Beast*, but the Fault of the Prophet, in presuming to take a Journey, contrary to the declared Will of God." The Prophet would have gone back, but God bad him go forward, upon Condition, that he should say nothing but what he himself put in his Mouth.

Upon the Condition aforesaid, *Balaam* went to *Balaak*, and, after a very gracious Reception, desir'd the King he might be conducted to some of the high Mountains thereabouts, where he might take a View of the Camp of the *Hebrews*. So *Balaak* himself took *Balaam* along with him, with

with his Royal Train, up to the Top of a Mountain, a Matter of 60 Furlongs from the Army: And when the Prophet had made his Remarks, he directed **seven Altars* to be rais'd, and *seven Bulls*, and as many *Rams* to be prepared for *Sacrifices*; which was done out of Hand, and the Victims presently offer'd up in order to the forming of a Judgment upon the Matter in Question betwixt the two Armies. So soon as he had well digested his Observations, he deliver'd the Result of his Presages with his Face toward the Army of the *Israelites* in these Words.

† “ You are the happy People, (*says he*) that by the Blessing and Bounty of God shall enjoy Plenty of all good Things in Abundance: You shall have Providence for your Guide, your Protector, and Support, and a Reputation beyond all other Mortals, for the Innocence of your Lives, the Probity of your Manners, and your Love and Practice of Virtue; and the Fame of your Posterity shall yet exceed that of your Forefathers; for God will take you into his Peculiar Care and Protection, and make you, of all Nations under the Sun, the most Blessed. You shall enter into Possession of the *Land of Promise*, whither God hath sent you, and it shall be to you and your Posterity for ever. The whole Earth and Sea shall be full of your Glory; and you shall have so numerous an Issue, that in all Parts of the World there shall be found of your Stock and Family. Oh thou wonderful and blessed Army! to grow to such a Bulk out of the Loins of one single Man. The Land of *Canaan* must at present content you, though a Spot of Ground not answerable either to your Dignity or Number; but know that the Time is a-coming, when you shall have the whole World for your Habitation. Your Children shall People the *Islands* as well as the *Continent*, and be as the Stars in the Heavens for Number. And yet in that infinite Multitude, you shall feel no Want of any Thing: But God shall give you Plenty in Peace; Courage and Victory in War, and the Children of your Enemies shall be your Servants; wherefore may our Adversaries be yours too, for it shall be Ruin to them to rise against you, and the Wives and Children of your Adversaries shall have little Reason to thank their Husbands, and their Fathers, for any News they shall bring them from such an Encounter. You are to bless the Providence of God, in fine,
“ for

* Numb. 23.

† Numb. 24.

“ for all these Gifts and Graces : That God, I say, who alone can exalt or bring down, as the Case requires it.”

These were the Words of *God*, not of *Balaam*, for he was out of himself, and under the Power of a supernatural and prophetic Spirit. *Balaak* all this while in a Rage, and storming at him, that he had not kept Covenants, “ Being brought over with great Rewards, *he said*, to curse the *Israelites*, and when it came to the Point, he had nothing but Prayers and Blessings for them.” To which *Balaam* made this Reply.

“ And does King *Balaak* think, *says he*, that where Prophets are upon the Subject of Fatalities, and Things to come, they are left to their own Liberty, what to say, and what not ; and to make their own Speeches ? We are only the *passive Instruments* of the *Oracle* ; the Words are put in our Mouths, and we neither think, nor know, what we say. I remember very well, *says he*, that I was invited hither with great Earnestness, both by yourself, and by the *Madianites*, and that it was at your Request I came ; and with a Desire to do all that in me lay for your Service. But what am I able to do against the Will and Power of God ? Nay, I had Thoughts and Wishes of doing what I found afterwards I was not at Liberty to do. When once a superior Power takes Possession of us, we are no longer under the Government of ourselves. I had not the least Thought of speaking one good Word of the *Israelites Army*, or of the Blessings that God hath in Store for them : But since God hath decreed to make them great and happy, I have been forced to speak as you have heard, instead of what I had otherwise design’d to say. But now to answer the very Wishes, both of yourself, and the *Madianites*, with all possible Decency and Respect, let us erect *other Altars*, and provide *new Sacrifices*, and try once again yet, if God will give me leave to curse these People.” *Balaak* approv’d the Motion, and the Sacrifices were renew’d ; but God would not yet be prevail’d upon for leave to curse the *Israelites*. Nay, on the contrary, he fell upon his Face, and foretold the Fate of several great Kings, and famous Cities ; some not as yet in Being, others now extant, that in our Memory have answer’d the Predictions, in several Actions both at Sea and Land, from whence may be reasonably inferr’d, a Probability also, that the other Parts of the Prophecy are not idle.

Balaak was so nettl’d at this Disappointment of his Hope and Expectation, that he dismiss’d the Prophet without either Honour

Honour or Reward, and so took his Leave: But coming to *Euphrates*, he bethought himself, and sent to speak with *Balaak*, and the Princes of the *Madianites* yet once more; and that which he had to say was to this Purpose.

“ To the End, *says he*, that King *Balaak*, and you the
 “ Princes of *Madian*, may know the great Desire I have to
 “ please you, though in some Sort against the Will of God,
 “ I have bethought myself of an Expedient that may per-
 “ haps be for your Service. Do not flatter yourselves, that
 “ the *Hebrews* are ever to be destroy’d by War, Pestilence,
 “ Famine, or any other of those common casual Calamities;
 “ For they are so secure under God’s special Providence,
 “ that they are never to be totally extinguish’d by any of
 “ those depopulating Judgments. Some temporary Afflictions
 “ they may suffer, and inevitably they will; but in a
 “ little Time they’ll recover, and be the better for them.
 “ Now if the gaining of some small and short-liv’d Advantage
 “ over them may give you any Satisfaction, hearken to
 “ my Advice. Send into their Camp a Procession of the
 “ loveliest Virgins you can pick out; dress them up with
 “ all the Ornaments of Art to assist Nature. Give them
 “ their Lessons, how to behave themselves upon all Occasions
 “ of Courtship and Amour. If the young Men shall
 “ make Love, and proceed to any wanton Importunities,
 “ let them threaten immediately and peremptorily to be
 “ gone, unless they will actually renounce their Countries
 “ Laws, and the Honour of that God that prescrib’d them;
 “ and finally engage themselves to worship after the Manner
 “ of the *Madianites* and the *Moabites*. This, *says he*,
 “ will provoke God, and draw a Vengeance upon their
 “ Heads; and so he departed.”

* The *Madianites* sent their Daughters with Instructions, according to *Balaam*’s Advice, and the young Men were presently charm’d with their Conversation and Beauty, still pressing more and more upon them for further Endearments and Respects. The Girls gave them the Hearing, and allow’d them Liberties, even to the Degree of Tendernesses and Embrace. This went on, till they found they had them sure in the Toil; and when they were once warm’d and hamper’d, the Lasses made a Countenance all on a sudden, as if they were at that Instant to be gone; but upon affectionate Supplications, with Sighs and Tears, on the other Hand, not to forsake them, and solemn Oaths and Vows over

ver and above, of Love and Honour, with Life and Fortune, all at their Feet ; they were prevail'd upon to stay and treat a little longer. They found by this Time they could do what they would with them, and the Course they took was this ; one speaking in the Name of the rest.

“ It is not for Want, *says she*, either of Fortune, or of Credit ; the Love of our Parents, or the Kindness of our Friends and Relations, nor for the prostituting of our Beauties (such as they are) that we are now come, most illustrious young Men, into your Quarters ; but out of pure Hospitality and good Nature to you, as you are Strangers, and may perhaps have Need of us. For these Reasons, and upon an Opinion also that you are good Men, we have made no Scruple of treating you with an innocent, and a generous Freedom. You say you love us, and should be very loth to part with us : If so, we are not at all averse to the gratifying of your Desires ; but you must first secure us of a conjugal Faith ; (for nothing else will do) and that the Love we have for your Converse, may be warranted by the Reputation of becoming your Wives ; for we should be loth to be turn'd off for Variety, and sent back again to our Relations, with Scandal and Reproach. You will not blame us, we hope, for being a little solicitous in so tender a Point.” The young Men stuck at nothing that might advance the Ends of their Love, and so the Virgin went on. “ Since, *says she*, we are thus far agreed, it will become us to mind you of some other little Differences that remain yet to be adjusted. You have certain Ways of Life and Custom, that are altogether peculiar to yourselves ; even to particular Meats and Drinks. Now if we live together, you must resolve to do as we do, and to worship as we worship ; for by the Reverence you pay to our Gods, we shall be able to judge of the Affection you have for ourselves. No body will blame you for adoring the Gods of the Country where you are ; and the Gods in Truth, of almost all other Countries too ; whereas yours is a singular God, that's only to yourselves.” She left them in Conclusion, to this Choice, either to live there, and do as other People did, or to be gone some whither else, where they might do what they thought fit.

The young Men were so blinded with Passion, and abandon'd to their Pleasures, that whatever the Women propounded, they swallow'd it, though to the renouncing of the Religion of their Forefathers, and the Laws of their Country, without ever examining the Conditions : So that they

they join'd with them immediately in the Opinion of a *Plurality of Gods*; in the Manner of their *Worship*; the common Use of all *Meats* indifferently; and for the Women's Sakes, in short, they stuck at nothing though never so unwarrantable. This Infection spread itself insensibly over the whole Camp, and it was followed with a more dangerous Sedition than the former; insomuch, that there was hardly any Face left of the Order, Piety, and Devotion of former Times. For when the Youth came once to have a Hanking after the Novelty of strange Customs and Manners, there was no stopping of them in that Career: But Great and Small, one with another, were all corrupted and confounded in this Apostasy.

(a) *Zimri*, one of the Principals of the Tribe of *Simeon*, married *Cosbi*, a *Madianite*, the Daughter of one *Zur*, a Person of eminent Quality in that Country. This same *Zimri*, at the Instance of his Wife, and in Contempt of the *Mosaical* Rites and Constitutions, made open Profession, both of a strange Worship, and a strange Marriage. While Matters were in this Disorder, *Moses*, for fear of worse Consequences, called the People together, and there fell upon a Discourse, how unworthy a Thing it was, and how great a Scandal to the Memory of their Ancestors, for them to value the gratifying of their Lusts and Appetites above the Reverence they ow'd to their God, and their Religion; how much it behoved them to repent in Time, and to shew themselves brave Men; not in the Violation of Laws, but in the Mastery of unruly Affections. He minded them how incongruous a Thing it was too, for Men that had been virtuous and modest in a Desert, to lead such profligate Lives in a good Country, and squander away that in Luxury, which they had honestly gotten together in the Time of their Distress. He did this to try, whether either Shame, Reason, or Conscience would work upon them: But without naming any Creature all this while: For a personal, particular Reproof, he thought, might have made them desperate; and it was his Business to reclaim, not to expose them. This oblique Discourse of *Moses* gave *Zimri* an Occasion to rise and speak.

“ *Moses*, says he, you are at Liberty to use your own
 “ Laws. They have been a long Time in Exercise, and that
 “ Custom is all that is to be said for their Strength, and Credit. If it had not been for this, you would have found
 “ long

(a) Gr. *Zambrias*.

“ long since to your Cost that the *Hebrews* are not to be imposed upon; and I myself am one of the Number that will never truckle to your tyrannical Oppression. For what’s your Business all this while, but under a bare Pretext, and Talk of *Laws*, and *God*, to bar us, not only the Exercise, but the very Desire of Liberty? To establish your own Greatness upon our Misery and Ruin; depriving us of that Freedom, which all People have a Right to that are not under a Master? What are we the better for coming out of *Ægypt*, if it be only in Exchange for a more grievous Bondage under *Moses*? You are to make here what Laws you please, and we to abide the Penalties of them, at your Will and Pleasure, when at the same Time ’tis only you yourself that deserve to be punished; for abrogating such Customs and Privileges as are authorized and established by the common Consent of Nations, and setting up your own Will and Fancy, against general Practice and Reason. What I have done, I take to be well done, and shall make no Difficulty to confess and justify it. I have, as you say, married a *strange Woman*. I speak this with the Liberty of an honest Man, and I care not who knows it. I never meant to make a Secret of it, and you shall never need to look further for an Informer. I do acknowledge, that I have changed my *Way of Worship* too; and I reckon it very reasonable for a Man to examine all Things that would find out the Truth, without being tied up, as if it were in a *Despotick* Government, to the Opinion and Humour of one single Person: Beside that, I shall not thank any Man that takes upon him to over-rule me in my *own Affairs*.” *Zimri* was in this Speech the Mouth of the Faction, and the People when it was over, stood waiting quietly to see what would be the Issue of so audacious an Affront; for they were much afraid that Mischief would follow upon it; especially observing that *Moses* gave not one Syllable in Return to so insolent a Provocation; for one Word, he thought, might beget another, till it came to Blows, especially in a Multitude disposed already to take Fire. Upon this Consideration, he immediately discharged the Assembly; but this Outrage, in all Likelihood, would not have stopt there yet, if *Zimri* had not been soon after cut off, in such Manner as will now appear.

There was one *Phinees* that resented this Contumacy of *Zimri* to the highest Degree of Indignation. He was one of the bravest Youths of his Time, and as eminent for the Honour of his Extraction, as he was for his personal Virtue.

Eleazar

Eleazar the High-Priest was his *Father*, and *Moses* his *Great Uncle*. This *Phineas*, was so sensible of the Danger of letting such an Indignity pass unpunished, and of suffering the Laws to be trampled upon, and despised, that he took up a Resolution of a Revenge upon the Ring-leader of this Indignity; being very well aware, that in all such Cases, the greater the Man is, the greater is the Necessity of making him an Example. Now as *Phineas* was a Person both of Body and Mind, fit for the Execution of such an Exploit; so without any more ado, he went directly to the Tent of *Zimri*, and with his drawn Sword killed *Him*, and *Cosbi*, both at a Thrust. This glorious Action created such an Emulation among those of his Cotemporaries who had but any Spark of Honour in them, that they fell immediately upon the Remainder of the Faction; and they that 'scaped the Sword, died by the Judgment of a *Pestilence* that followed soon after, which took away, not only those that had been Actors in the Sedition, but those of their Kindred also, that by their Interest or Authority might have interposed to prevent it. This Plague swept away to the Number of *fourteen Thousand Souls*.

* *Moses* was so irritated by these Practices of the *Madianites*, that he sent out an Army against them utterly to extirpate the Nation. But we shall give an Account hereafter of that Branch of the Story, and in the mean Time take up again where we left off. It would be but just and reasonable, in this Place to extol the Candor, and clear the Generosity of *Moses* upon the Matter. As to this *Balaam* that was invited by the *Madianites* to curse the *Hebrews*; though he could not prevail for leave from God to do it, he yet gave the Enemy such Counsel, as the *Hebrews* were almost ruined by it; in the misleading, and corrupting of them in their Religion. Of this *Balaam*, *Moses*, I say, makes honourable Mention in his Writings, inserting his very Resolutions and Predictions. If *Moses* had not been very sincere, he might have assumed the Credit of them to himself, and not one Witness upon the Face of the Earth to disprove him; but he chose rather to do Right to his Memory. People may think of this as they please. But to pursue my Relation.

C H A P.

* Numb. 31.

C H A P. VII.

The Hebrews obtain a notable Victory over the Madianites.

**Moses*, as I was saying, sent *twelve Thousand* Men against the *Madianites*; a Thousand out of every Tribe, and *Phineas* to command them; by whose Means the Laws were vindicated; and *Zimri*, the Violator of them, justly punished.

Upon Intelligence given to the *Madianites* that the Enemy was already upon the Borders, and drawing toward them; they got their Troops together; fortified several Passes as far as their Time would give them leave, and so put themselves in posture to stand a Battle. The *Madianites* were utterly broken upon the first Encounter, and the Number of the slain was incredible. *Five Kings* among the rest, as (a) *Ochus*, *Sures*, *Robeas*, *Ures*, and *Recem*, the Fifth. The Capital City of *Arabia* is known by his Name to this Day, in Memory of the King that built it. They call it *Rekem*, and the Grecians, *Petra*. Upon this Rout, the *Hebrews* laid waste the Country, putting all to the Sword, saving only the Girls, according to *Moses's* Order to *Phineas*, who brought back the Army safe and sound, with a memorable Booty, as fifty two Thousand and sixty seven Oxen; sixty Thousand Asses; Household Plate and Vessels of Gold and Silver to an immense Value: For the Pomp and Magnificence they lived in was beyond Imagination. They brought away also a matter of thirty two Thousand Virgins.

Moses made a Distribution of the Booty; one fiftieth Part to *Eleazar*, and the *Priests*; another Fiftieth to the *Levites*; and the rest to the People, which gave them the Means of enjoying the Fruits of their Toils, and Hazards, in Peace, and Plenty. *Moses* was now far gone in Years, and having received a Command from God to leave *Joshua* his Successor, he constituted, and declared him so, in the several Functions of a *Prophet*, a *Leader*, and a *Governour*, being trained up by himself to a perfect understanding of the Laws both of God and Man.

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The

* Gel. 6. fol. 117.

(a) Or *ho Oeos*. Gr.

Numb. 31.

* The two Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, and the one Half of that of *Manasses*, joined about this Time in a Petition to *Moses* for a Grant of the Country of the *Amorites*; a Place lately conquer'd, and an excellent Ground for Pasture, and therefore the more commodious for them that had such vast Possessions in Herds and other Cattle. *Moses* took this Request of theirs only for a Pretext to avoid fighting, and charged them downright with Juggling, Sloth, and Cowardice. "You have a Mind, *says he*, to live in Ease and Luxury, and by appropriating to yourselves the Advantages of a common War, to give the slip to the rest of your Companions. They have a great deal of Work yet upon their Hands, in carrying on their Conquests beyond *Jordan*, and making their Way into the Land that God hath promised them, over the Bodies of their Enemies." *Moses* discovering himself to be much unsatisfied; the Petitioners excused themselves, That it was neither Fear, nor Laziness, that mov'd them to do what they did, but only the Desire of some convenient Place to secure what they had got, that they might be the more at Liberty to attend the War; setting forth, That if *Moses* would be pleas'd to assign them Towns of Safety for their Wives, their Children, and their Goods, they were ready to march wherever they should be commanded, and venture their Lives in the common Cause. *Moses* was so well satisfy'd with what they said, that he call'd for *Eleazar* the High-Priest, *Joshua*, and the rest of the *Magistrates*; and in their Presence gave them the Land of the *Amorites* according to their Request; but upon Condition that they should join with their Countrymen in a League offensive and defensive, against a common Enemy; and never lay down Arms till the War should be over. Upon these Terms, they obtain'd what they desir'd, and were put in Possession of strong Cities, where their Wives, Children, Baggage, and Fortunes might be in Safety.

There were *Ten Cities* built in that Country by *Moses*; Part of the *Forty eight* heretofore mention'd: He made *Three* of them *Sanctuaries*, or Places of Refuge for those that fled thither, in the Case of killing a Man by *Chance-Medley*, and without *Malice-Prepense*. The *Refugee* was to continue in Banishment during the Life of the High-Priest, under whose Jurisdiction the *Homicide* happened, and upon his Decease he was permitted to return. During this Banishment it was lawful for any of the Kindred of the Man that was slain,

* Numb. 32.

slain, to kill the *Homicide*, if he found him without the Walls of the City of *Refuge*; but it was not permitted to any other. The Names of these Cities of *Refuge* were *Bozor*, on the Borders of *Arabia*; *Ariman*, in the Country of *Galadene*; and *Gaulanan*, in the Land of (a) *Batanæa*. *Moses* provided also, that upon the taking of *Canaan*, there should be three Places of *Refuge* erected there also among the Cities of the *Levites*, with the same Privileges as the Former.

About this Time there died an eminent Person of the Tribe of *Manasses*, called *Solophades*, leaving no Male Children, but only Daughters. Some of the chief Men of the Tribe consulted *Moses*, whether or no these Daughters were to Inherit. The Resolution was given, that they were to Inherit if they marry'd into the Tribe, but not if they marry'd out of it; upon which Occasion he pass'd an Ordinance, That every Tribe should keep its own Inheritance, without alienating, or transferring it.

C H A P. VIII.

The Life, and Laws of Moses.

*IT was now forty Years within thirty Days, since the *Hebrews* came out of *Ægypt*, when *Moses* call'd the People together at a Place known at present by the Name of *Abila*, by the Side of the River *Jordan*, near a Field of Palm Trees, and when the Multitude were met, he deliver'd himself in a Speech to them to this Effect.

“ Since it is the Will of God now in the Hundred and
 “ twentieth Year of a wasted, troublesome Life, to take me
 “ out of this World (the Course of Nature also requiring it)
 “ and so to order, that I can be no longer useful to you,
 “ either with my Arms, or Counsels, in your further Progress
 “ beyond *Jordan*, toward the Land of *Canaan*; it will be
 “ yet a great Comfort to me at my last Hour, to leave my
 “ valiant Fellow-Soldiers, Labourers, and Sufferers, in so
 “ hopeful a Prospect of all the Good their own Hearts can
 “ wish. I must not be wanting to my Duty however, (even
 “ in this critical Extremity) of consulting your Happiness,
 “ and so far as in me lies, of promoting it also, by telling
 “ you what that Happiness is, and directing you to the Means
 T 2 of

(a) Or *Batanitis*.* *Gel. 7. fol. 118.*

“ of attaining it : And in so doing I shall entitle myself to
“ an everlasting Esteem in your Memory. I make no doubt
“ but I shall find Credit with you, and I may take upon me
“ to say, that I deserve it too, if it were but for the indefa-
“ tigable Constancy of my Endeavours to advance your Wel-
“ fare ; wherein I never disappointed, or deceiv'd you : Be-
“ side, that the Words of a dying Man are sacred and sin-
“ cere.

“ As to the Subject of human Felicity, you may assure
“ yourselves, that no Man can be happy, but in the Favour
“ of God, and that it belongs to him alone to confer Bless-
“ ings upon the Righteous, and to take away from the
“ Wicked. Do but behave yourselves answerably to what
“ God requires at your Hands, or according to the Precepts
“ and Instructions that you have receiv'd from me by his
“ Commission, and you shall be celebrated for your Virtue,
“ and envy'd for your Prosperity : And not only so neither ;
“ but the Blessings that you are possess'd of shall be conti-
“ nu'd to you, and those you want shall be superadded. On-
“ ly resign yourselves to God's Will, and obey his Com-
“ mandments, and all this shall be made good to you. But
“ have a care how you give a Preference to any other Laws,
“ comparatively with those which God sent you by me ; or
“ how you allow yourselves in any Innovations in Matters
“ of Worship and Religion. Follow my Advice, and you
“ shall be victorious and invincible ; for when you have
“ God on your Side, what matters it who is against you ?
“ The Rewards of Virtue are glorious and certain ; over
“ and above that Virtue itself is the greatest, and that all
“ other Advantages are cast in by way of Accession. Prac-
“ tice it one with another, and you shall be both happy
“ yourselves, and likewise make others so, to the Comfort
“ of your present State, and to your immortal Honour in
“ Times to come. All this you may promise yourselves, if
“ you neither violate, nor suffer to be violated, the written
“ Laws I brought you by God's special Direction ; and if
“ you make the Wisdom and Righteousness of those Laws
“ your daily Meditation and Study. This will secure your
“ Establishment ; and if I may but see you now in a State
“ of Settlement before I leave the World, I shall depart in
“ Peace. All I can do towards it will be to recommend
“ you to the Observance of those Precepts of Piety and Pru-
“ dence that are given you for your Instruction and Practice,
“ and to an obedient Compliance with the Orders of your
“ Superiours that shall be appointed and provided for your
“ Well-

“ Well-being and Safety. That God, under whose Govern-
“ ment you have acted hitherto, and to whose Goodness you
“ stand indebted for all the Benefits you have receiv’d from
“ me : That God, I say, will never forsake you ; but watch
“ over you, and protect you, so long as you worship him as
“ you ought to do. You shall not want excellent Monitors
“ neither, as *Eleazar the High-Priest*; *Joshua*; the *Senate*;
“ and the *Principals* of the *Tribes*. Treat them with all Reve-
“ rence, and without any Thing of Cavil or Grossness, as
“ ever you hope to be happy ; for he that cannot obey
“ well, can never govern well, when it comes to his turn.
“ Have a care how you take *Mutiny* for *Liberty*, as you have
“ done formerly, and how you set up for a Privilege of
“ thwarting the Commands of your Governours under that
“ Notion. You have been too much given to this Mistake in
“ Times past ; pray mend it for the future, and your Affairs
“ will thrive the better for it. God forbid you should ever
“ be so impetuous and intemperate toward any of my Suc-
“ cessors, as you have but too often been to me ; insomuch
“ that (as you know very well) my Life hath been more in
“ danger from you sometimes, then from the Enemy. I do
“ not speak this to reproach you ; for I was not transported,
“ you saw, at the doing of the Thing, neither would I af-
“ flict you with the Memory of an ill Thing done, at a Time
“ when I am upon the very Point of taking my eternal Leave
“ of you ; only be wiser for the future, and be not puff’d up
“ with the Wealth and Plenty of the Land of *Canaan*, when
“ you shall come to take Possession of it ; but know it to be
“ your Interest, as well as your Duty, not to behave your-
“ selves frowardly to those that are set over you : For if e-
“ ver Wealth and Luxury shall make you insolent, to the
“ Contempt of Religion, Authority and Virtue, God, of a Pro-
“ tector, will become your Enemy. You shall lose that Land
“ again with Infamy, that you got with Honour and Cou-
“ rage ; and be scatter’d all over the Face of the Earth, as
“ the most despicable of Mankind. When it comes to that
“ once, it will be too late to wish Things undone again, and
“ that you had contain’d yourselves within the Bounds of
“ your Laws and Duty. Now to prevent the Danger of this
“ mortal *Apostacy* for the Time to come, *give no Quarter*
“ where you get the better of it, for in so doing, you cut off all
“ the *Seducers*. As for their Temples, Groves and Altars, let
“ them be destroy’d, one and all, with Fire and Sword,
“ wherever you come ; even to the Extinction, if it were
“ possible, of the very Memory of them. This, in fine, is the
“ only

“ only Way to secure yourselves to all Purposes ; but yet for
 “ fear of the worst, and to assist the Ignorant toward the un-
 “ derstanding of their Duties, I have written a Body of Laws
 “ by the Command of God himself ; and such a Form of Ad-
 “ ministration, publick and private, that you shall be certain-
 “ ly the happiest People under the Sun, if you conform
 “ yourselves to those Rules and Measures.”

When *Moses* had made an end of speaking, he deliver'd them a Book of *Laws* and *Precepts* in Writing, with respect to Government and good Manners. This Book was but the Prologue to a final Separation, and brought several Things to their Mind that made the whole Multitude burst out into an excessive Weeping. Some were at their Wits end what should become of them when *Moses* was gone, and all in despair of ever getting such another Commander. Others were upon the Subject of his Bravery and Conduct, what Pains he had taken, and what Dangers he had run, and how generously and chearfully he did every Thing for their good. Some again were at a loss for a *Mediator*, who should consult God for them when they wanted Advocates, or intercede for them when he was angry ? But nothing went nearer them then the Memory of their Outrages against *Moses* in the *Desart* ; upon which Reflection they were all transported into such violent Lamentations, that what with Shame and Guilt, it carry'd them out of all Government of themselves, till *Moses* at last, by his Persuasion and Authority, put an end to the Sorrow, and to the Meeting, both at once : But first recommending to them the Study and the Use of his Book of *Laws*.

* It will be worth my while now, before I pass over to other Matters, to insert the Laws themselves, that the Reader may see how answerable they are to the Majesty of the Compiler of them, and the Original of our Usages and Customs. Every Thing that he wrote is yet extant, and we must take it as he left it, without any Room for Ornament or Variation. We have only taken the Liberty of altering the Method, and of reducing those several *Laws* that *Moses* brought one after another, as God was consulted about them, into their proper and natural Place and Order. I have premonished the Reader of this, to prevent the Calumny that some of our own People might otherwise have raised upon it, as if *Moses* had not been fairly dealt withal in this Part of the Relation. Now I shall only take notice in this Place of the *publick Laws*

Laws and *Constitutions* that have regard to the *Policy* of their Government, but for Matters of *private Dealing* and *Contract*, whether among ourselves, or with Strangers, I shall treat of them in a Commentary, that I propose, God willing, to make publick, concerning the *Customs* and *Reasons* of those *Laws*.

When you shall have made yourselves absolute Masters of the Land of *Canaan*, settled your Plantations, and built your Cities, you will have nothing more to do toward the Maintaining of yourselves in the full, safe, and easy Enjoyment of your Acquisitions, than to love God, and keep these his following *Commandments*, which will establish your Felicity upon a Foundation never to be shaken.

Let there be *one holy City* in the Land of *Canaan*, to be erected in some certain Place, for the Fruitfulness and Beauty of the Situation, which God by his Prophet shall make choice of, and appoint. Let there be *one Temple* in it, and *one Altar*, and that *Altar* to be made of unhewn Stones out of the Quarry, gather'd up here and there, and so put together and varnish'd, for the better Grace of the Work, and to make it the more agreeable to the Eye: The Ascent not to be made by Stairs or Steps, but by a gradual rising of the Ground for the Decency of the Approach. But there must be no more *Temples* or *Altars* in any other City; for the *Hebrews* are but *one Nation*, and worship but *one God*.

Whoever shall *blaspheme* the holy Name of God, let him be stoned to Death, his Body expos'd upon a Gibbet for one Day, and afterwards thrown into the Ground with Infamy and Contempt.

* Let the whole Nation of the *Hebrews* come up from all Quarters to this *holy City* and *Temple*, to worship thrice a-Year, and offering up Thanksgivings for Benefits receiv'd, to implore future Blessings; and so by the Freedom of a cheerful Tendernefs of Conversation, to create friendly Dispositions one toward another. It is a Matter of common Convenience for People of the same Stock, Interest, and Profession, to be thoroughly acquainted; for there is a wonderful Force many Times in the Impression of a Word, a Look, or an Action; as on the contrary, without these Meetings and Interviews, all the Comforts and Advantages of Communication are lost to us.

† Let there be also reserv'd to the Value of *another Tenth* of the Fruits of the Earth (over and above the Dues to the

T 4

Priests

* Deut. 16.

† Deut. 18.

Priests and *Levites*) out of the Sale of them in the Market, to be laid out in Sacrifices and Entertainments, that shall be celebrated in this City; as it is but reasonable to dedicate the Fruits of the Land to him that gives us *gratis* the Propriety and Possession.

* Thou shalt not offer in *Sacrifice* the Hire of a *Prostitute*, for God is not pleased with any Thing that is either wicked or shameful; and there is no fouler Uncleanneſs then this Mixture of Bodies. And ſo in like manner for the Hire of a Bitch to keep up the Strain of a Hound, a Sheep, or a Dog, as it is for the Hire of a Strumpet. Let no Man ſpeak ill of the Gods of other Nations, nor riſſe their Temples, nor take away any Thing out of them that is dedicated to divine Uſe or Worſhip.

† Let no *Iſraelite* wear a mix'd Garment of Wool and Linnen, unleſs he be a (a) *Prieſt*; to whom alone it belongs.

‡ In every *ſeventh Year*, when the *Feaſt of Tabernacles* ſhall be celebrated in the *holy City*, let the *Prieſt*, from a high Pulpit, where he may be heard by the whole Congregation, read the Book of the *Law*, and all Sorts of People without Exception, Women, Children, yea and Slaves themſelves too, be admitted to the Hearing of it: For when the *Law* is once thoroughly imprinted in Peoples Minds, it will never out of their Memories: Beſide that it takes away the common Plea of pretended Ignorance. Laws have more Force alſo upon the Conſciences of Offenders, when they tell them beforehand what they are to truſt to in caſe of Diſobedience, and mingle Terror with Authority. What Men receive by the Ear ſinks into their Minds, and they find themſelves ſo far convinced of the Intent and Reaſon of Laws, that they have effectually their own Accuſers upon the Violation of them.

|| Above all Things, let Children be early inſtructed in theſe Laws, as the moſt neceſſary and profitable Diſcipline they can be trained up to. Wherefore let them twice a Day, Morning and Evening, be conſtantly minded of the Goodneſs of God that brought them out of the Land of *Ægypt*; and ſo of his other Mercies; for it is equally reaſonable to give God thanks for former Bleſſings, as to pray for new ones. Let them have Memorials of God's Power and Bounty, by Inſcriptions upon their Doors, their Heads, about their Arms,

* Deut. 23.

† Deut. 22.

(a) That this is falſe, *Bochart* ſhews in his *Hierozyic.* l. 2. c. 45. p. 491. Edit. Lond.

‡ Deut. 11.

|| Deut. 6.

Arms, &c. so that which Way soever they turn themselves they may have Remembrancers of God's Providence still in their Eyes.

Let every City have a Council of *seven Magistrates*, Men of exemplary Virtue, and Lovers of Righteousness, (a) and to each of these Rulers let there be two *Levites*. Let the Dignity of the Seat of Judgment be kept sacred, and no Man presume to utter an irreverent or intemperate Word in the Face of the Court; for the Practice of this Veneration toward political Governours will wont us by Degrees to a Love and Awe of Piety, as well as of common Justice, and to an affectionate Sense of our Duty to God himself, in the Defe-
 rence we pay to his Ministers. There must be no Appeal from the Sentence of the Judge, unless in Case of manifest Error and Corruption. Justice is the main End of Judgment; and it is to be administred without any Regard either to Power, Interest, or Affection. It is a Reproach to the Divine Power and Goodness, to be more afraid of a great Man then of God himself, as if the latter were the weaker of the two: And this is in Truth the Case of such Partialities. If it shall so fall out, that the Judges are either not informed at all, or misinformed, and consequently Strangers to the Question, and so incompetent; (which many Times happens) let the Cause be carried up entire to the holy City, for the High-Priest, the Prophet, and the Senate to decide the Controversy.

* Let no Accusation be admitted, but from the Mouths of two, three, or more Witnesses, and let them be Men of Probity too, and an unspotted Reputation.

The Testimony of a Woman shall not be reputed a warrantable Evidence, because of the natural Levity of the Sex, and that they talk too much at Random.

No Slave shall be allow'd of as a competent Witness, because of the servile and mercenary Condition of his Mind and Quality, which may probably be wrought upon, either by Fear, or by Profit, to give a false Testimony.

Whoever shall be convict of a *false Oath*, shall be liable to the same Punishment that the Accused should have suffer'd if the Charge had been proved upon him.

† In the Case of *Homicide*, when a Man shall be found dead in a Field, and he that kill'd him not appear, nor any personal Jealousy of a Malice prepense against him, let there

(a) See *Selden de Synedr. Hebr.* l. 2. c. 6. p. 165, 166, 167. *Ed. Amstel.*

* Deut. 19.

† Deut. 21.

there be a strict Enquiry upon the Life of the Man, and publick Rewards offer'd by Proclamation for the Discovery. If after all this Search and Diligence, it shall not yet be made out how he came by his Death, let the Magistracy, and the neighbouring Townships meet together, and take an exact Measure which of them was nearest to the Place when the dead Body was found; and let the Inhabitants of the Place that shall be found nearest provide a Heifer, and bring it into a Fallow Spot of Ground that is fit for neither planting nor sowing, and there let the Sinews of the Neck be cut, the *Priests*, *Levites*, and *Elders* washing their Hands with Water over the Head of the Heifer, and purging themselves by an open Protestation that they knew nothing, either directly or indirectly, of the *Homicide*: Finishing the Ceremony with Prayers to Almighty God to preserve that Place and People from the Guilt of Blood for the Time to come.

As to the Matter of Government, *Aristocracy* is the best Form, wherefore let the *Hebrews* stick to it, and maintain it; for whenever they cast it off, it will be to their Loss; for they have nothing above them but the Laws, and those Laws are a standing Rule what they are to do; but let it suffice, that they have God for their King, and their supreme Governour.

* Now after all this, if you should come to have a hankering for *Monarchy*, be sure you chuse your King out of your own Stock and Lineage: A Person of Justice, and good Faith, without Passion or Guile: One that shall depend upon the Direction of God, and the Laws, more then upon his own Wisdom: One that shall take the Advice of the High-Priest and Elders along with him in all he does, without setting his Mind upon a Multitude of Wives, or the Pomp of Treasure and Horses, for fear the ambitious Affectation of this Power and Magnificence, should transport him into Encroachments upon your Laws and Liberties, and make him greater, in fine, then would stand with your Ease and Convenience.

† Remove no *Boundaries*, or *Land-Marks*, whether your own, or your Neighbours; for they are the best Security we have for a common Peace. Let them be kept as firm as the Foundations of the Earth, and as if Providence itself had fix'd them there. The Breaking in upon these Bounds opens a certain Way to Wars and Tumults; and what *Avarice* does in one Case, *Ambition* does in the other. The first
Fruits

* Deut. 17.

† Deut. 19.

Fruits of Trees that bear before the fourth Year from their planting, are not either to be offered to God, or to be eaten by Man: For coming before their Time, they are rather Abortions then a natural Production. But in the fourth Year, when the Fruit comes to Maturity, let all be gathered and transported to the holy City, to be there spent by the Owner, (together with the Tenths of other Fruits) in treating his Friends and Acquaintances, Widows and Orphans. But in the fifth Year, the Proprietor has the whole Product to himself.

Let no Ground be sowed that is planted with Vines; for the Earth hath enough to do to attend the Service of that Plant, without the superfluous Vexations of the Plow over and above.

Let the Earth be plow'd with Oxen alone; for Beasts of several Kinds are not to draw in the same Yoke.

Let the Seeds to be sown be simple and unmix'd, not two or three Sorts together, for the Confusion of such Diversities is unnatural.

Let there be no adulterate Mixtures betwixt the Female of one Kind, and the Male of another, lest Men should be tempted also by the Corruption of this unnatural Example into the Liberty of inordinate Lusts: As the foulest Extravagances have taken their Rise many Times from trivial Beginnings, wherefore let nothing be permitted in human Conversation, that by a perverse Hint of applying it, may tend to the Depravation of good Manners. So that it is not for Laws to pass over in Neglect, even the smallest Things in Appearance, when so great Matters depend upon them.

* Let not the Harvest-Reapers sweep away the whole Crop, but leave a large Allowance of Gleanings for the Necessities of the Poor; and so for Clusters of Grapes upon the Vintage, and Wind-falls upon the Gathering of Olives, let there be a compassionate Remainder left for those that have nothing to eat of their own. The Reward of the Charity will infinitely more then countervail the Charge of the Bounty, for God will bless the Land with Fertility, and the Owner of it with Plenty, when a Man has a Regard to the Wants of the Necessitous, as well as to his own Convenience. The Ox is not to be † muzzled when he treads out the Corn; for it would be unreasonable to deny any Thing a Part in the Fruit of its own Labours.

Let

* Deut. 24.

† Deut. 25.

Let no Passenger upon a Journey be refused the Taste of ripe Fruit, if he desires it, whether of the Country, or a Stranger ; but let him take and eat and welcome, as if it were his own, provided he carry none away with him.

Let no Man in bearing Grapes to the Press, refuse a Bunch of them to a Traveller that meets him upon the Way ; for it would be very hard to deny any Man so small a Proportion of the good Things that God hath bestow'd upon Mankind, *gratis*, and in such Abundance ; especially considering the Nicety of the Season, according to the Course of Providence, and how soon it will be over. Nay if Men should be so scrupulous upon a Point of Modesty, as to forbear touching, or desiring any Thing, let them be invited and intreated to take and please themselves. If they be *Israelites*, they are to be look'd upon as Partners and Fellow-sharers in what you have, being all of the same Blood and Brotherhood. If *Strangers*, let them be desired to accept of such a Respect as a Present of Hospitality out of God's Bounty. We are not to account any Thing lost that is thus bestowed ; for when it pleases God to shower down his Blessings upon the Sons of Men, it is not for this or that Man's Sake, or Use alone, but a Depositum with them as Trustees for the common Service of those that want. Neither can Men do a greater Right to God's Magnificence towards themselves, then by communicating Part of the Blessings to others. Whoever shall presume to act contrary to what is here prescribed, shall receive forty Lashes save one from the Hand of the common Executioner ; a servile Punishment, but good enough for a mercenary Freeman, that sacrifices his Dignity to his Avarice. It is all the Reason in the World, says *Moses*, that those People that suffer'd so much themselves in *Egypt*, and the *Wilderness*, should from the Experience of their own Misery, contract somewhat of Tenderness and Compassion for their Neighbours : So far at least, as being in Plenty themselves to assist the Needy in some Degree out of their Abundance.

Beside the *two yearly Tenths* already appointed to be paid, the one to the *Levites*, the other to the *holy Feasts*, there remains yet a *Third* to be every third Year divided among the poor *Widows* and *Orphans*.

* Let every Man carry his *First-Fruits* to the *Temple*, and after *Thanksgivings* to God for the Earth that brought them forth, and *Sacrifices* celebrated in due Form of Law, let him
give

give them to the Priests : And this being done, and the *Tenths* with the *First-Fruits* for the *Levites* and the *Festivals*, presented according to Custom, let him when he is ready to go home again, give God thanks before the Door of the Temple for delivering the *Hebrews* from their grievous Slavery, and putting them in Possession of so fair, and plentiful a Country : Publickly declaring that he has paid his *Tenths* according to the Law, and Appointment of *Moses*. Let him then pray to God both for himself, and for the Publick, to grant them not only a Continuance of his Graces, and Mercies toward them, but by his infinite Power and Goodness, to vouchsafe them an Augmentation of those Blessings.

When Men are of Years to marry, let them make their Choice out of Virgins that are well-born, and well-nurtur'd, and the Children of virtuous Parents, but let not him that will not marry a Virgin, presume to seduce the Wife of another Man, to the Disquiet, and Affliction of her Husband.

Let not a *Freeman* marry a *Bond-Woman*, and then plead Love in his Defence ; for a Man forfeits his Dignity when he can no longer command his Passions.

Let there be no marrying with a *Harlot* ; for God will not receive a *Nuptial-Sacrifice* from an *unclean Body* ; beside that libidinous Marriages are commonly attended with a suitable Issue, both for want of Sobriety and Honour.

* If any Man thinks he has marry'd a Virgin, and finds afterwards that he was mistaken, let him put the Cause upon a Trial, and bring his Proofs, while on the other Side the Father, the Brother, and the next a-kin may appear on the behalf of the Woman : If she be acquitted, her Accuser shall be bound to live in Wedlock with her, and that Marriage never after to be dissolv'd, unless upon positive Evidence beyond Contradiction ; but whoever shall be found in such a Case as this, rashly and scandalously to calumniate an innocent Person, let him have the corporal Punishment of nine and thirty Stripes, and stand condemn'd in a Mulet of *fifty Sicles*, to the Father of the Woman. But if it shall be made out that she was corrupted before her Marriage, she shall be stoned to Death for her Incontinence, if a Person of a mean Quality ; or if otherwise, as of the Family of a Priest, let her be burnt alive.

† If a Man have two Wives, and a much greater Value for the one then for the other ; (whether upon the Account of Beauty, Inclination, or whatever Motive soever) in case the

* Deut. 24.

† Deut. 21.

the Husband shall be prevail'd upon by the Favourite-Wife to demand a Right of *Primogeniture* for her younger Son to the Prejudice of an elder Son by another Wife (for by my Laws, says *Moses*, the Seniority entitles him to a double Portion) let it not be allow'd of: For it is unjust that the elder Son should be robb'd of his Birth-right for the Partiality of the Father to one Wife more than the other.

If any Man shall debauch a Virgin contracted to another Man, they are both guilty, and shall both suffer Death; the Man for corrupting the Woman, and the Woman for consenting: The one for seducing the Woman into the Preference of a scandalous Uncleanness to an honourable Marriage; the other for yielding herself a Prostitute, either for Lust or Profit. But if a Man shall be found to have forced a Woman alone, and no Body within Distance of coming to her Relief, the Man only shall die.

He that shall corrupt a Virgin that's under no Obligation to any other Man, let him marry her, or if her Father will not agree to it, let him give him *Fifty Sicles* for a Composition.

If a Man has a mind to part from his Wife upon what Cause soever; as there are Pretences in Abundance, let him give it under his Hand that they shall never come together again; She may marry another Man, but without that Discharge she cannot, neither will the Divorce stand good; but in case the second Husband should die, and the Woman have a mind to go back to her First again, it is not to be permitted.

Where a Husband dies, and leaves his Wife without Issue, let the Brother of the Deceased marry the Widow, and in case of a Son by the second Husband, let him bear the Name of the Family, and inherit the Estate; for it concerns the Publick that Names and Families should be preserv'd, their Possessions kept entire, and it is a Relief to the Woman to live with so near a Relation to her first Husband. But if the Brother refuse to marry her, let her complain to the Senate, that whereas she offer'd herself to stay in the Family, and to bring Children to it, her Husband's Brother had given her the Repulse, and put a Dishonour upon the Memory of her dead Husband. The Elders shall then interrogate the Brother upon the Reason of his Refusal, and whether it be more or less, the Issue will be this in the Conclusion: The Widow shall loosen the Lappet of the Brother's Shoe, and spit in his Face, telling him that he deserved all this, for casting a Dishonour upon the Memory of the Deceased. Af-

ter

ter this, he departs the Court with a Mark of Infamy that he carries to his Grave; and so the Widow is left at Liberty to marry again where she pleases.

* If any Man takes a Maid, Widow, or Wife, Prisoner, and hath a Mind to marry her, they are not to accompany together as Man and Wife, till the Prisoner shall have shaved her Head, and run thorough the whole Course of her Mourning for the Friends and Relations she lost in the Battle; and this Ceremony being over, she is at Liberty to enjoy the Comforts of Mirth and Marriage. It is a reasonable Thing, for him that takes a Woman to have Children by her, to indulge the Will and Affections of his Wife, and not so absolutely pursue his own Satisfaction, as to neglect hers. But after *thirty Days Mourning*, which is enough for any sober Man, it may be seasonable to marry. If the Man should prove fickle, and grow weary of her, he must not think to make her a Slave again, for she hath purchased her Freedom to go whither she pleases.

When Children shall behave themselves undutifully, and contemptuously toward their Parents, without any Regard to filial Reverence, Piety, or good Manners, let the Father and Mother in the first Place, (whom Nature has made their Judges) instruct, and tutor them by some Discourse to this or the like Purpose.

“ You should consider, Children, that the conscientious
“ End of Marriage is not either Wealth, or Pleasure, but first
“ to have Children, as a Blessing which we are to acknow-
“ ledge with Joy and Thankfulness; and then to train up
“ those Children to the Knowledge and Exercise of Virtue,
“ and Submission; that they may so live, as to be a Com-
“ fort, and a Stay to their aged Parents. You cannot say
“ that we have spar’d for any Thing in the Care of your In-
“ stitution, that might honestly qualify you for all the agree-
“ able Advantages of a happy Life. And what Return at
“ last for all this Tenderness? But Youth is rash and frail,
“ and the Errors of it are not unpardonable. Come, *Chil-*
“ *dren*, you have been to blame; be so no more, but repent,
“ and amend, before it be too late. You are not aware per-
“ haps how God himself is wounded in your unnatural
“ Crossness to those, from whom, next under him, you re-
“ ceived your Being; and that your heavenly Father takes
“ all to himself that you commit against your earthly Fa-
“ ther, under the *Analogy* of that common Appellation, be-
“ ing

“ing the Father of all Flesh living. To say nothing of the
 “inevitable Severity of the Law in that Point, which I had
 “rather you should understand by Discourse then Experience.”

If this Way of Reasoning take Effect, it will be but a Piece of charitable Justice to pass it all over as a Slip of Ignorance without Malice: Beside that it would be for the Honour of Governours, and the Comfort of Parents so to do; but if neither Authority, nor Advice can prevail, and that rebellious Children will still persist in an incorrigible Contumacy, there is no Way left then, but to turn the Laws loose upon them, which will have them carry'd out of the City, and there stoned to Death; the Bodies to be exposed upon a Gibbet for one Day, and at Night to be taken down and bury'd.

The same Thing is to be done in all other Cases of capital Punishment. Publick Enemies are not to be deny'd Burial. The dead must be allow'd Earth to cover them. The Law prescribes the Punishment, and it would be Injustice to go beyond the Sentence.

† It is not lawful for one *Hebrew* to lend unto another, either Money, Meat, or Drink upon *Usury*; for it is not fair to make Advantage of the Necessities of a Brother. Let it suffice, that the Conscience of a good Office does more then countervail the Profit of it; so that the very Charity is clear Gain if Men would but trust God Almighty for their Reward, which never fails, sooner or later, to follow good Works. As for those that borrow, either Money, or Fruits, wet or dry, let them be sure to make a chearful Repayment of it, so soon as ever God shall put them in Condition so to do: Which is no more then depositing so much in another Hand for your own Use to be in Readiness upon such another Occasion.

In Case of a Debtor, that hath neither Shame, nor the Conscience, to restore what he borrow'd; the Creditor shall not enter into his House to take a Pledge, but demand it at the Door, where the Debtor himself is to deliver it, but upon the Order of the Judge in Favour of the Creditor, there must be no opposing of it. If he that has given the Pawn can conveniently spare it, let the Creditor keep it till he receives Satisfaction; but if he be very indigent, and wants it, let it be return'd before Sun-set; especially if it be a Garment, lest he should want it to keep him warm in the Night. Such is the Tendernefs of Almighty God in Favour of the Poor.

Take

† Dent. 23.

* Take not a *Mill* in Pawn, or any Thing that is essentially necessary to the working of it, for fear it should deprive some poor People of the Means of a Livelihood.

Let it be Death to *spirit* away, or to steal a Man; and he that steals Gold or Silver, let him restore double.

He that shall kill a Thief in the Act of stealing, or of breaking into a House, shall be acquitted.

He that steals a labouring Beast shall be condemn'd in *four Times the Value* of it; unless it be an Ox, and then the Penalty shall be *Quintuple*; but if the Party be not able to pay the Fine, let him be turned over for a Slave to the Person he has wrong'd.

If one *Hebrew* be sold to another, he shall serve six Years, and be made free the Seventh; but if it should so fall out, that he hath Children in his Master's House by any of his Female Fellow-Servants, and shall think fit, out of some particular Inclination to out-stay his Time, he shall be freed in the Year of *Jubilee*, with his Wife and Children.

If any Man shall find Gold or Silver upon the Way, let him seek and enquire who it was that lost it, in order to the restoring of it, for it would be inhuman to make profit of another Man's Misfortune. And so for Cattle that shall be seen astray, and wandering in a Desert: Either let the Master be found out to whom they belong, or let the Finder keep them to himself, till the right Owner may be heard of, calling God to Witness that he does not covet the Goods of any other Man.

Whoever sees a Traveller at a loss for want of knowing his Way, let him give him his best Direction, and Advice, to set him forward on his Journey. It is barbarous, either to make sport with him, or to hinder his Business.

Speak no ill either of the Deaf, or of the Absent.

If one Man strikes another upon a sudden Quarrel, and not with a Sword, let Justice be immediately done upon the Aggressor, by the same Number of Blows that he gave the other: But if he that was struck be carry'd home; laid up sick for several Days, and then die, there shall lie no Action of Murder in the Case; but if he recovers, the other shall bear the whole Charge of his Cure, Doctors, Apothecaries, Surgeons, Keepers and the like.

If any Man shall kick a Woman with Child, so that she

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miscarries,

miscarries, the Judges shall condemn him in a Sum of Money for the Loss of a Subject: Beside another Sum by the way of a Fine to her Husband. But if she dies of the Stroke, the Man must die too, for Life must answer for Life.

If there shall be found in the Possession of an *Israelite*, the Preparation of any mortal, or dangerous Poison, he shall suffer Death for it to answer for the Lives of those against whom it shall appear to have been design'd.

He that strikes out another Man's Eye shall forfeit his own, and make Satisfaction in Kind, an Eye for an Eye, unless he shall otherwise think fit to compound for it with Money; for the Law will so far allow a Man to be a Judge in his own Case, where he shall think fit to moderate the Rigour of a Penalty for an Injury done to himself.

If an Ox be mischievous, and given to Goring, let his Master kill him. If an Ox kill any Body let him immediately be ston'd to Death, and no Man presume to eat of his Flesh; but if it shall appear that the Master had been forewarn'd of the Fierceness of this Beast, and gave no heed to it, he himself shall suffer Death for not preventing the Death of another Man. If an Ox shall kill a Man or a Maid-Servant, the Ox shall be ston'd, and the Owner of the Ox shall stand condemn'd in *thirty Sicles* to the Master of the Slave that was slain. If one Ox shall kill another, let the Living and the Dead be both sold, and the Money divided betwixt their two Masters.

* If a Man digs a Pit or a Well, let him cover it with Boards, and cast up a Mound about it when he goes from it, not to engross the Water but to give notice of the Danger, and to keep Man and Beast from falling into it; or in case any Beast shall drop in at unawares; and be lost for want of such a Fence, or Cover, the Owner of the Ground shall make Satisfaction to the Value of the Beast.

† Whoever receives a *Depositum*, that is to say, somewhat in Trust for the Use of another Man; let him preserve it as a Thing sacred, and not to be touch'd by Man, Woman, or Child, though the whole World were to be gotten by it, to the Prejudice of the Creditors. And Witness, or no Witness, either to the Trust, or to the Fraud, does not one jot alter the Case. The Conscience is the only Judge, and Evidence, of what we ought to do, and of what we do, and whether we do well or ill; and according to that inward
Testimony

Testimony we stand or fall to a God that is not to be impos'd upon. But now supposing the *Depositum, Bona Fide* to be lost; and he that had it in Charge not to blame neither. Where it so falls out, let the Trustee apply himself to the *Seven Judges*, and there make Oath in the Presence of God, that he never employ'd any Part of it to his own Use, and that neither directly nor indirectly he had any Hand or Privy in the going of it; and this shall be sufficient to acquit him of having perform'd his Trust. But yet if it shall afterward be made appear, that he ever converted any Particle of this *Depositum* to his proper Benefit, he shall be obliged to make good the whole.

God will have the same Strictness of Justice to be also observed in the Punctuality of paying the Labourer his Hire, which consists partly in not defrauding him of any Portion of his Due, and partly in not delaying the Payment of it; but upon the same Day, when he makes an end of his Work, let him receive his Wages.

Children are not to be punish'd for the Iniquity of their Fathers, but where they are good, they deserve rather to be pity'd, for lying under the Lot of having such Fathers: Beside the Equity of respecting them for their own Virtues, rather than making them odious for the Failings of others. Neither is the Lewdness of Children in all Cases to be imputed to their Parents; for there are some Natures so harsh, and intractable, that all the Gentleness of good Example, Care, and Discipline, can never work upon them.

There are an abominable Sort of People, that out of some unnatural Affectation, make themselves *Eunuchs*, and in so doing, destroy as much as in them lies, the very Intent of Nature and Providence, in Male and Female; cutting-off the Means of encreasing, and consequently of Posterity, both at once, to the Disappointment of the main End of their Creation. Their Minds were first corrupted, before they came to make this Experiment upon their Bodies. These Men are to be avoided, and detested as the worst of Monsters, wherefore let nothing be castrated, neither Man, nor any other living Creature, for it is a Departure from the very Institution of Nature.

These are the Laws you are to observe in Times of Peace, and I hope by the Blessing of God, they will be continu'd unchangeably sacred, and inviolable, to yourselves, and your Children after you for ever. But yet, in regard of the Uncertainty of humane Affairs; and that upon some Ground

or other, whether of Malice, or Misadventure, Difficulties and Troubles will inevitably arise, I shall endeavour in a few Words, the best I can, to prepare you for the obviating of those Contingencies, so far at least as a reasonable, and a political Foresight of Things may enable me, that you may not be taken unprovided how to acquit yourselves upon Occasion.

I wish you with all my Heart in a quiet Possession of the Land that God hath allotted you; and that you may come to reap the Fruit of your Industry and Patience, in Peace, and Plenty, without the Hazard, either of open Enemies from abroad, or of worse in your own Bowels; for a *Schism* at home would endanger the overturning of the Laws, Customs, Discipline, and Religion, of your Forefathers; which are no other then the Ordinances of God himself, being warranted by the Stamp and Authority of his divine Approbation. From these Constitutions you are never to depart.

But if it shall be your Fortune, either now or hereafter, to fall under the Necessity of a War, God grant it may be a foreign one, and for the Decency of the Proceeding, let it be advanced in Form. * You shall do well to let your Heralds, or Embassadors be sent in the first Place with Memorials, and Declarations upon the Matter in Question; for according to the Course of Reason and Nature, Words should go before Blows. You may give to understand that your Business is not to enrich yourselves with Prisoners, or Booty: How unwilling you are to put Things to Extremities, and how desirous of Peace, upon any reasonable Terms; notwithstanding all the Advantages of Numbers, Horse, Arms, Military Provisions, and more then all the rest, of an Almighty and a Gracious God to fight your Battles. But if your Competitor shall yet think fit to put the Cause upon a Trial of War, draw out your Men against him, committing the Government of the whole to God, and next under him to the bravest Man of Arms, Policy, and Courage, that you can pitch upon, as his Deputy. Have a care of many Heads; for they do commonly more hurt then good: Not only for want of Agreement, but in the Matter of Execution and Dispatch. Look to the Choice of your Levies, for the Minds of Men must be consider'd as well as their Bodies. Let them be daring as well as robust, for the least Mixture of Cowardice may be enough to unspirit, and to debauch a whole Army.

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* Deut. 20.

You shall except out of this *Militia* the Masters of new-built Houses, that they have not yet liv'd a Year in. The Planters of Vineyards that have not as yet tasted the Fruit of their own Vines, and new-marry'd Men that have not taken their Wives home with them yet, who when they should be venturing their Lives for their Country, will be indulging them for their Pleasure.

Keep good Order in your Camp, and allow no Liberties that are harsh and cruel. When you want Wood at any Time upon a Siege, as for an Engine, or some military Use, spare all Fruit-Trees, upon this Consideration, that they were both created and planted for other Uses. If they had Tongues they would expostulate the Matter with you, why those that were no Cause of the War should be destroy'd for the Service of it: And for their Parts, if they were at Liberty to transplant themselves, they could be as well elsewhere.

When you have the Fortune to overcome in Battle, give no Quarter to those of your Enemies that were obstinate and stood it out; but preserve the rest, and make them your Tributaries, saving only the *Canaanites*; and those you are to extirpate, even the whole Nation of them, Root and Branch.

(a) Let no Man appear in a Woman's Dress or Habit, nor any Woman in a Man's; but especially in a military Action.

* This was the Form and Polity of the *Hebrew Commonwealth* as *Moses* left it, and he delivered other Laws also that he had written some forty Years before: Of which in another Tract.

He held *Assemblies* several Days after this, successively; bestowing his Benedictions upon those that liv'd in Obedience to his holy Laws, and pursuing the malicious Transgressors of them with bitter Maledictions. He then recited a Kind of a Prophetical † *Canticle* in *Hexameter Verse*, containing a Discourse of Things to come, and in the very Order as they fell out after, without any Variation either in the Matter itself, or in the *Series* of the Story. This he left in Writing to be kept in the Oratory. He deliver'd his *Books* to the Priests, and also the *Ark*, wherein were the *Ten Commandments*, written in *Two Tables*, leaving it in Charge to the

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People,

(a) See *Cunæus de Rep. Hebr.* l. 2. c. 22. Deut. 22.

* Deut. 30, 31, 32, 34.

† Deut. 33, 34.

People, that so soon as ever they should come to be Masters of the promised Land, and settle their Plantations, they should take their Revenge of the *Amalekites*, for the Indignities they had formerly put upon them in the Desert.

* He commanded also that upon the taking of *Canaan*, and putting the whole Multitude to the Sword, they should raise an *Altar* to the *Eastward*, not far from (a) *Sichem*, betwixt two Mountains, *Garizim* on the *Right-Hand*, and *Gebal* on the *Left*, and so dividing their Army into *twice six Tribes*, they were to dispose of those two Divisions upon these two Mountains, together with the *Priests* and *Levites*. They were to pray in their Turns, and *Garizim* to lead the Office, imploring all Sorts of Blessings from Almighty God upon those that kept his holy Commandments, and walked in the Ways of his Servant *Moses*: The Tribes upon *Gebal*, by Way of *Response*, at the Close, returning their Acclamations, in Token of approving what the other had done. And then after the same Manner they follow'd with their Maledictions, which were pronounc'd and ratify'd with the same Solemnity as before. These Blessings and Imprecations were at that Time committed to Writing, for a perpetual Memory of the Thing. He caused them also, when he was dying, to be engraven on each Side of the *Altar*, the People assisting and offering up Sacrifices and Burnt-Offerings: A Thing not warrantable in itself, and therefore not to be brought into Precedent. You have here the Ordinances and Constitutions of *Moses*, which the *Hebrews* observe most religiously to this Day.

Upon the Day following the whole Multitude being gather'd together, Men, Women and Children, the meanest of *Slaves* themselves not excepted, *Moses* bound them with an *Oath* to the Observance of these Laws according to the Will of God, and that neither Favour, Terror, nor any other Pretext, should ever make them depart from their Obedience to those Precepts; but that if any *single Person*, though never so near or dear to them, or any *Body* of Men, should ever attempt an Innovation, they would join as one Man against him and them, to persecute the People, raze their Cities, and not leave them so much as one Stone upon another, if they had Power to compass it. But otherwise, in Case of insuperable Difficulties, they would at least make a publick Protestation against the Wickedness, and disclaim

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* Deut. 27, 28.

(a) Gr. *Sikmoon polis*.

to any Thing of Consent to't. This was the Sum and Substance of the Oath the Multitude took upon this Occasion. *Moses* instructed them further also, how they should govern themselves in their Sacrifices, and what Measures they were to take in all great Enterprizes; to know whether they had God's Approbation or not, by observing the Stones upon *Aaron's* Breast-Plate, as is already set forth.

While *Moses* was yet alive, *Joshua* foretold, by the Spirit of Prophecy, what he himself was to do for the Welfare of the People, either in War abroad, or in a legal Administration at home; preparing the Multitude by his Discourses for the Entertainment of their new Way of Discipline. He told them also, that what he said was by a divine Impulse; and that if ever they would depart from the Religion of their Country, they should fall into great Calamities; their Land should be over-run with Foreigners, their Cities sack'd, their Temple laid in Ashes, and themselves sold for Slaves, to a merciless and a barbarous People; till they came at last to a late and unprofitable Repentance: Not but that God would be pleas'd in Time to come, to restore them to their Cities and their Temple. But yet that after such a Restoration, they were still in the Future, to be lost over and over again.

* *Moses* being now ready to discharge himself of his Commission, order'd *Joshua* to march with his Army against the *Canaanites*, in a full Assurance that God would prosper him in his Undertaking, and not without Presages likewise of all Sorts of Blessings to the People, of whom he took his last Leave in the Words following.

† “ Since it is the Will of God to call me to my Fathers,
 “ and so to order it, that this very Day is to be the last of
 “ my Life, it will become me, while I am yet living, and
 “ in your Presence, to give him Thanks for all his Cares and
 “ Providences extended to you, and your Affairs; not only
 “ in your Deliverances from all Manner of Calamities, but
 “ in the Bounty of innumerable Blessings and Benefits; and
 “ I must likewise acknowledge his infinite Goodness to my-
 “ self, in prospering and assisting all my reasonable Endeavours for your Comfort and Advantage: Wherein my Part
 “ hath been only subservient and ministerial, toward your
 “ Well-being; while God himself was the first Mover and
 “ Perfecter of it: For all which Providences, his holy Name

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“ be

* Deut. 31.

† Deut. 33, 34.

“ be praised ; and to his gracious Protection, now as a dying Man, I reckon it a Duty to recommend you. I must mind you likewise of the Honour and Veneration you owe to that Almighty Power, which alone, and no other, you are to worship or adore. And pray ye have a Care to put a true Value also upon the Laws he hath given you, as the most sacred and inestimable of all his Bounties. Make it the Case but of a common *Lawgiver*, to have his Ordinances trampled upon, and his Authority despised, how unpardonable an Affront would this be, even from one Man to another ? But who shall stand against the Indignation of an incensed God then, who is your *Divine Lawgiver*, when he shall be provoked to call you to an Account for the Contempt of his Commandments ?”

These last Words of his were accompany'd with a Thousand Benedictions to the Tribes, and not without several Prophetical Presages of Things afterward to befall them, and which accordingly came to pass. The Multitude fell all into a violent Passion of Weeping at this Discourse of *Moses* : The Women beating their Breasts, and their very Children under a miserable Impatience of Lamentation. Such was the Tenderness that even these poor Innocents had for the Dignity and Virtue of so great a Man, upon the Apprehension of his approaching End. The Grief, in fine, was universal, and without Distinction, of either Age, Sex, or Quality. Some of them were afflicted to think what would become of them for the Time to come ; others to consider how ill they had treated him in Time past, and that they never understood the Value of the Blessing they enjoy'd, till they were now to lose it. But the Force of this Impression did not appear in any Thing so much, as in the Effect it had upon the Constancy, and Magnanimity, even of the Comforter himself. For after all his philosophizing upon the Contempt of Death, and his consolatory Counsels of Resignation, and Submission to the Will of God, and to the Law of Nature, he yielded himself up at last to the Weakness he condemn'd, and wept for Company. While he was now moving toward his last Retreat, and the * Multitude all in Tears attending him, he gave a Sign with his Hand to those at a Distance to stop where they were, and desired those nearer Hand not to trouble the Peace of his last Hour, with those fruitless and unseasonable Importunities. So they kept back

* Deut. 34.

back to gratifie his Intimation, but still looking after him with weeping Eyes and sad Hearts, as far as they could see him. He took along with him only the *Elders*, *Eleazar* the High-Priest, and *Joshua* his Successor. When he came to *Abarim*, a very high Mountain over against *Jericho*, he took a View of the fair and fruitful Country of *Canaan*, discharged the Senators, and after a final Leave taken of *Eleazar* and *Joshua*, with mutual Embraces, *Moses* was taken away from them in a Cloud, while they were yet discoursing, and translated into a certain Valley. The holy Scriptures says he died, lest People should imagine him, because of the Excellency of his Person, to be yet alive, and with God. He lived a Hundred and twenty Years; and within one Month of a third Part of that Time in his Command over the *Hebrews*. He departed this Life in the last Month of the Year, and the first Day of the Month, which the *Macedonians* call *Dystrus*, and we *Adar*.

He was a Man of admirable Wisdom, and one that made the best Use of what he understood; an excellent Speaker; and no Man better skill'd in moving the Affections of the People than himself: So great a Master of his Passions, that he liv'd as if he had none, and as if he had known them only by their Names; or else as he observ'd them in other Men: Never a greater Captain, nor a Prophet equal to him; for all his Words were Oracles. The People mourned for him thirty Days, and the Death of this holy Man was the most sensible Mortification they ever felt; and this was not only his Character, among those that knew him in his Life and Death; but he has made himself as famous to Posterity in his Writings, as he was to the Age he liv'd in for his Actions. This is all we have to say concerning the End of *Moses*.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the FIFTH.

[From the Year of the World 2493, to 2850.]

CHAP. I.

Joshua succeeds Moses in his Command over the Hebrews; fights, and subdues the Canaanites, and divides their Lands by Lot among the Tribes.

***M**OSESES being now translated, as aforesaid, the last Duties paid to his Memory, and the Mourning Ceremony over, *Joshua* order'd the People to be in Readiness to march, and sent away his Spies to *Jericho*, to learn how they stood affected; and to view the Strength and Condition of the Town. So drew out his Army, with a Design to pass the River *Jordan* by the first Opportunity. Upon this Occasion he conven'd the Princes of the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasses*; [for one half of *Manasses* was allow'd to plant and settle in the Country of the *Amorites*, which was a seventh Part of the Land of *Canaan*.] Minding them of their Promises to *Moses*, and desiring them, both for his Sake, and their own, that they would now be as good as their Words; and do it chearfully too, as a Justice to the Memory of their glorious Patron, that had been

* Josh. 1, 2.

been so particularly careful for them, even with his last Breath. They came in with their Assistance very frankly; insomuch that *Joshua* march'd from *Abila* with fifty Thousand Men, a Matter of sixty Furlongs, toward the Banks of the River *Jordan*. Immediately upon their encamping, the *Spies* brought *Joshua* an † Account of the State of *Jericho*, and what the *Canaanites* were a-doing. They came thither as Strangers, they said, and so went whither they would, and saw whatever they had a mind to, without any Stop or Question. They took a View of the Walls, the Gates, and the Ramparts; all the Weaknesses and Strengths of the Town, passing the whole Day for Men of Curiosity only, without any Design. They took up toward Evening, in a little Quarter near the Wall, where they refresh'd themselves; and after eating, came the News, as they were discoursing how to get back again, that Intelligence was brought the King, as he was at Supper, of some certain *Spies* that were come out of the *Hebrew* Camp, and lay hid in the House of (a) *Rahab*; and that Order was given immediately for the Siezing of them, and putting them to the Torture to know their Business. So soon as *Rahab* understood that the House was to be search'd, she cover'd the *Spies* under a Parcel of Flax that lay a drying upon the Wall; and upon the coming of the Messengers to look for these People, *Rahab* told them indeed, of certain Strangers that came thither the Evening before, about Sunset, and went their Way again after Supper; and if they were dangerous Men, they might easily be overtaken. The Woman talk'd and look'd so innocently, that the Officers presently posted away toward the River *Jordan*, without ever searching the House, in Hope to catch them that Way in their Return; but having lost their Labour without making any Discovery, they let the Business fall. So soon as the Hurry was over, *Rahab* called forth her Guests; minding them of the Risk she had run for their Sakes; for if they had been discover'd, it would certainly have cost her, and her Family their Lives. "Wherefore, says she, whenever you come to take this Place, (as I have a Revelation from God that it will be so) do you take as much Care of mine, and my Peoples Lives, as we have done of yours." The *Spies* promised, with Oaths, that her Kindness should be punctually requited, and therefore advis'd her in Order to it, that whenever she found the Town in any Danger, she should withdraw with what Friends and Goods she had, into her own House,

† Josh. 2.

(a) Gr. *Rachabe*.

House, and hang out a *red String* before her Door. The General, they said, should be told of the Token, and of the Meaning of it, and would undoubtedly provide for the Safety of whatever should be found within those Walls. "She" might depend upon it, *they said*, that they would be true "to what they had sworn; only if any of them should be found in actual Hostility, they could not undertake for their Safety." Upon these Conditions they parted; *Rahab* having provided a Rope to let them down from the Wall, by which Means they made their Escapes, and return'd to the Camp with the Intelligence of what they had seen and observ'd, and the whole Business of *Rahab*, with all the Circumstances: That of the Oath especially; in which Case the General consulted *Eleazar* the High-Priest, and the Elders, who did authoritatively pronounce the Promise to be binding, and so ratify'd the Obligation.

† The *Hebrews* were now encamped upon the Banks of the River *Jordan*, on their Way to *Jericho*; but the Waters being out, the Current, of itself, rapid and impetuous; not so much as a Boat, or a Bridge to help them over, nor the Means of Building any; with an Enemy over and above so near, and the Town at last on the wrong Side of the Water: The General's Heart was ready to sink under the Apprehension of so many invincible Difficulties, till it pleas'd God to assure him by a comfortable Revelation, that those Obstacles should be remov'd, and the River made fordable for the transporting of his Troops.

After two Days Expectation of this miraculous Providence, *Joshua* pass'd the River with his Army. In the first Place went the *Priests*, with the *Ark*: The *Levites* after them, with the *Tabernacle*, and the *holy Vessels*: After the *Levites*, follow'd the whole Army, which was ranged according to the Order of their several Tribes: The Women and Children in the Middle, the better to secure them against the Violence of the Stream. It was observed upon the Priest's first Entrance into this Passage, that the Fierceness of the Current abated, and the Water fell. They found the Bottom firm, and by Degrees the Channel came to be as dry as a Pavement: So that the whole Multitude forded it over, without any further Doubt or Trouble, when they saw every Thing succeeded according to what God had foretold them. But the *Priests* continu'd still in the Middle, till the People were all pass'd over, and landed on the other Side. So soon as the Army was got ashore,

† *Josh.* 3.

ashore, the *Priests* follow'd them, and left the River to its natural Course again, which immediately fill'd up the Channel, and put every Thing in the same State as before.

† The Army marched from thence fifty Furlongs toward *Jericho*, and there encamped within ten Furlongs more of the Place. Here it was that *Joshua* erected an *Altar* of the *Twelve Stones*, which *Twelve Princes* of the *several Tribes* brought along with them out of the Bottom of the River, by the Prophet's Order and Command, for a Token and a Memorial to future Ages of this miraculous Separation of the Waters; and upon *this Altar* did *Joshua* sacrifice, celebrating the *Feast* of the *Passover* also in the same Place; and in a State of Plenty and Abundance, equal to the Degree of Want and Misery, that they had hitherto endur'd; for the *Canaanites* Harvest was at this Time ripe upon the Ground; Cattle, and other Booty every where expos'd, and the *Hebrews* had it all at Mercy, only the *Manna* fail'd them now at last, after a Subsistence of Forty Years upon it in the Wilderness.

The *Israelites* living thus at Discretion upon the *Canaanites* Country, without any Sort of Check or Controul, gave the *Hebrew General* to understand, ‡ That the Enemy was not to be drawn out of their Holds, though but to the Hazard of a Skirmish, or a Sally, by any Provocation or Affront whatsoever: So that he bethought himself of making some Trial rather what might be done by a *Siege*. Upon the first Day of the Festival, the *Priests* took up the *Ark*, and so marched forward with it in the Middle of a Guard of Soldiers; seven other *Priests* going before them, with seven Horns or Trumpets, sounding, to animate the Army to behave themselves like Men. And thus they went round about the Walls of the City with the Elders after them; but the *Priests* only sounding; and when they had gone the Circuit of the City, they went back again to their Camp without any more Ceremony. This was the first Day's Work; and when they had done the same Thing over again for six Days successively, *Joshua* called the Army and the People together, on the Seventh, and told them for News, That the Town should that Day be delivered up to them without any Hazard or Trouble; for the very Walls should fall down of their own Accord, and leave the Place naked; giving them in Charge at the same Time, not to spare any Creature that had Life in't; and that neither Weariness of doing Execution, Tenderness
of

† Josh. 4, 5.

‡ Josh. 6.

of Nature, or any other Consideration of Booty or Flight, should prevail upon them to hold their hands; but that they should put all to the Sword without reserving any Thing of the Spoil to their own Advantage. What Gold or Silver soever should be found, they were order'd to lay it in one Mass all together; for it should be dedicated to God, as the First-Fruits of the Victory obtain'd over that City; saving only that *Rahab*, with her Family and Relations, should be preserv'd, for the Sake of the *Spies Oath* and *Promise*.

With these Words, he marched with his Army toward the City, and went the Round of it with the Priests, the Senate, and the Soldiers, in the same Order as before. Upon the seventh Time going about it, they made a little Stop, and the Wall fell down all on a sudden, without any Engine or Force bent against it. This terrible Surprise put the People into such an Amazement, that they had not the Hearts left them to strike a Stroke: So that the *Hebrews* entered the Breach, and cut off all before them without the least Hazard or Resistance. Some in the Streets, others in their Houses; some in one Place, and some in another, till it came, in fine, to an universal Slaughter, without sparing either Women or Children; so that the City was only a Pile of dead Bodies in the Conclusion, and no Way of escaping the common Fate. This Desolation ended in the burning of the City, and the Country about it; only *Rahab*, and her Friends and Family were rescued by the *Spies*, who being brought to the General, received his Acknowledgments for the good Office she had done his Agents; promising withal, that she should not fail of a suitable Reward, which he suddenly made good to her by the Honour of considerable Favours and Benefits. What the *Fire* had spared, was destroyed by the *Sword*; with a propheticall Curse upon any Man that should ever presume afterward to rebuild it, wishing that whoever should take upon him to lay the first Stone of a new Foundation, might lose his eldest Son, and he that should finish the Work, his Youngest; and God would not suffer this Malediction to pass in vain neither, as we shall shew hereafter. There was taken in this Town to an inestimable Value in Gold and Silver, and likewise of Brass; without any Diminution of it for the Profit of any particular Person: But *Joshua* delivered it up to the Priests, to be deposited in their Treasury; and this was the Fate of *Jericho*.

† But it so fell out that one (a) *Achar*, the Son of *Zebedee*,
and

† Josh. 7.

(a) Scr. *Achan* the Son of *Zerah*.

and of the Tribe of *Judah*, had gotten a rich Cloke of the King's, of Cloath of Gold, and a huge Mass of the same Metal, weighing two Hundred Shekels. This Man thought it somewhat unreasonable to give that to God that he had no need of; that which he had ventured his Life for, and had so much Occasion to make use of: So that he digged a Hole in the Ground under his Tent, and there hid it; imagining that so long as his Fellow-Soldiers knew nothing of it, the Concealment might pass upon God himself. The Army at that Time was encamped at a Place called (a) *Gilgal*, which signifies *Liberty*: For being now passed the River, they reckoned themselves as good as secured from the Slavery of *Egypt*, and the Miseries of the *Desart*.

Some few Days after the Razing of *Jericho*, *Joshua* sent out a Detachment of 3000 Men to *Ain*, a City a little above: Where they engaged the Enemy, and were beaten back with the Loss of six and thirty Men. The Tidings of this Repulse put the *Israelites* to a terrible Anxiety of Thought, not so much for the Number of the Slain (though their near Relations and Men of Honour and Experience) but for the ill Boding of the Disappointment; for they looked upon the Difficulties of the War (even according to God's Promise) to be as good as over, when they were possessed of the Land; but *their Enemies had now taken Heart again*, they said, and immediately, upon this Reflection, they put on Sackcloth, and spent that whole Day in Fasting, Weeping, and Mourning; so grievous was the Sense they had of the Disgrace that was befallen them. The Spirits of the Army were so sunk upon this Disaster, and cast down into such a Desperation of better Things for the future, that *Joshua*, upon this Occasion, addressed himself with a more than ordinary Assurance to Almighty God, saying,

“ Lord, *says he*, it is not any Temerity, or Ambition of
 “ our own that has brought us hither to make War upon
 “ these People, but a pure Deference and Respect to the Per-
 “ suasion of thy Servant *Moses*, that hath incited us to this
 “ Undertaking, and not without the Warrant of many Signs
 “ and Miracles to convince us that he had Reason and Au-
 “ thority on his Side; when he told us that thou thyself
 “ had'st promised us the Possession of this Country, and to
 “ give us Victory over all our Enemies. But what a Change
 “ is here all on a sudden, in the Disappointment of our
 “ Hopes,

(a) *Gr. Galgala*. *Masius* in his Commentary upon the fifth Chapter of *Joshua* shows this to be an Error.

“ Hopes, and in the Loss of our Friends ! As if either *Moses's* Predictions had not been of divine Inspiration, or otherwise thy Promises and Purposes variable. If this be the Beginning of a War, we cannot but dread the further Progress of it, for fear this Miscarriage upon the first Experiment, should prove only the Earnest of greater Evils to come : But Lord, thou alone art able to give us Relief, help us, and save us. Vouchsafe unto us, Comfort, and Victory ; and be graciously pleased to preserve us from the Snare of despairing for the Future.”

Joshua delivered this ejaculatory Prayer groveling, with his Face upon the Ground, till upon Finishing, God bid him Rise, and purge the Army from a Pollution that had defiled it ; for there was a sacrilegious Fraud that lay unaccounted for among them ; and that Corruption was the true Cause of the Mischief that had lately befallen them ; but, *says the Oracle*, let there be Lots cast, to find out the Criminal, and then let him be punished, and the *Israelites* shall certainly carry their Cause, and be victorious.” *Joshua* made a Report of all this to the People, and calling to him *Eleazar* the High-Priest, and the Princes of the Tribes, he put the Tribes to the first Test of the *Lot* ; and the *Lot* falling upon the *Tribe of Judah*, they cast *Lots* next, upon the several *Families* of that Tribe, and the *Lot* fell upon the Family of *Zacharias* ; bringing the Question in fine, to the individual Person that committed this Sacrilege ; and it fell then, upon a Personal Examination of Man by Man, upon *Achar* ; who thereupon was forthwith taken into Custody, and finding that there was no trifling with divine Justice, his Conscience also rising up in Judgment against him, he confessed the sacrilegious Theft, and delivered it up in the Sight of the People, whereupon he was immediately put to an ignominious Death, and his Body committed to the Earth in a scandalous Manner, like a common Malefactor, which was a Punishment but suitable to his Desert.

When the Army was purged, *Joshua* drew them out toward the City of (a) *Ain* ; planted his Ambushes, and early next Morning presented himself in the Sight of the Enemy with his main Body. The *Ainites* were so elevated with their former Success, that so soon as they had the *Israelites* in their Eye, they immediately advanced in a furious Manner against them to give them Battle ; the one giving way by little and little, as for Fear, and the other pressing upon them as in
a full

(a) *Gr. ho Aina. Scr. Ai, Steph. Byzant. ho Anna, and Berkelius* fancies it to be the same with *Kana* and *Kanatha* in *Josephus*. See *Berkelius*, p. 134.

a full Assurance of a certain Victory. * By this Stratagem of a pretended Flight, the *Ainities* were drawn into the Toil; for immediately upon a Signal given *Joshua* put a stop to the Army, and the *Ambush*, almost in the same Instant; and entered the Town, with little or no Opposition; for the Inhabitants were most of them gotten together upon the Walls, out of a Curiosity to see the Action, and inferring from the Countenance of Things, that the Day was as good as their own already. It came however to a terrible Slaughter; and in the mean Time, the Army being totally routed before the Town, had no other Retreat left them, but to fly back again to the City for Sanctuary: Which was the Course they steer'd; upon a Presumption that the Place was still in the same State they left it. But when they came to find it taken, their Houses rifled and burnt, and their Wives and Children, either destroyed or Prisoners; the miserable Remainder of them that scaped the Sword, were forced to betake themselves to the wild Fields, and Woods, for Refuge. It was an incredible Booty that was taken upon this Encounter: A World of Women, Children, and Bondslaves; Plate, and costly Furniture, to a prodigious Value; a great many Flocks, and Herds of Cattle, and mighty Sums of current Money. The Country, in short, was excessively Rich; and the whole Spoil of it was divided among the Soldiers, which were then encamped in *Galgala*.

† When the (a) *Gibeonites* (being near Neighbours to *Jerusalem*) came to understand the miserable Condition of *Jericho*, and *Ain*, they began to consider that their own Turn might be next, but however, being prepossessed with an Expectation that the whole Nation of the *Canaanites* were to be rooted out, they thought it not worth their while to make any barefac'd Application to the *Hebrews* for Favour. They called however upon their Neighbours the *Chephirites*, and those of (b) *Kiriath-jearim*, to join with them in the Proposal of a fair Alliance with the *Hebrews*. If they could obtain it; well and good, they said; or if not, it was a Case common to them both, and they should do well to unite in a common Defence. The Advice was found reasonable, and so they dispatched away an Embassy to *Joshua*, of the fittest Men they could pick out to menage such a Commission. They had had it in their Instructions, not upon any Terms to own themselves for *Canaanites*, but rather to let fall Words by

X

the

* Josh. 8.

† Josh. 9.

(a) Gr. *Gabesonitai*.(b) Gr. *Kariattharimitai*.

the By, that they lived a great Way off, and had no Manner of Dealing with those People. "They had heard much, 'tis true, of the Reputation of the *Hebrews*, and they were now come to attend their General upon this Occasion. "It might be seen by their Cloaths, that they had come a great Way; for they were new when they set out, and they were now worn all to Pieces in their Journey." And the Stuff of them was coarse and Thread-bare too, for the better Credit of the Imposture. In this Habit they presented themselves before the Assembly, with their Testimonials, that they came as Commissioners from the *Gibeonites*, and their neighbouring Cities to enter into a Treaty of Friendship with them, saving only the Rights and Privileges of their Country; for they found, that by God's Grace and Bounty, they were put into the Land of *Canaan*, wherein they gratulated their good Fortunes, desiring only to be admitted as their Friends and Confederates; making an Ostentation of their Rags all this while, as the Evidence of their Sincerity. *Joshua* gave so much Credit to the Pretences, both of their Words, and Cloaths, that taking for granted they were not *Canaanites*, he struck up an Amity with them: The *High-Priest*, and the *Elders*, at the same Time giving them the Oaths of *Friends* and *Allies*, and that they should never do any Thing contrary to the Tenor of that Obligation. The Agreement was solemnly executed, in the Presence, and with the Approbation of the whole Multitude. By this Artifice they gained their Point, and so returned to their own Home. It happened soon after this, that upon *Joshua's* drawing his Army to that Quarter of the *Canaanites*, that looks toward the Plains; he was given to understand that these *Gibeonites* did not live far from *Jerusalem*, and that they were of the same Stock with the *Canaanites*: So he sent for some of the chief Men of the Country to come to him, and told them plainly that they had not dealt with him like Men of Truth and Honour. They excused themselves upon the Necessity of the Case; for "They had no Way else to be safe, they said." Upon this Difficulty, the *High-Priest*, and the *Elders* were consulted, as to the Obligation of the Treaty, and were all positive in their Opinion, that an Oath so circumstanced, and so ratified, was absolutely sacred, and inviolable: But that the Point might yet in some sort be modified, by setting them apart for the doing of servile Office in the publick Drudgery: Which was the Condition they stood afterwards condemned to; and upon those Terms they were well enough content to compound for their Lives.

When

* When the King of *Jerusalem* came to be informed that the *Gibeonites* were revolted, and gone over into Alliance with the *Hebrews*, he took it so heinously, that he presently sent to four neighbouring Kings to join with him in a War against them. They debated the Matter, and came immediately to a Resolution, drew their Troops together, and encamped near a certain Fountain not far from the City, which they were then preparing to besiege; the *Gibeonites* applying themselves to *Joshua* for Assistance. Matters were now come to this Pass, that they were to be ruined by their own People, and forced to fly for Protection to those that were in Arms, expressly to destroy them. But so it was however, that they had no hope of Safety under the Sun but in their new Friendship. Upon the first Intelligence of this Enterprize, *Joshua* marched with his whole Army, Night and Day to succour the *Gibeonites*, and fell upon the Enemy early in the Morning, as they were just about to attack the Town, routed, and had the Chace of them along the Hills, till they came to the Valley of *Bethora*. The Hand of God was never more visible in any human Action than it was in this Battle; for, over and above the dreadful Thunder and Lightning of that Day, with a violent Tempest of Hail-stones of a prodigious Size, there was yet one Prodigy stranger than all the rest, and such a one as was never heard of before: The Sun itself stood still in the Firmament, that the *Hebrews* might not want Day-light for the perfecting of their Victory. Upon this Rout, the *five Kings* were pursued to the Cave of *Mak-keda*, where they were found by *Joshua*, taken, and all put to Death. The Miracle of the lengthening of this Day beyond its natural Measure, and of the Sun's stopping in its Course, is most expressly attested in the holy Scriptures, according to the Copies, reserved in the Temple.

After this Defeat of the *five Kings* that made War upon the *Gibeonites*, *Joshua* went back again to the mountainous Part of *Canaan*, where he put a great many People to the Sword; seized a World of Cattle, and so went away with the Army to (a) *Gilgal*.

† The Fame of the *Hebrews* for their martial Exploits, and the Numbers of the Slain, made so great a Noise every where, that the very Reputation of their Arms carried a Terror along with it. But this did not yet hinder the *Canaanite Kings* of Mount *Libanus* and thereabouts, nor those of the *Plains*, together with the *Philistines* from joining in a Confederacy

X 2

against

* Josh. 10.

(a) Gr. *Galgala*.

† Josh. 11.

against them ; for they drew their Forces together and encamped at (a) *Berothe*, a City of *Gallilee*, not far from the *Upper-Cædesa*, which is also in the Country of *Gallilee*. Their whole Strength was computed to amount to 306000 Foot; 10000 Horse, and two 2000 Chariots. The Thought of this formidable Power cast such a Damp upon the Spirits, not only of the *Israelites* in general, but upon *Joshua* himself, that the Dread they had for so unequal Encounter, fell little short of a downright Despair : But upon God's reproving them for their faint-Heartedness and Distrust ; and encouraging them with fresh Assurances of Victory and Protection ; commanding them likewise to hamstring the Enemies Horse and burn their Chariots, the General took Heart upon it, and forthwith marched with a full Assurance of Success toward the Enemy. Upon the fifth Day he came up to them, and fought them. The Encounter was obstinate, and so bloody, that the Truth of the Action would be almost incredible ; but however the Confederates were absolutely broken ; vast Numbers kill'd in the Pursuit ; all the Kings slain, and the whole Army, in Effect, entirely cut off : Nay, such was the Rage of the Victors against the conquer'd Party, that when they had no more Men to kill, they wreak'd their Fury upon the Horses and Chariots. The Fortune, in fine, of this Day, made *Joshua* absolute Master of the Country. He took their Towns ; kill'd all he could come at ; did what he thought fit, and no Creature left to oppose him. Their Country, in short, was wholly depopulated and the very Nation itself extirpated, saving only some few Straglers that had the good Hap to get out of the Way into strong Holds, or to hide themselves. And all these Distresses were but the miserable Devastations of one five Years War.

* Upon this fatal Overthrow, *Joshua* moved his Camp from *Gilgal* up the Mountains toward *Siloe*, where he planted the holy *Tabernacle* ; with an Intent to wait a while there, for the first Opportunity of Erecting a *Temple* : The Situation of the Place being both commodious and delicious, and in all Respects agreeable to the Design. From thence he took all the People along with him to *Sichem*, where he erected an *Altar*, as *Moses* in Time past had foretold and appointed. This being done, he divided his Army : One half he order'd to Mount *Garizim*, and the other to Mount (b) *Gibal*, where
there

(a) *Massius* would have it *Meroth* and not *Beroth*. See his Comment upon *Joshua*, c. 11.

* *Joth.* 18.

(b) *Scr. Ebal.*

there was likewise *another Altar* built; the *Priests* and *Levites* being also divided. Here they offered their *Sacrifices*, and when they had denounced the *Maledictions* (formerly mentioned) and engraven them upon the *Altar*, they returned to *Siloe*.

Joshua was now far gone in Years, and considering that the *Canaanites* had yet several Places of Strength left them, which, betwixt Art and Nature were in a Manner impregnable. (For the *Canaanites* had an Inkling by a Tradition from their Fathers, that a People out of *Ægypt* had a Design to over-run them, and therefore let no Time slip to secure and fortify themselves. *Joshua*, I say, being aware of all this, call'd a General Assembly of the People to meet at *Siloe*, where the Appearance was very great, and all the People wonderful unanimous and chearful. *Joshua*, upon this Occasion, sum'd up what he had to say in few Words, and laid the Matter in hand before them. He gave them a short History of the great Things they had done, and succeeded in, already, by the Assistance of God's Favour and Protection, as a People that religiously observ'd his Laws. He minded them how God had given them Victory over *one and thirty Kings*, that had the Confidence to take up Arms against them; rooting out the very Generations of their most mighty Oppressors. But in regard, that the Conquest was as yet but imperfect; some of their Cities being already taken, and a great many others remaining in their Hands that were better man'd and fortify'd; and that it would be a Work of Time to reduce them, he thought it adviseable in the first Place to * dismiss those of their Friends that came from beyond *Jordan*, to join in the Risk of the common Cause; and with all due Respects and Acknowledgments, to send them back to their own Lot again. And Secondly, That Commissioners should be chosen respectively out of every Tribe; Men of approved Skill and Integrity; and their Business should be, to take an exact Survey of the Country, and to make a full Report of it without Fraud or Delay.

The People, every Man of them, were highly pleas'd with the Motion, and so *Joshua* presently order'd his Agents to enter upon the Work, appointing them for their Assistants, Men that were well skill'd in *Surveying*, and so could not well be impos'd upon, or mislead in the Account.

They had it in their Instructions also, notwithstanding the Survey upon Measure, to make a final Estimate upon the

* Josh. 18.

Quality or Goodness of the Land, as one Piece might fall out to be better or worse than another ; for there are in *Canaan* a great many fair large Fields, that being put in Balance with some others, might be allow'd a Preference of profitable and fruitful ; but upon confronting them with *Jericho* or *Jerusalem*, they would be found comparatively to be little or nothing worth. The Country indeed is not large, and a good Part of it Mountainous ; but for the Plenty, Growth, and Beauty of the Productions, no Place whatsoever goes beyond it. For this Reason it was concluded, not to value the Lots barely by Measure, but by the Virtue of them : For one Acre sometimes might fall out to be worth a Thousand. There were ten Men employ'd upon this Commission to answer the same Number of Tribes concern'd in the Question. These ten Commissioners took both a View, and an Estimate of the Country, and within seven Months after, they came back again with the whole State of the Computation to *Siloe*, which was at that Time the Seat of the *Tabernacle*.

† *Joshua* then calling to his Assistance *Eleazar* the High-Priest, with the *Elders*, and *Princes* of the Tribes, made a Partition of the Whole, into so many Shares, to be divided among nine Tribes, and one Half Tribe of *Manasses* ; every one to have in Proportion, according to the Rate and Equity of the Distribution.

Upon putting it to the Lot, the Tribe of *Judah* had for their Lot all the Upper *Judæa*, reaching in Length to *Jerusalem*, and in Breadth to the Lake of *Sodom* : Comprehending also the Cities of *Ascalon* and *Gaza*.

The Tribe of *Simeon*, had that Part of *Idumæa* which borders upon *Ægypt* and *Arabia*.

The Tribe of *Benjamin* had that Part of the Country that stretches out in Length from the River *Jordan* to the Sea ; and in Breadth, from *Jerusalem* to *Bethel*. This is a small Territory, but the Quality makes amends for the Quantity ; for *Jericho* and *Jerusalem* are comprized in it.

The Tribe of *Ephraim* had for their Lot the Country in Length from *Jordan* to *Gadara*, and in Breadth from *Bethel* to the large Plain.

The Half-Tribe of *Manasses* had their Lot, Length-ways, from *Jordan* to the City *Dora* ; and Breadth-ways, to *Bethsana*, which is now known by the Name of *Scythopolis*.

The Tribe of *Issachar* had for their Lot, all betwixt *Jordan* and

† *Josh.* 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

and Mount *Carmel*, which reaches out in Breadth to Mount (a) *Itabyr*.

The Tribe of *Zabulon* had for its Lot, the whole Country that borders upon Mount *Carmel*, and the *Sea*, and so as far as *Genezareth*.

The Tribe of *Affer* had for their Lot, the Country behind Mount *Carmel* over-against *Sidon*, reckoning the City of (b) *Arce* also; otherwise *Actipus*.

The Tribe of *Naphtali* had for their Lot, the *Upper Galilee*; and the Country Eastward to the City of *Damascus*, Mount *Libanus*, and the Head of the River *Jordan*, which has its Rise from that Side of it that borders upon the City *Arce* toward the *North*.

The Tribe of *Dan* had the Valleys toward the *West*, which are bounded by *Azotus* and *Dora*; and to them likewise belong the Cities of *Jamnia* and *Gittha*, and the whole Country from *Acarnon* to the Mountain, where the Portion of the Tribe of *Judah* begins.

This was the Division that *Joshua* made of six Provinces of the *Canaanites*, that took their Names from so many of the Sons of *Canaan*: And of this Country did he deliver the Possession to the aforefaid *nine Tribes and a Half*: But as to *Amorrhæa*, so call'd from one of the Sons of *Canaan*, *Moses* had disposed of it long since to the *two other Tribes and Half*, as we have shew'd above: But then the *Regions* of the *Sidonians*, the *Arucæans*, *Amathæans*, and *Arithæans*, are not to be reckon'd into this Division, not being at that Time inhabited.

While *Joshua* was now struggling with the Infirmities of old Age, and the Cares of the Government, he found evidently that as he was no longer able to discharge the Offices of his Function in his own Person; so there was no depending, either upon those that acted for him, or those that were to succeed him in the publick Administration; for they had no Regard at all, he saw, to the common Good. Wherefore he gave it in Charge to every Tribe respectively, not to suffer any Thing of the Race of the *Canaanites* in the Land where they had to do; minding them how solemnly *Moses* had declar'd himself in this Matter, to whose Advice and Opinion he doubted not of their giving both Heed and Credit: Beside, that their own Security, and that of their Laws, Rights, and Religion, depended all upon it, and that he had Expe-

(a) Or *Tabor*. (b) See *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Steph. Byzant.* p. 76. 167.

rience, as well as Authority for what he said. * He enjoin'd them further, to deliver up to the *Levites* the *thirty eight Cities* that were designed them, being in Possession of ten already in (a) *Amorrhæa*, on the other Side of the River. Three of these were to be Cities of Privilege or Refuge. In the Tribe of *Judah*, the City of *Hebron*; in that of *Ephraim*, *Sichem*; and in the third of *Naphtali*, (b) *Cedese*, in the *Upper Gallilee*: To all which they readily agreed, out of a Veneration they had for the Observance of the Laws and Customs of *Moses*. He proceeded after this, to a Distribution of the Booty, which, in Herds and Flocks, Money, Plate, Furniture, and other Pillage, amounted to a Value not to be imagin'd, for it was a large and plentiful Country, and the *Israelites*, one and all, from the highest to the lowest, made their Fortunes out of the Spoil.

† The next Thing *Joshua* had to do, was the Calling together of his Auxiliaries that came to him from beyond *Jordan*, and had their Part in the Honour of his late Conquest. They were computed to be a Matter of fifty Thousand Men, and upon their Meeting, *Joshua* deliver'd himself to them to this Effect.

“ Since it hath been the Good-will and Pleasure of our
 “ heavenly Lord and Father, first, to put us into the Possession of this Land; and then, to promise the Continuance
 “ of it to our Posterity; and since God has been likewise
 “ pleased to make use of your ready and chearful Assistance
 “ toward the Execution of this holy Purpose, it is but Reason, for you that have born so great a Part in the Dangers
 “ and Difficulties of this War, to put in for a Share also in
 “ the Comforts and Blessings of a common Peace: To which
 “ end, we think it but Justice to discharge you from any further Attendance at present; not doubting of the same Affection and Good-will from you for the future, if ever
 “ there should be such another Occasion. We are now to
 “ give you a Thousand Acknowledgments for all the Toil
 “ and Hazards you have hitherto undergone with us; and
 “ pray let the Sense of good Offices gone and past, be improv'd into a mutual, and an inviolable League of Friendship for the Time to come; remembering that we stand indebted for the Advantages that at this Instant we enjoy,
 “ next under God, to the Force of this reciprocal Assistance;
 “ and that Providence hath evidently made us necessary one
 to

* Josh. 20, 21.

(b) Or *Cades*.

(a) The Land of the *Amorites*.

† Josh. 23.

“ to another. It may be consider’d also, after all you have
“ done and suffer’d, that your Services are not unrewarded,
“ so far at least as an inestimable Booty in Gold, Silver,
“ and whatever else is most precious, may pass for a Re-
“ compence : Beside the Engaging of a Friend, in me, that
“ will never forget the Respect ; for you have most religi-
“ ously executed the last Will of *Moses*, and left nothing
“ undone that I could take kindly at your Hands. Where-
“ fore I shall now leave you at Liberty to depart to the Lot
“ of your Inheritance, which I wish you much Joy in. But
“ pray ye, let no Distance of Place set Limits to our Friend-
“ ship ; The Interposition of Rivers must never divide our
“ Affection ; for on which Bank soever, we are all *Hebrews*
“ still. *Abraham* was the common Father of us all, let our
“ Abode be where it will, and it was from one and the
“ same God that all our Forefathers received their Being :
“ And that God we are all to worship, according to the Or-
“ dinances and Institutions left us by *Moses*. So long as
“ we stand firm to that Way of Religion, we may be sure
“ of the Favour and Protection of that God for our Com-
“ fort. But whenever you apostatize into a Hankering af-
“ ter *strange Gods*, the God of your Fathers will cast you
“ off.” With these Words, he took a solemn and distinct
Leave, both of the Princes, and of the People, to whom he
address’d his Speech ; who upon this Dismission return’d to
the Place whence they came, the rest conducting them some
Part of their Way, till after much Weeping and Reluctan-
cy, they came with great Difficulty in the End to a final
Separation ; *Joshua* continuing still in the same Place where
he was.

† The Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* were no sooner pass’d the
River, with those of *Manasses* that follow’d them, but they
erected an Altar upon the further Bank, to remain as a
monumental Record to Posterity of the Alliance that was
then contracted betwixt the Borderers on both Sides of the
Jordan. The News of this Altar was immediately carry’d
over to their Friends on the other Side of the Water, with-
out one Word of the Intent and Meaning of it ; which put
their Associates into so outrageous a Jealousie of their Con-
federates, as Apostates and Innovators, that they presently
betook themselves to their Arms, for the Vindication of the
Worship and Religion of their Forefathers ; and to avenge
the Cause of God upon the Heads, and Authors of this De-
fection.

fection. In this Heat they took up a Resolution, with Sword in Hand, to pass the River, and to do Justice upon the Principals of this Desertion; without any Respect to the Dignity of Persons, or the Nearness of Relations; for it was God's Cause, they said, and in the Case of his Service, they were absolv'd from all other Obligations. In the Flame of this Transport, the General, the High-Priest, and the Elders, betwixt Authority and Advice, so far prevail'd upon the Headstrong Multitude, as to suspend the Execution of so extravagant a Revenge, till they might be certainly inform'd, whether their Brethren were guilty of this Abomination or not: And if they found them guilty, they should be then left at Liberty to fall upon them without Mercy. They agreed to the Motion, and so made Choice of *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, and ten other Persons of eminent Note among the People, to go over to their Countrymen, and learn what was the true End of Building that *Altar*. They departed upon this Errand, and so soon as ever they got cross the Water, there was summon'd an Assembly, wherein *Phineas* discharg'd himself of his Commission in Words to this Effect.

" We understand very well, that the Crime charg'd upon
" you at present is too heinous to be punish'd only with
" Words; but yet we have not taken up Arms now, Hand
" over Head, to execute a Vengeance according to the De-
" gree of the Iniquity: For it is out of a Respect to our
" Allies, and in Hope that second and sounder Thoughts
" may bring you to better Reason; that we are engaged
" upon this Embassy, and to speak in this Assembly: We
" do but desire to be sincerely inform'd, upon what Motives,
" and with what Design, you have now rais'd this *Altar*.
" If you have done it out of any pious End, we have no
" Quarrel to you; but if you are gone over to a false Wor-
" ship, it is for our God and our Religion, that we must
" draw our Swords against you. We speak our Fears; for
" we cannot think it credible yet, that a People so well
" instructed in the Will, and in the Laws of God; our
" Friends and Allies, that we have but just now parted with;
" a People newly established in the Lot of a plentiful Pos-
" session, by God's special Grace and Providence: We can-
" not, I say, believe you to be so insensible and ungrateful,
" as to abandon the holy *Tabernacle*, the *Ark*, the *Altar*,
" and the Worship of your Forefathers, to join with the
" *Canaanites* in the Adoration of their false Gods: Or if
" unhappily

“ unhappily you should have been so misled, do but repent
“ and disclaim your Error, and return to that Reverence you
“ owe to the Laws of God, and your Country, and you
“ shall be yet received. But if you shall obstinately persist,
“ there is no Labour or Danger that we shall think too great
“ for the Defence of our Laws and Worship. If that be the
“ Case, we must immediately break in upon you by Force
“ of Arms, and put no Difference at all, betwixt *Apostate*
“ *Israelites*, and *profess'd Canaanites* : But to destroy the one
“ indifferently with the other. Do not persuade yourselves,
“ that because you are out of our Bounds, and a River be-
“ twixt us, you are therefore out of the Reach of God's Power
“ and Providence ; for you are upon his Ground wherever
“ you are, and under his Jurisdiction. If you are not able to
“ withstand the Temptation of the Place you live in, take
“ your Fortune in a new Division of Lands, and quit the
“ Country, let it be never so fruitful. Be wise and tempe-
“ rate in Time, and do not suffer yourselves to be carry'd
“ away with a Hankering after new Things. This we beg
“ of you, for the Sake of your Wives, and Children, and
“ whatever else may be dear to you : Do not force us upon
“ the Necessity of such a War, as we tremble at the very
“ Thought of : But it is at your Choice still, whether you
“ will rather submit to be overcome by reasonable Words,
“ or to put the main Cause to the Dint of a Battle.”

When *Phineas* had made an end of Speaking, the Rulers of the Assembly, in the Name of themselves, and of the whole Multitude, insisted much upon their common Justification, and returned Answer as follows.

“ We are not conscious of having ever departed from
“ your Alliance ; neither are we, in any Sort, guilty of that
“ Affectation of Novelty in the erecting of this *Altar*, which
“ is now charged upon us. We know but *one God* ; and
“ that God is the God of all the *Hebrews* : And but *one*
“ *Altar*, which is the *brazen Altar* before the *Tabernacle*.
“ As for *this Altar* here, which, we are suspected for, it
“ was never intended for any religious Use, but only for
“ a civil Memorial to future Times of our Fellowship and
“ Alliance ; and rather to keep us steady to our ancient
“ Religion, then to be any ways introductive to the Viola-
“ tion of it. We can safely appeal to God, that we had
“ no such Thought in the setting up of this *Altar*, as is im-
“ puted to us : Wherefore pray have a better Opinion of
“ your Brethren for the Future, then to think us guilty of so
“ mortal

“ mortal an Apostacy from the Rites and Customs of our Progenitors ; a Sin not to be expiated, in any of the Sons of *Abraham*, but with the Loss of his Life.”

Phineas was overjoy'd at so firm and satisfactory a Declaration, and returning immediately to *Joshua*, gave him a particular Account of every Thing, in the Hearing of the People ; who were all infinitely pleased with the Result of this Embassy ; when they saw Things brought to so amicable a Conclusion, without any Danger of a civil War, or of Bloodshed : Hereupon they sacrificed, and gave God Thanks ; after which, *Joshua* dismiss'd the Multitude to their several Homes, while he himself took up his abode in *Sichem*.

* In the twentieth Year after this, *Joshua* being now extremely Old, and quite out of Condition for publick Business, he call'd a General Assembly of the Heads of the Cities, the Elders, and Magistrates, and as many of the common People as could possibly be gotten together upon that Occasion. At this Meeting, he made them a pious, and a pertinent Discourse, upon the Subject of God's infinite Mercies and Providences toward them : “ Setting forth, how he had preserv'd them in all their Calamities ; relieved them in all their Wants and Distresses ; and now advanced them at last, out of the most despicable Condition of Ignominy, Penury, and Oppression, to the highest Degree of Reputation, and Plenty. He laid it as an Injunction upon them for the future, so to behave themselves toward that God, that they might not lose his Favour ; minding them withal, that they had no other Way of preserving themselves, then by leading their Lives in the Fear and Love of that Almighty Power, and in the Observance of his Commandments. He adjured them also, to take those his last Words and Counsels in good part ; for he was now leaving the World, and could not end his Days better then in the Discharge of that Duty.”

With these Words betwixt his Lips, he departed this Life, in the *Hundred and tenth Year* of his Age, having spent *Forty* of them under the Discipline of *Moses*, and *Twenty six* Years more in the Administration, as his Successor, after his Death. He was a Man of political Prudence, and endu'd also with a singular Felicity of popular Eloquence in expressing his Thoughts ; brave, and indefatigable, in War ; and no less just, and dextrous, in Peace ; and in short, a Person qualify'd for all great Purposes. He was bury'd in (a) *Thamna*,
a City

* Josh. 24.

(a) Scr. *Tinnath Serah*.

a City belonging to the Tribe of *Ephraim*. *Eleazar* the High-Priest dy'd also about the same Time: The Priesthood descending by Succession to his Son *Phineas*. His Sepulchre is at this Day to be seen in the City *Gabatha*.

After the Death of *Joshua* and *Eleazar*, the People consulted *Phineas* about God's further Will and Pleasure in the Prosecution of the War against the *Canaanites*; whose Answer was, that they should go on with it; but that the sovereign Command and Direction of it should be committed to the Tribe of *Judah*; who engaging that of *Simeon* to their Assistance, undertook the War: Upon Condition, that after a total Extirpation of the *Canaanites* out of the former Tribe, the other should see the same Thing done in theirs too, according to that Example.

CHAP. II.

Adonibezec defeated, and taken Prisoner. Jerusalem besieged. Hebron taken. A dismal Story of a Levite and his Wife. A dreadful Civil War.

* **T**HE *Canaanites* were at this Time very strong; and waiting with a great Army (a) near the City of *Bezec*, under the Command of *Adonibezec*, (that is to say, in Hebrew, Lord of *Bezec*) to give the *Israelites* Battle. The Thing they most depended upon for Encouragement, and Hope of Success, was the *Israelites* Disappointment in the Loss of their General; but the two foresaid Tribes, encountering them, after a glorious Combat, kill'd ten Thousand upon the Spot, and had the Chace of the rest. Their Leader *Adonibezec*, they took Prisoner, and cut off his Fingers and Toes; wherein he acknowledged the just Judgment of God upon him, having formerly served *Seventy two Kings* himself after the same Manner. They carry'd him off alive, with these Maims upon him, toward *Jerusalem*, where he dy'd, and there they bury'd him: The *Israelites* Roving up and down, after this, and Ravaging the Country; Taking also, and Destroying Town after Town, till in the End they laid Siege to *Jerusalem*.

* Judges 1. (a) Gr. *Zebeke*, and so *Steph. Byzant.* reads it. That it should be *Bezeke Berkelius* has shewn in his *Notes*, p. 373.

salem itself. They made themselves Masters of the lower Town, putting all they found in it to the Sword ; but for the City itself, that stood above, what with artificial Fortifications, the Strength of the Walls, and the natural Site of the Place, it was so strong, that they were forc'd to quit it, and remove to *Hebron*, which they enter'd by Assault, and cut-off all before them, without giving any Quarter. There were found among the Slain, divers Bodies of the Race of the Giants, which for Bulk, Stature, and Countenance, were so much differing from the ordinary Appearance of other Men, that the very People that saw them, could hardly believe them to be of human Extraction ; for they had quite another Sort of Voice, and Aspect ; and there are of their Bones expos'd for a kind of Prodigy, even to this Day. This Town being a Place of Consideration, was given to the *Levites*, with two Thousand Cubits of Ground about it ; the remaining Part of the Territory belonging to it being given to *Caleb* by the Fore-appointment of *Moses*. Now this *Caleb* was one of the Spies that had been formerly sent by *Moses* for Discovery into the Land of *Canaan*. There was a Dividend given also to the Sons of *Jethro*, the *Madianite*, *Moses's* Father-in-Law, who abandon'd their native Country to join in the Expedition, and to bear their Part with the Adventurers in all the Difficulties and Hazards of the War, and of the Desert.

These two Tribes took several of the *Canaanite* Cities upon the Mountains ; and some others upon the Plain also, near the Sea, as *Ascalon*, and *Azotus* : But for *Gaza* and *Acaron*, that lay in the flat Country, and were strong in Chariots, which was a desperate Way of Fighting ; these Cities made good their Defence, and escap'd better then many of their Neighbours.

The two Enterprizing Tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*, being now grown prodigiously rich by the Spoil of the War, withdrew by Degrees to a private Retreat ; laid down their Arms, and betook themselves to the Arts and Bus'ness of good Husbandry, and Peace. The *Benjamites*, to whose Lot *Jerusalem* fell, came to an Agreement with the Inhabitants, upon a Composition, and so under the Protection of Tributaries, both Sides thought themselves secure ; the one from Violence, and the other from Sedition ; and in this Prospect of Tranquillity, they apply'd themselves to the Cultivating of the Land under their Care. The same Thing was also done

* Judges 2.

done by other Tribes after the Example of the *Benjamites*, contenting themselves upon the same Conditions of Taxes and Tributes, to let the *Canaanites* enjoy themselves in Peace.

The Tribe of *Ephraim* had been now a long while before *Bethel*, without making any great Advance toward the Taking of it, considering how much Time and Trouble the Siege had cost them; for they made a very obstinate Defence on the one Side, and the Work was as resolutely carry'd-on by the other: But it so fell out at last, that a Townsman of the Place fell into the Hands of the *Ephraimites*, as he was conveying Provision into the City. They treated with him, and came in the End to an Agreement upon Oath on both Sides; the Citizen to let them secretly into the Town, and the *Ephraimites* to save him and his Friends, and Relations, upon their Entering the City, which was performed on both Parts; the *Ephraimites* being introduc'd, and the Citizen and his Friends preserv'd, but all the rest put to the Sword, the *Ephraimites* remaining now Masters of the City.

The Hearts of the *Israelites* began now to soften toward the People of *Canaan*, and instead of Extirpating them by the Prosecution of a War, they bethought themselves rather how to make Advantage of their Labour, in Planting and Tillage, by the good Husbandry of an industrious Peace: But their Hearts being set upon Wealth, and Pleasure, they presently gave up themselves to their Lusts and Appetites; without any Regard at all to God's Will and Worship, or to the Laws and Discipline of their Ancestors. God, in his Wrath, for these Indignities gave them to understand that they had none of his Commission for the sparing of the *Canaanites*, and that it would not be long before they should pay dear for that unseasonable Mercy, by Cruelties they should suffer from the *Canaanites* themselves; they were startled at this Revelation, but not enough yet to advance a War upon it; Religion being the least Thing in their Thought; and as to the Matter of any Military Exploit, their Luxury had quite unmann'd them; beside the Temptation of the great Advantage they made of the *Canaanites* Tribute and Labour.

The Form of the Government was depraved; the Authority of the Elders slighted; the Choice of the Senators, and other Magistrates, nothing so regular as formerly; but every Man for his own private Ends, and no Care at all taken for the Publick. In the Course of this Dissolution of Government and good Manners, there happen'd an Occasion of a
terrible

terrible Sedition, which soon after brake forth into a civil War, and the Case was this.

* There was within the Lot of *Ephraim*, a certain *Levite*, of an ordinary Extraction, that marry'd a Wife of the City of *Bethlem*, belonging to the Tribe of *Judah*. She was wonderfully beautiful; and the Man had a passionate Tenderness for her; but to his great Affliction, she made him little or no Return of his Kindness. This Disagreement begat daily Disputes and Wrangles, insomuch that the Woman, under an Impatience of these Expostulations, went away from her Husband in the fourth Month after they were marry'd, to her own Parents. The Husband, out of his infinite Affection, posted after her, to her Father's House, where he was received with all Hospitality and Affection, and Matters made up again betwixt him and his Wife. When he had been there precisely four Days, he propos'd upon the Fifth to be going home again: But Friends were loth to part, and so they made it late before they set out; they went their way however, he, and his Wife together, with only one Servant, and an Ass for the Woman to ride upon. When they had travelled a matter of thirty Furlongs, and being then not far from *Jerusalem*, the Servant advis'd them to take up at a Lodging somewhere near hand, before it was too late, to avoid the Danger of Travelling in the Night; especially in an Enemy's Country; beside that late Hours are suspicious, even among Friends; but the Husband had no mind to put himself among Strangers; and the City was at that Time in Possession of the *Canaanites*: So that he chose rather to venture twenty Furlongs further, where he might lodge among his Friends and Allies. Travelling forward to *Gabaa*, a City belonging to the Tribe of *Benjamin*; it was so late, that he was at a Loss for a Lodging. It happen'd however that an ancient Man of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, coming just at that Time out of the Country to a House he had at (a) *Gabaa*, saw this Man, and ask'd him what he was, and what made him abroad at so unseasonable an Hour. He told him that he was a *Levite*, and carrying his Wife home with him from her Father's, to his own House, in the Lot of *Ephraim*. The old Man, for Tribe, and Relation-sake, and likewise for the Sake of Hospitality itself, took the *Levite* along with him. Some young Men of the Town taking notice, it seems, of the *Levite's* Wife in the Street, for a very beautiful Woman, trac'd

* Judges 19.

(a) See *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Steph. Byzant. Gr. Gaba*.

trac'd her to the House of this ancient Man ; rapt at the Door, and demanded the Woman. The People of the House were not able to make any considerable Opposition ; but the old Man spar'd for no Importunities to persuade them to Moderation, and quietly to go their Ways, without offering any Violence, or Indignity to his Guest. All the Answer they could get, was this ; " Let him deliver up the Woman, " and he shall have no further Trouble." The other pleaded the Relation of a Kinswoman, the Wife of a *Levite*, and laid great Stress upon the Hideousness of so brutal an Outrage, under so many tender Circumstances, against all the Laws of Religion, Honour, Humanity, and common Justice. But the Gravity of these Reasonings and Counsels serv'd only for Matter of Derision, with bloody Oaths in the Conclusion, that they would either have the Woman, or cut his Throat. When the good Man found himself brought to the last Necessity, either of yielding, or compounding, he made them an Offer of his own Daughter in Exchange for that Stranger, as the less Evil of the two ; for this Way he did but sacrifice the Reputation of a private Family ; whereas in violating the Rights of Hospitality, he should have been guilty of an Affront upon the publick Faith of humane Society. But Supplications, and Arguments, were to no manner of purpose with Men so peremptorily resolved upon *that* Woman, and that no other should content them. In this Heat, they took her away by Force, to their own Quarters, where they spent that whole Night in all Manner of bestial Liberties, and then sent her back again next Morning. She fell into such a Confusion of Thought upon her Return, for what had befallen her that Night, that betwixt Shame and Indignation, it brake the very Heart of her. As to her Husband's Part, she look'd upon the Wound to be utterly incurable, and had not the Confidence, so much as to look him in the Face after it ; but as she came near him, she fell down upon the Ground and died. Her Husband took it at first, only for an Oppression of Weariness for Want of Sleep ; or at the worst, for some fainting Fit : And so he try'd to wake her, and bring her to herself again, by telling her for her Comfort, that this Violence had not at all derogated from the Dignity of her unspotted Innocence, and Virtue. But all this came too late ; for the Woman was dead ; and the *Levite* behaved himself with a wonderful Presence and Constancy of Mind upon it, considering the Quality of so mortal a Surprise. He packed up the Body of his dead Wife ; laid it upon his Ass, and carry'd it directly home with him.

* Being come to his own House, he divided the Body into twelve Parts, to be distributed among the twelve Tribes, sending every Tribe one of them. The several Bearers had their Instructions to acquaint the Tribes where they went, with the whole History of this Villany; the Authors of it, and the barbarous Circumstances of the Fact itself. They all agreed the Wickedness to be so far beyond Example, that the like was never seen or heard of before. The Horror, in short, of this Action, transported them into such a Rage, that they immediately gather'd together in *Siloe* before the *Tabernacle*, with a Resolution, the first Thing they did, to assault *Gabaa*. The Elders, upon this, put a little Check to the first Heat, by telling them that "It would not do well
" Hand over Head thus to make a War upon their Allies,
" without a strict Enquiry first into the Merits of the Cause :
" A Thing, *they said*, that the Laws and Practice of the
" *Israelites* would not allow, even toward Strangers, without
" some previous Embassy, or Treaty to bring the Matter it-
" self, if possible, to some reasonable Terms of Satisfaction,
" or Composition. Wherefore the best Way would be, in
" pursuance of this legal Method, to send to the *Gibeonites* to
" demand the Criminals that committed this Insolence : In
" case they give them up, you may punish them ; if they re-
" fuse, you are then at Liberty to do yourselves Right by
" force of Arms.

Upon this Motion, they sent to the *Gibeonites* to deliver up the profligate Malefactors that had committed this brutal Violence upon the *Levite's* Wife, that Justice might be done upon them. They demanded those individual Men, they said ; because they would not involve the Publick in a particular Cause. Upon the Result, the *Gibeonites* would not give up the Malefactors, nor did they think it honourable, for fear of a War, to submit to Rules of other Peoples prescribing. " They wanted neither Courage, Skill, nor Num-
" bers, they said ; the whole Tribes declaring themselves to be all of a Piece, and all of a Mind, " And resolved to stand
" by one another to the last Man in the Cause of a common
" Defence."

The *Israelites* were so disgusted upon the Report of this Answer, that they presently entered into an Oath not to intermarry with the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and to carry on as fierce a War against the *Benjamites*, as ever their Forefathers did against the *Canaanites*. Upon this Occasion, they took the

* Judges 20.

the Field with an Army of 400000 fighting Men. The Strength of the *Benjamites* was 25600 in which Number there were 500 *Left-handed* Slingers, that were all excellent Marksmen. The two Armies fought near *Gabaa*; where the *Israelites* were routed by the *Benjamites* with the Loss of two and twenty Thousand upon the Place, and the Slaughter had been much greater, if the Night had not parted them. The *Israelites* returning to the Body of their Army in a Confusion, upon the Sense of this Disaster, while the *Benjamites* went back again to the City in Triumph: It came to a second Battle the next Day again, when the *Israelites* lost 18000 Men more; and these two Disasters struck them with such a Terror, that they quitted their Camp, and removed a little way off to *Bethel*, where they spent the next Day in Fasting and Prayer; beseeching Almighty God by the Mouth of *Phineas* the High-Priest, that he would be pleased, after the Judgment of two such Overthrows, to put a stop to the Course of his high Displeasure, and grant them Victory over their Enemies.

Their Prayers being heard, and a favourable Answer returned to them by the same Prophet, they divided their Army into two Bodies; one half they planted in certain Ambushes about the City, while the other stood drawn up in Readiness to give the Enemy Battle. The *Israelites*, upon the first Charge, gave way, not that they were not able to stand the Shock; but, in Truth, with a Design to draw the *Benjamites* further off from the Town: So that the *Israelites*, by little and little, lost Ground, and still as the one plied, the other, in Proportion, pressed so much the harder upon them: Inso-much, that the People of the Town looked upon it as a Defeat, rather than a Dispute, and came trooping out young and old, without any doubt of a Victory, to put in for their Part of the Spoil. When the *Benjamites* were gotten far enough from home, and within reach of the Ambush, the *Israelites* faced about; rallied, and charged, giving the Signal at the same Time to their Companions, to fall upon the Rear. This Surprise put the *Benjamites* into so desperate a Strait, that they were forced to retire into a Bottom, where they were surrounded and destroyed like so many Beasts in a Toyle: Only a select Body of six Hundred resolute Men cut their Way through the Middle of the Enemies Troops, up to a Mountain there at hand, where they posted themselves for the present, and so escaped. All the rest perished, to the Number of about five and twenty Thousand Men. The *Israelites*, after this, burnt *Gabaa*, sparing neither Men, Wo-

Y 2

men,

men, nor Male-Children, and they did the like too in several other of the *Benjamites* Cities. * Nay, so mortal was the Animosity they had contracted in this Quarrel, that they sent twelve Thousand Men against (a) *Jabes*, a City of *Gilead*, who took the Town, and put all in it to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children, save only four Hundred Virgins; and all this, barely for refusing to join with the *Israelites* against the *Benjamites*.

This was the bloody Event of a Revenge, for the Abuse of a Woman, upon a *Punctilio* of Honour in the *Benjamites*, to push the Cause on to a War. The *Israelites* were come now to bethink themselves, and in some Degree to repent of the Calamities they had brought upon the *Benjamites*: That Tribe being in a Manner cut off from the main Body. Upon the whole Matter, they proposed a *Fast*, but not as conscious of having done an unjust Thing in punishing a Breach of the Law. In this Tendernefs of Thought, they sent Commissioners to invite the six Hundred Men back again, that were fled into the Mountains, where they found them upon a Rock called *Rhoa*, in the *Desert*. These Ministers condoled with them, not for their own Misery alone, but for that of their Relations and Friends, advising them to bear their Lot like Men returning to their Society, and as much as in them lay to prevent the utter Extermination of that Tribe, which would be the Consequence of withdrawing themselves from the Fellowship. These Commissioners told them withal, that for their Lands and Cattle, every Thing should be restored, and themselves put in Possession as before. These Men could not but confess themselves to have been in the wrong, and acknowledged the righteous Judgment of God in what they had suffered, and so returned to their Obedience, and to their Tribe, upon this Invitation.

The next Question was how to provide them Wives; the *Israelites* having bound themselves by an Oath before the War not to marry any of their Daughters into the Tribe of *Benjamin*. Some would have the Oath to be a Nullity, as being an Oath under a Kind of Force, and an Oath of Passion, without due Consideration or Judgment. Others were of Opinion that the very Necessity discharged the Oath, and that it would not be pleasing to God to hazard a whole Tribe rather than dispense with such an Obligation: Making Perjury without Malice to be no Sin: But the Elders would not endure

* Judges 21.

(a) See *Holstenius's* Notes upon *Steph. Byzant.* p. 141.

endure any Thought of *Perjury*, under what Cover or Countenance soever. They had provided Wives already for four Hundred of the six out of the Virgins that were taken at *Jabes*; and for the remaining two Hundred, one of the Senators offer'd this Expedient, for the doing of the Business without straining an Oath.

“ Here is (*says he*) a customary Solemnity of a publick Festival that is celebrated thrice a Year in *Siloe*, and our Wives and Daughters are commonly Part of the Company. Leave the *Benjamites* upon this Occasion at Liberty to seize, and take to Wife as many of the Virgins as they can catch, without your meddling in it either one Way or other, for or against it. If the Fathers shall complain, and appeal for Justice, the Answer will be short, that they should have looked better to their Daughters then; and that it is not good to exasperate the *Israelites* against the *Benjamites*, as we have found by woful Experience already.” Upon this Motion it was agreed, that the *Benjamites* should be connived at, in providing themselves of Wives after this Manner by Force. The Solemnity being now at hand, the two Hundred Men that wanted Wives planted themselves about the Town in Vineyards, and other hiding Places, by Twos and Threes, and such Numbers as they thought fit, to watch for the coming of the Virgins. The *Benjamites* took their Opportunity, as the Virgins came sporting along, and started out among them; every Man seizing one for his Wife, and carrying her off to his Plantation, where they made it their Business, by Industry and good Husbandry, to establish themselves happily in the World yet once again. By this Means, and by the Prudence of the *Israelites*, was the Tribe of *Benjamin* recover'd out of a hopeless Condition, and came soon after into a flourishing Estate, both for Wealth, People, and Power.

This was the End of the *Benjamites* War, and the Affairs of *Dan* were not in a much better Posture neither. The *Israelites* being now quite gone over from the Study and Practice of Arms, to the Country-Entertainments of Husbandry and Tillage. The *Canaanites* made Advantage of this dangerous Change of Humour, and enter'd into a formed Conspiracy against them; (though with the greatest Contempt imaginable) not for Fear of any Hurt they could do them at present, but in Hope of bringing them so low, that they should never be able to give them any further Trouble for the Time to come. They made mighty Levies of Men,

and Provisions of Chariots ; trained up their People to martial Discipline ; beside, that they had already drawn over to them, *Ascalon*, and *Accaron*, from the Tribe of *Judah*, and several Cities of the *Plains* : Infomuch that the *Danites* were forced up to the Mountain for Sanctuary, and not one Foot of Ground in the Champian that they could call their own. Their Circumstances, briefly, were such, that they were neither strong enough to do themselves right by War, nor had they Land enough for their People to subsist upon in a State of Peace : Wherefore they sent five of their People into the Inland Countries to find out some commodious Place of Residence, where they might plant and settle. When these Commissioners had travelled a matter of a Day's Journey from the great Plain of *Sidon*, (and not far from Mount *Libanus*, and the Head of the lesser *Jordan*) they found themselves in a fruitful and well-condition'd Country ; and gave their Tribe an Account of their Opinion of the Place, who forthwith marched with their Army directly thither ; erecting a City there by the Name of *Dan*, so called from one of the Sons of *Jacob* of that Name, from whence the whole Tribe had its Appellation.

The *Israelites* were at this Time so abandon'd to Sloth, and Luxury, and without any Regard to Religion or Business, that all their Affairs went to wrack upon it : The Government loose, and out of frame ; Men liv'd without any Restraint, either of Shame, or of Law ; the Corruptions of the *Canaanites* reigning every where without Controul.

C H A P. III.

Chusarth subdues the Israelites, and keeps them eight Years in Subjection.

* **T**His general Defection was so provoking in the Sight of God, that the *Israelites* being left to themselves by a total Dissolution of Piety, Discipline, and good Manners, put a short End to all the Hopes and Pretences of Happiness, that with much Toil, and Industry, they had been so long a raising. While they were in this abandon'd State of Looseness and Debauch, (a) *Chusarth*, the King of the *Assyrians* made War

* Judges 3.

(a) Scr. *Chusban-rishathaim* King of *Mesopotamia*.

War upon them ; kill'd them a great many Men in Battle ; seiz'd their Towns ; some by Force, others by Treaty, and laid heavy Taxes upon the People : Plaguing them, in fine, with all Varieties of Indignities whatsoever. This was the wretched State they were in for *eight Years* ; after which Time, they were deliver'd out of the Hands of their Oppressors in Manner as follows.

C H A P. IV.

(a) *Kenaz delivers the Israelites out of their Bondage.*

† **T**Here was one *Kenaz*, of the Tribe of *Judah* ; a Man of Sense, Business, and Courage. This Person, being animated by a secret Impulse from Heaven, to make some bold and generous Attempt, for the Relief of the *Hebrews* in this Extremity of their Distress, communicated the Privacy to some few of his particular Friends, that he knew to be Men of Honour and Resolution, and likewise dissatisfied with the present State of Things. Upon concerting the Matter, they came to this Conclusion, That the first Thing to be done toward the easing of the *Hebrews*, must be the Surprizal of the King's Guards, and cutting the Throats of the Garrison. This was agreed upon, and accordingly executed : And the Success of this Exploit gave such a Reputation, and brought so many over to that Interest and Party, that in a short Time they gave the *Assyrians* a fair Battle ; routed, and beat them over the *Euphrates*, and consequently set the People at Liberty ; who in Acknowledgment of the Obligation they had to *Kenaz* for their Deliverance, by the Means of his Bravery and Conduct, made him a Present of the Government, which he accepted of, and when he had ruled them *forty Years* in the Quality of a Judge, he ended his Life in the same Station.

Y 4

C H A P.

(a) *Keniazos. Jos.*

† *Judges 3.*

C H A P. V.

The Israelites oppress'd by Eglon, and deliver'd by Ehud.

* **B**Y the Death of *Kenaz*, the *Israelites* were left once again without a Head; and then as they fell more and more off from their Duty to God, and the Laws, they were still more and more expos'd to fresh and greater Afflictions. Their Conversation was such, that *Eglon* himself, the King of the *Moabites*, had them in Contempt for their Want even of Policy and Order; and this very Consideration encourag'd him to make War upon them. In one Word, he worsted them upon several Encounters, and humbled them to that Degree, that he made them his Tributaries: After which, he remov'd his Court to *Jericho*; and for eighteen Years successively, omitted nothing of Rigour or Oppression, that might make the People miserable, even to the Degree almost of starving them. But it pleas'd God at last, in Compassion to their Sufferings, and in Mercy to their Prayers, to deliver them from the Tyranny of the *Moabites*, by this Means.

There was a certain young Man, that dwelt at *Jericho*; the Son of *Gera*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and his Name (a) *Ehud*. He was a vigorous and a daring Man; of a robust Force of Body, and had both Hands at Command, if not the Left the better of the two. He was of a Make, in fine, for any bold and hazardous Undertaking. This *Ehud* order'd the Matter so as to make himself familiarly known to *Eglon*, by the Means of Presents, and other Court-Offices; insomuch that his particular Favour with the King had made him a great many Friends at Court. Being one Day to make the King a Present, the first Thing he did, was to gird a short Ponyard to his Right-Side, and taking two Servants along with him, to keep it under his Cloaths, out of Sight; and in this Manner of Address he was admitted to the King. This was in the Heat of the Summer, and the Middle of the Day; none of the Guards stirring, and most People being retir'd to Dinner. When this young Man had made his Present; the King being withdrawn into a cool Place of Refreshment, *Ehud* desir'd a Word in private with him: Whereupon the King sent away his Servants out of the

* Judges 3.

(a) *Iudas*, *Jos.*

the Presence, being himself seated upon his Throne. *Ehud* was all this while in Pain, for Fear of missing his Aim when he came to do the Execution. So that to give the King Occasion to rise, that he might have the fairer Mark at him, he told him that he had somewhat to say to him from God Almighty, about a certain Dream of his. The King had a Kind of impatient Curiosity upon him, to hear what it was, and so standing up to hearken to it, *Ehud* in that very Instant plung'd a Dagger into his Heart, and forthwith went his way, shutting the Doors after him, and leaving the Dagger in the Wound. The Waiters were still and silent, all this while, for Fear of waking the King, who they supposed might be asleep.

Ehud went away upon this directly to *Jerusalem* where he put it about in private, that he kill'd the King, in Order to the setting the People at Liberty. The News was so welcome to them, that they sent their Trumpets immediately upon it all over the whole Country; This being their Way of calling the People together. It was a long Time before the Court knew any Thing of the Matter; but toward Evening some of the King's Servants took up upon an Apprehension of some Accident more than ordinary; and upon entering the Bed-Chamber, there lay the King dead, which was so surprising a Spectacle, that it struck them all dumb and senseless. The Guards were presently sent for; but the *Israelites*, in great Bodies, brake in upon the Palace, before they could be drawn together. Some they kill'd in the first Heat; others, to the Number of ten Thousand, made away to the River, toward the Country of *Moab*; but the *Israelites* having prepossessed themselves of all the Fords and Passes, intercepted them in their Flight; so that they were wholly cut off, without so much as one Man of them getting over. By this Means the *Hebrews* shook off the Yoke of the *Moabites*; and *Ehud*, for an Acknowledgment, had the Honour of the Government conferr'd upon him by the People; and at the End of *eighty Years Administration*, there he died. He was a Person that over and above the Merit of this generous Exploit, deserv'd upon several other Accounts to have his Name and Memory celebrated to Posterity. (a) *Shamgar* the Son of *Anath* succeeded him, who died within the first Year of his Government.

C H A P.

(a) Gr. *Sanagares*.

C H A P. VI.

The Israelites pass from one Slavery to another, and are deliver'd in the Conclusion by Deborah and Barak.

*THE *Israelites*, that went Headlong forward from Iniquity to Iniquity, and consequently from one Calamity to another, would not be yet brought to understand, that the Hand of God was in all this, for their Contumacy and Disobedience to the Laws and Commandments, both of God and Man. Insomuch, that before they were well quit of one Slavery, they fell into another; as upon this Revolution, they only exchange'd the Tyranny of *Eglon*, the King of the *Moabites*, for that of *Jabin*, King of the *Canaanites*, who was their next Master. This *Jabin* kept his Court at *Azor*, upon the Lake (a) *Samachonitis*, having an Army in Pay of (b) 300000 Foot, 10000 Horse, and 3000 Chariots, under the Command of (c) *Sisera*, a great Favourite of the King's for the Services he had done in reducing the *Israelites*, whom he worsted upon several Encounters from Time to Time, and would never give over the Pursuit, till he brought them at last to be absolute Slaves, and Tributaries to his Master. When they had languished out a Matter of twenty Years in this scandalous Servitude, without daring so much as to open their Mouths against their Oppressors, and without being one Jot the wiser for their Experience; (God in his Providence having thought fit also to continue these Judgments upon them for their Impiety and Ingratitude) they came at last by a Kind of Necessity, to some Sort of Repentance, and to a Conviction, that these Miseries had befallen them as a just Punishment for their Contempt of the Laws of their Forefathers. In this Fit of Contrition, they went to a famous Prophetess, one *Deborah*, (in Hebrew a Bee) desiring her Intercession on their Behalf, that God would be pleased in Mercy to forgive them, and rescue them out of the Hands of their cruel Persecutors. At her Mediation, God was prevail'd upon to promise them a Deliverance, and made Choice of *Barak*, of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, for the Instrument, as General of the Army, that was to do the Work. So *Deborah*

* Judges 4.

(a) Al. *Semechonitis*.

(b) See *Bechart's Hierozoic*. Part 1. l. 2. c. 9. p. 156. Edit. Lond.

(c) *Sussires*. Jos.

rah sent for *Barak*, (which Word in *Hebrew* signifies *Lightning*) and order'd him to draw out a Body of 10000 choice Men, and march directly with them toward the Enemy; the Prophetess never heeding the Number, so long as Providence had undertaken for the Success. *Barak* expostulated the Matter with *Deborah*, flatly refusing to meddle with the Command, unless she herself would go along with him. "Well! (*says Deborah, in a scoffing Way of Disgust*) and are not you a doughty Captain now, to turn over the Honour of a Command to a Woman, when God has given it to yourself? But however, *says she*, I am content to make one." So they drew out their Number, and pitch'd their Tents upon (a) *Mount Tabor*; *Sisera*, by the King's Order, marching out to meet them. The two Armies lay encamped one within Sight of another; but the *Israelites* were struck with such a Terror at the infinite Odds of the Enemy in Number, that both General and Soldiers were once upon the very Point of shifting for themselves, without so much as striking a Blow: But upon *Deborah's* Assurance that it was the Cause of God; and that he himself would assist, and bring them off, they were prevail'd upon to stand the Shock of a Battle. The Armies were no sooner engag'd, but there arose a violent Wind, with a most impetuous Tempest of Rain and Hail along with it: This Storm driving just in the Face of the *Canaanites*, made their Bows and their Slings useles to them, and so for other Weapons for a close Fight; for they could not so much as open their Eyes against the Weather, and their Fingers were so numb'd with Cold too, that they could not handle their Arms. Now the *Israelites*, with this Tempest at their Backs, had all Advantages on the one Hand, without the Inconveniencies on the other; beside the Encouragements given them by so signal a Manifestation of God's espousing their Cause. It came to this in the Conclusion, that the *Canaanites* Army was broken, dispers'd, and cut to Pieces: So that betwixt those that fell by the Sword; those that were trampled to Death under the Horses Feet; those that were torn to Pieces by the Chariots, and those that fled away, and fell into the Hands of the *Israelites* in their Flight; this prodigious Army was in Effect totally destroy'd. *Sisera*, finding the Day irrecoverably lost, and his Men flying every-where before the Enemy, he leap'd from his Chariot, and betook himself to the House of one *Jael* a *Kenite*, for Sanctuary; who receiv'd him with a Coun-

(a) *Pros Ataburico 100 crei.*

Countenance of Readiness to do him a good Office. *Sisera* was quite spent with the Toil and Fatigue of the Day, and calling for somewhat to drink, *Jael* brought him a Draught of four Milk; which he took down very heartily, and so fell asleep. When *Jael* found that she had him fast and sure, she took a Hammer with an Iron Nail, and drove it into his Temples, shewing him for a Spectacle to the *Israelites* that came to look after him, where she had pinn'd him to the Ground. This made good *Deborah's* Prefage, when she told *Barak* that a Woman should have the Honour of a Title to the Victory. *Barak* was now march'd with the Army toward *Azor*, where he encounter'd *Jabin* by the Way, and slew him. The King being kill'd, *Barak* laid the City level with the Ground, and afterward govern'd *Israel* for a Matter of forty Years.

C H A P. VII.

The Midianites, with the Amalekites and Arabians, over-run the Israelites.

DEborah* and *Barak* died much about a Time, and it was not long after, when the *Midianites* enter'd into an Association with the *Amalekites* and the *Arabians* against the *Israelites*, march'd with an Army against them, fought, and overcame them; destroying the Fruits of the Ground, and carrying away their Cattle with a great Booty. At this Rate they order'd them seven full Years together; forcing them from the Plains to the Mountains for Refuge, where they digg'd themselves Vaults and Caves, partly for the Security of their Persons, and partly for the Concealment of what Stores and Provisions they were able to save from the Hands of the Enemy. Now the *Midianites* were well enough content to let the *Israelites* till the Ground in the Winter, when they themselves were sure to reap the Fruits of their Labours in the following Summer. By these Means the *Israelites* were brought to a Morsel of Bread, and no Hope of Relief left them in this their starving Extremity, but Prayers and Supplications, which were still their last Refuge.

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

Gideon rescues the Israelites out of the Hand of the Midianites.

* **I**T happened one Time, that as *Gideon* the (a) Son of *Joas*, and a leading Man in the Tribe of *Manasses*, was thrashing a little Corn by Stealth, at a Wine-Press, which he durst not venture to do in a publick Place for Fear of Discovery; there appeared a Vision to him in the Figure of a Young Man that greeted him as a happy Person, and exceedingly in God's Favour. "One would hardly think so, says *Gideon*, of a Man under my Circumstances, that is fain to make a Press to do the Office of a Floor." The Apparition bad him have a good Heart; and immediately set his Thoughts to work how he might deliver his Country. "Alas! says *Gideon*, it is impossible for me to do any Thing toward it: "We have not Men enough in our Tribe for such an Attempt; neither am I a Person of Practice and Experience enough, to menage such a Design." The Apparition made him answer that whatever he fell short in, God would supply; and that if he would but frankly take upon him the Command of a Body of Men, the *Israelites* should gain a Victory under his Conduct. *Gideon* communicated this Affair, with all the Circumstances, to some Young Men of his Acquaintance, who ascribed so much to the Authority and Credit of this Revelation, that they had presently an Army of ten Thousand choice Men in Readiness to run any Hazard for the Common Cause.

† While this was in Agitation, the Voice of God spake to *Gideon* again in a Dream, in Words to this Effect. "It is but natural for Flesh and Blood to over-ween, and for Men to value themselves, upon the Providential Operations of an Almighty Power as the Effects of their own Force and Wisdom; especially when the Work may seem to be brought about purely by the Mediation of common Causes. But to shew you now (says the Voice) that Victory is influenced from above, and that the Arm of Flesh is not able to do any Thing without a Divine Assistance: Take your Army to the River *Jordan*, in the parching Heat of the Sun at Mid-day, and make your Observations upon

* Judges 6.

(a) *Iasupais*.

† Judges 7.

“ upon the Manner of the Soldiers Drinking. Those that ly
 “ down upon the Bank, and compose themselves to drink at
 “ leisure, you may depend upon to be for your Purpose, and
 “ Men of Courage ; but for them that take their Drink in a
 “ hurry, and with Distraction, they have the Fear of an E-
 “ nemy in their Heads, and there’s no trusting to them.”
Gideon did as he was order’d, and found but bare three Hun-
 dred of the former Sort in the whole Army, that drank out
 of the Hollow of their Hands, without staring about them.
 With this Pittance of three Hundred Men, God command-
 ed *Gideon* to attack the Enemy in the Night ; to which End
 he posted himself upon the Side of the River, the Day be-
 fore the Exploit was to be put in Execution, and not with-
 out great Apprehensions what might be the Issue of that En-
 terprize. The Voice, upon this Diffidence, bad him take
 a Soldier with him, and steal over that Night to the Camp
 of the *Midianites*, where he should learn somewhat that
 should put him in Heart again. He went as he was bid,
 and taking his own Servant *Phuran* along with him, they
 crept up to one of the Enemy’s Tents (where they were yet
 Waking) and there overheard a Soldier telling his Comera-
 de of a strange Dream he had. “ Methought, *says he*, I saw a
 “ Barley Loaf (the coarsest of all Grains and not fit for a
 “ Man to eat) come tumbling into the Camp, where it over-
 “ ran all the Tents that stood in the Way ; the King’s Tent
 “ in the first Place, and so the rest indifferently one after a-
 “ nother. Well ! *Says this Dreamer’s Fellow-Soldier*, and
 “ what can this over-turning of all the Tents signifie but the
 “ total Destruction of our Army ? Barley is, as you say, the
 “ coarsest of Grains ; and so are the *Israelites* the vilest, and
 “ the most abject of all the People in *Asia*. *Gideon* is now in
 “ the Head of an Army against us, and I am afraid that the
 “ Barley Loaf overthrowing our Tents, will be expounded
 “ by *Gideon’s* over-running us with his *Israelite-Army*.” Upon
 the good Omen of this Dream, *Gideon* returned presently to
 his People full of Hope and Comfort, at the Prefage, and
 his Men were no less animated upon the Hearing of it ;
 for they put themselves immediately in Readiness for the
 Word of Command, toward any hazardous Adventure
 whatsoever.

About the fourth Watch, *Gideon* advanced toward the
 Enemy with his little Army in three Divisions, a Hundred
 Men in each, and every Man carrying an empty Pitcher with
 a burning Lamp in it, to the end that they might fall upon
 them at unawares before they could be discover’d : And they
 carry’d

carry'd likewise in their Right-hands, Rams-Horns that served them for Trumpets. The Enemy had such a Multitude of Camels, and so many several Nations in their distinct Lodgments, that the Camp must needs take up a huge Content of Ground, but still one common Line enclosing the whole. Upon the *Hebrews* Approach toward the Enemy, it was given them in Command, that upon the Signal of sounding Trumpets, and breaking Pitchers, they should make a Sally with Shouts, and their Lamps in their Hands, as to an assured Victory, by the Blessing of God upon *Gideon*. They acted according to their Order, and by this Stratagem, they were struck with so judicial a Consternation, betwixt sleeping and waking, (the Horror of the Night assisting the Imagination too) that being in the Dark, in a Medley of several Languages, and under a Terror that knows no Difference betwixt Friend and Foe, they fell foul in the Confusion, upon one another; every Man taking him that was next him for an Enemy. There was, in fine, a prodigious Slaughter; but the greatest Execution incomparably was done by them one upon another.

† So soon as the Fame of this notable Defeat came to the Ears of the rest of the *Israelites*, they presently sent out armed Troops to all the difficult Passes upon the Mountains, Rivers, and Torrents, to obstruct, and cut of their Retreat, putting all to the Sword they could lay hand on, and two Kings, *Oreb*, and *Zeb* among the rest. But for the Remainder, to the Number of some 18000 Men, that had made a Shift to get off in a Body under the Command of their proper Officers; those Troops posted themselves as far from the *Israelites* Camp as they could. *Gideon's* Troops had been extremely harass'd in the late Action, but this did not yet hinder him from pressing this Party of the Enemy upon the Rear, and engaging them soon after with his whole Army. In this Encounter, he put them to an absolute Rout; destroying the whole Body of them to a Man, and taking their two Leaders, the Princes, (a) *Zebin*, and *Hezarbon*, Prisoners. There were slain of the *Midianites* and their Associates, in these Encounters, near 120000 Men; to say nothing of the Booty in Gold, Silver, rich Stuffs, Camels, Asses, &c. that fell to the *Hebrews*. When *Gideon* came afterward into his own Native Country of *Ephraim*, he put to Death the two Kings of the *Midianites* above-mentioned: But the Tribe of *Ephraim*, out of an Envy to the Glory of his Atchievements, had

† Judges 7.(a) Scr. *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*.

had a great mind to pick a Quarrel with him for engaging in a publick Act of Hostility, being a Member of that Tribe, without their Privy and Consent : Inſomuch that they were juſt upon the Point of making War upon him. But *Gideon*, that was a Man of Modeſty, and Prudence, as well as Bravery, diverted the Storm by telling them that this was *God's War*, and not *Gideon's*; for what he did he was commanded to do; and that the Honour of the Victory was theirs ſtill, though the labouring Part of the Action fell by Providence to his Lot. The Softneſs and Diſcretion of theſe Words was more worth to the *Hebrews* than the Deſeat; for it prevented the great Miſchief of a Civil War, which was then ready to break out. But this invidious ſpiteful Cavil coſt them dear in the Concluſion, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper Place.

When *Gideon* had ſet his Country at Liberty, he would fain have diſcharged himſelf of his Commiſſion; but the People were ſo unanimouſly reſolved not to part with him, that he was forced to continue it; which he did for the Space of forty Years; exerciſing all the Parts of a careful Ruler over them; in preſcribing Laws; adminiſtring Juſtice; deciding Controverſies, and doing Right betwixt Man and Man; acquitting himſelf upon the whole, with the Character of this Reputation, that no Man ever complained of, or appealed from his Sentence. He lived to a great Age, and was buried in his own Country at *Ephraim*.

C H A P. IX.

The Tyranny and Death of Abimelech. Iſrael enſlaved by the Ammonites and Philiftines. Jephtha ſets them free; Overthrows the Ephraimites; and after the Death of Jothan, Apſan, Elon, and Abdon govern Iſrael.

† **G**ideon had ſeventy Legitimate Sons by ſeveral Women; and by *Druma*, his Concubine, one Natural Son, whoſe Name was *Abimelech*. This *Abimelech*, after the Death of his Father, went to *ſichem*, to the Relations of his Mother, who was born there. They ſupplied him with Money; and

Abimelech

† Judges 9.

Abimelech finding them to be Men for his Turn, and lewd and desperate enough to adventure upon any Thing let it be never so hazardous or wicked, he went straight back again to his Father's House, and took a Cabal of these swaggering Companions along with him. His first Exploit there was to murder all his Brothers, save only *Jothan*, who slipped out of the Way, so that they could not find him. When *Abimelech* had once by this Means possessed himself of the Government, he knew no other Law then that of his own Will and Pleasure, professing an open Enmity to Justice itself, and all its Abettors; neither was he himself less hateful to all good Men then they were to him.

It happened one Time, upon a great Day of Solemnity in *Sichem*, and a World of People gathered together there, that *Jothan*, who had made an Escape, as we said, upon this Festival, was got up to the Top of the Mountain *Garizim* that overlooks *Sichem*: And thence called out aloud to the Multitude, desiring only their Patience for a few Words he had to say. They put themselves presently into a Posture of Attention; and the Speech was this.

“ There was a Time, *says he*, when the Trees had their
“ Meetings and Conferences, and talked after the Manner of
“ Men. In those Days, and in a great Council, upon the
“ Subject of who should Command, the Major Part of the
“ Plants made their Address to the Fig-Tree, to take care of
“ the Government; but the Fig-Tree modestly declined the
“ Honour, as being amply satisfied with the Esteem it had
“ in the World for the Fruit it bore, saying also, that it had
“ no Ambition to be greater, or other then it was. The
“ Trees, after this Refusal, made the same Request to the
“ Olive-Tree, and to the Vine, and they both agreed in re-
“ turning the very same Answer. They went next to the
“ Bramble, with the same Proposals, being an excellent Sort
“ of Fuel. Well! *says the Bramble*, if you are in earnest,
“ I'll take the Government upon me; but then you must re-
“ solve to rest quietly under my Shadow; for if you offer
“ to be unruly, there shall come a Fire out of me that shall
“ destroy you. This is no Tale told, *says Jothan*, to make
“ you merry, but to move you to bethink yourselves what
“ you are now a-doing; that after so many sacred Obliga-
“ tions to *Gideon*, can yet suffer *Abimelech*, the Murderer, of
“ the Children of your Deliverer, to Usurp, and Reign over
“ you. This *Abimelech* is the very Fire in the Fable I have
“ told you.”

Upon these Words he withdrew, and was forced, for three Years after, to lie skulking up and down the Mountains, and keep out of the Way of *Abimelech's* Rage and Revenge. The *Sichemites* came however in a short Time to be sensible of the Wickedness of that horrid Barbarity upon the Sons of *Gideon*, and so forced *Abimelech* out of the City, and Tribe; who upon this Indignity set his Wits at work how to be even with them.

The Season of the Vintage was now at hand, and the People durst not venture out of Town to gather the Grapes, for Fear of some Surprize or Affront from *Abimelech*. There happened to come to *Sichem*, just at that Time, a certain Prince of the Country, whose Name was (a) *Gaal*, with a Band of Soldiers, and several of his Relations. The Townsmen petitioned him for a Guard, only to secure them during the Time of the Vintage, and he allowed it them. They entered upon the Work and brought off their Grapes, at first freely enough, and without Interruption, lashing out against *Abimelech*, in the Liberty of their Cups, the bitterest Things that could be thought of; and cutting off several of his Men that fell into their Ambushes. While Matters were in this State, *Zebul*, one of the Chief of the *Sichemites*, and *Abimelech's* Host, gave him Intelligence by an Express, how busie *Gaal* was to irritate the People against him; "But, says he, if you can but dispose of an Ambush in some convenient Place near the City, I will undertake to put *Gaal* into your Power to requite him as he deserves: Beside, that when all this is done, I will become answerable to settle a fair Understanding betwixt you and the People." *Abimelech* followed *Zebul's* Advice, and planted his Ambush; *Gaal* unwarily staying longer in the Suburbs with *Zebul* than he should have done; some of *Abimelech's* Troops being by this Time within Sight of the Town, *Gaal* called out to *Zebul*, that the Enemy was there upon their March. "No, no, says *Zebul*; That's only the Shadow of the Mountains." "Well! but I tell you again, says *Gaal* upon their coming nearer, that they are Bands of Men and not Shadows." "Nay, says *Zebul* again, and if it be as you say, how comes it that you, who will have *Abimelech* to be a Coward do not now prove yourself to be the braver Man of the two, and go out and fight him?" *Gaal* presently advanced toward the Enemy (though in some little Disorder) and received the first Shock: But finding himself too weak, and having lost several

(a) *Gales*, *Jos.*

ral of his Men he fled into the Town. *Zebul* laid hold of this Occasion to calumniate *Gaal* with Cowardice, and so got him expelled the City. *Abimelech*, in the mean Time, being informed from very good Hands that the *Sichemites* would yet go on with the gathering of their Vintage, had several *Am-buscades* in Readiness to surprize them. And accordingly, upon their first coming out, he sent a third Part of his Army to take Possession of the City-Gates, and by that Means, to cut off the Retreat of those that were out of the Town; who were so hard pressed and scattered up and down, that there was a very great Slaughter made upon the Pursuit. The City itself in this *Interim*, being taken upon the first Assault; levelled with the Earth, and finally sowed with Salt, as the last Insult of a triumphing Enemy. This was the End of this miserable Place, and People. There were yet remaining considerable Numbers of Straglers and Fugitives, that had hitherto scaped the Edge of the Sword, and these gathered themselves into a Body, flying to a Rock for Sanctuary. The Place was naturally strong, beside that they order'd the running up of a Wall about it, to make it impregnable. This they designed for a Retreat of Refuge; but *Abimelech* was upon them with his Army before they could fortifie it, and surrounding it with a mighty Pile of dry Wood, and Faggots, they set Fire to it; so that Men, Women, and Children were all burnt to Ashes, without so much as one Creature escaping. The calamitous Fate of this wretched People would have deserved Compassion, if it had not been a just Judgment upon them for their brutal Ingratitude to a Person that had deserved so highly well at their Hands.

This Cruelty of *Abimelech* to the *Sichemites* was so far instructive, and exemplary to the *Israelites*, as to shew them what they were to trust to, if ever it should be their Lot to fall into the same Hands: The Usurper being resolved never to be quiet till he should have brought all to a thorough Devastation.

It was not long after this, when he marched with his Army against *Thebes*, where he took the Out-Town by Assault, but the Garrison made their Retreat into a strong Castle belonging to it; *Abimelech* pushing the Attack up to the very Gates, with a Resolution, either to force, or to put Fire to it. As he was gotten just under the Wall, a Woman from above dropt a heavy Piece of a Mill-stone upon the Head of him, that struck him to the Ground. Upon coming a little to his Senses, and finding that the Wound was mortal, he called for his Armour-Bearer, and bad him kill him immediately,

that it might not be said *Abimelech* fell by the Hand of a Woman. The Officer did according to his Order; so that *Abimelech* paid dear for his inhumane Outrages against his Brothers, and the *Sichemites*, as *Jothan* had foretold he should. Upon *Abimelech's* Death, the Army disbanded, and every Man went to his own Home.

* The Government of *Israel*, after this fell to *Jair*, a *Gileadite*, of the Tribe of *Manasses*: A Man every way happy, but most of all in the Blessing of a numerous, and a virtuous Issue. He was the Father of thirty Sons; good and brave Men every one of them, and of eminent Authority and Reputation in their Country. He lived two and twenty Years in this Post; died Ancient, and his Body was interred at *Camon*, a City in *Gilead*.

The *Hebrews* were by this Time exceedingly degenerated in their Manners and Religion; for they had neither moral Honesty, nor a Sense of civil Obedience, Religion, Law, or common Justice left them. The *Ammonites* and the *Philistines* having them in Contempt upon this Account, made such Advantage of their Weakness, that they brake into their Country with a huge Army, and laid it waste: And not contenting themselves to spoil, harass, and take Possession of all beyond *Jordan*, they were preparing also to cross the River, and make a thorough Conquest of it on both Sides.

† These Afflictions brought the *Israelites* to their Prayers, and Sacrifices again; which they still made use of as the last Resort they had upon all their Misdoings. By these Supplications, and penitent Addresses, God was however prevailed upon for a Grant, and Promise of Mercy and Relief. The *Ammonites* being now entered with an Army into the Country of *Gilead*, the Inhabitants put themselves in Arms with a Resolution to oppose them: But wanting a Head, there was one *Jephthah* proposed; a Person in high Esteem with the People for Conduct and Valour, both upon his Father's Account, and his own, for he had at that Time a considerable Army of his own that he kept in Pay. Upon these Considerations they applied themselves to him by Consent, with the present State of their Case, and an humble Desire that he would be pleased to join Forces with them; and accept of a Commission from them as General for his Life, of the whole Army. *Jephthah* stood off at first, not without some Admiration, that they should come to him for Help, now when they themselves were in Distress, that had formerly left him in the Lurch so meanly

* Judges 10.

† Judges 11.

meanly when he stood in need of them ; and was withal so manifestly wronged by his Brothers. “ I was, *says he*, the “ Son of a strange Woman, you told me, that came into “ the Family you knew not how, and you would have no- “ thing to do with me. Upon this Pretence was I driven “ out from among you, and forced into the Land of *Gilead*, “ where I have continu’d ever since, listing all People that “ offer’d themselves to my Service, and in such a Condition “ as you now find me.” The *Israelites* would not take this for an Answer ; but went pressing him on still with further Importunities and Professions, till at last he was wrought upon to espouse their Cause, and to take Charge of the Army, upon their Oaths of Fidelity to him as their General.

Upon this Agreement, the two Bodies were immediately incorporated, and so soon as ever *Jephthah* had given the necessary Orders of what was first to be done, he marched away with the Army to (a) *Mispeh* : And from thence sent an Expostulatory Embassy to the King of the *Ammonites* ; taxing him with an unjust Invasion of a Country where he had nothing to do. The Answer was only a Retort of the same Charge upon the *Israelites*, who coming out of *Ægypt*, took Possession by Arms of the Land and Territories of other People ; and therefore warned them to depart out of the Country of the *Ammonites* as belonging to them in the Right of their Fathers. *Jephthah* on the other Hand replied, that instead of charging the *Israelites* with taking away *Amorrhæa* from them, they should rather have acknowledged the Obligation of giving them *Ammon* ; and *Moses* might have had that too : But the last Result was this, That as for the Lands which they had been now three Hundred Years possessed of, they would not part with them, but by God’s Assistance defend them with their Swords. This peremptory Declaration put a short End to the Treaty, and the *Embassadors* were dismissed.

The Matter being brought to this Point, that the Controversie was to be decided by Arms. *Jephthah* made a Vow, That if ever he returned alive, and victorious from the Battle, he would offer up to God, in Sacrifice, the first living Creature he should meet with after he came home again. The Preparations went on, and he fought the Enemy ; gave them a total Overthrow, and had the Chace of them to the City of *Maniath* ; forcing his Passage also into the Country

Z 3

of

(a) *Masphake*, *Jos.*

of *Ammon*; where he laid several Cities waste, and gave the Soldiers the Spoil. This Action, in fine, set the People at Liberty, after a slavish Servitude of eighteen Years Continuance.

Jephthah acquitted himself in this War with great Honour; but upon returning home again, there happen'd to him so grievous a Calamity in his own Family, that it took off the Relish of all his publick Satisfactions. For the first living Creature he set his Eye upon, was an only Virgin Daughter he had, just coming out of the Door, big with Joy to receive, and bid him Welcome. This Encounter struck him to the very Heart, and exceedingly troubled he was at her Officiousness to come out to meet him, telling her the Story of the *Vow*, by which he had oblig'd himself, upon such Terms, to offer her to God for a Sacrifice. She was not at all dejected at the Tidings, but told her Father with a generous Constancy, "That she should never think much to part with
" her Life upon the Conditions of securing her Father's Honour and Success, and the Liberty of her Country; only
" she begg'd two Month's Time first, for a parting Lamentation with her Companions, and after that, he might be
" pleased to perform his Vow." Her Request was granted, and the End of the two Months, this innocent Devotee was made a Sacrifice, without any Reverence either to Religion, Law, or common Fame; so far was *Jephthah* transported with a blind Zeal into a Contempt of all other Considerations.

* After *Jephthah's* Victory over the *Ammonites*, and the settling of the People in a State, or at least in a fair Prospect, of Peace and Freedom, the envious *Ephraimites* started a fresh Cause of Quarrel. "Why should he engage in such an Expedition without them, *they cry'd*, but only out of an ambitious, covetous Design of engrossing the Honour and Profit of the Adventure wholly to himself, without allowing them any Share or Part in it?" *Jephthah* made Answer in his own Defence; that they knew very well their Allies were oppress'd; nay, and that they themselves were solicited to come-in to their Assistance, but never came; though Men of Honour, in such a Case, would not have staid for an Invitation. And then he charg'd them further, with a most scandalous Piece of Injustice, for Men that durst not look the common Enemy in the Face; now when the Work was done without them, to fall so insolently foul upon their Friends.

Friends : Concluding with a Menace, that if they went on in that Way of Clamour and Outrage, he would make them smart for't. But there was no Good to be done he saw, with wording and reasoning the Matter : So that he presently betook himself to the more convincing Argument of a powerful Army, with which he advanced toward the Enemy's main Body, which they had brought from *Gilead* ; charg'd, and utterly defeated them ; prepossess'd themselves of all the Fords and Passes upon the River *Jordan* ; and in short, follow'd the Pursuit so hard, that betwixt the Battle and the Chace, they cut them off near two and twenty Thousand Men.

Jephthah, after these Exploits, departed this Life in the seventh Year of his Government, and was buried at *Sebeth*, the Place of his Nativity, in the Land of *Gilead*. (a) *Abfan*, of the City of *Bethlem*, in the Tribe of *Judah*, succeeded him, and ruled for the Space of seven Years, without doing any Thing worth the speaking of. He had ninety Children ; sixty Males, and the rest Daughters, which he left all living and marry'd. He died ancient, and was bury'd in his own Country. *Elon*, of the Tribe of *Zebulon*, had the Government for ten Years after him, and there pass'd nothing memorable in his Reign neither. *Abdon*, the Son of *Heliel*, succeeded *Elon*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and Native of the City of *Pharathon* : A Man of a numerous Issue, and little remarkable for any Thing else. But the Times being easy and peaceable, gave him little or no Occasion for the Exercise of his Bravery and Courage. He had forty Sons, and thirty Grand-Children, all excellent Horsemen, and these seventy were his constant Guard. He left them all behind him ; died far in Years, and was buried at *Pharathon* with great Magnificence and State.

CHAP. X.

The Prediction, and the Birth of Samson. His Amours, and Encounters.

AFTER the Decease of *Abdon*, the *Philistines*, had the better of the *Israelites*, and kept them Tributaries for some forty Years ; but in the End, they were set at Liberty in this Manner.

Z 4

* There

(a) *Apfanes*, Jos.

* There was one *Manoah*, of the Tribe of *Dan*, and the first Man of Quality and Credit in his Country, beyond all Dispute. This *Manoah* had for his Wife a lovely Woman, and one that at all Hands pass'd for the most faultless Beauty of that Age ; but to *Manoah's* unspeakable Affliction he had no Children by her. In this Uneasiness, he would ever and anon be taking his Wife to a Country House he had in a large Plain near at hand ; in which Solitude, he spent almost his whole Time, in Prayers to Almighty God for the Blessing of Children. He was passionate to the highest Degree, and in Proportion jealous of her. As the Woman was there alone once, there appear'd an Angel to her in the Resemblance of a tall young Man, who told her for her Comfort, that God in his Providence would give her a Male-Child, who should come in Time to be a Man of a very graceful Presence, and a prodigious Strength ; and one that should take down the Pride and Stomach of the *Philistines* ; charging her in the Name of God to let his Hair grow uncut, and to see that he drank nothing but Water ; the Vision vanishing so soon as it had deliver'd this Message. Upon her Husband's coming in, she told him of this Apparition of the Angel, wonderfully enlarging upon the comely Stature, and Loveliness of the Shape it appear'd in : Insomuch that the Husband grew jealous of some unwarrantable Love under that Pretence. The poor Woman was at her Wit's End how to cure him of this anxious and unreasonable Suspicion, and in the Anguish of her Soul, made it her Supplication to Almighty God, to send his Angel yet once again, and in such a Manner, that her Husband might be convinc'd of the Authority of the Revelation as well as herself. Upon this Prayer of hers, the Angel, a while after, presented itself a second Time to the Woman alone, in the same Place as before : Who, immediately upon the Appearance, besought the Angel's Patience till she might fetch her Husband. Her Request was granted, and so *Manoah* was call'd and came ; and such was the Force of his Jealousy, that though he actually saw the Angel, he would hardly be brought to believe his own Eyes ; pressing to have the same Thing said to him, over again, that had been spoken to his Wife. *Let it suffice*, says the Angel, *that it is known to your Wife*. *Manoah* then desir'd him to declare who he was ; to the End, that when God should send him a Child, he might know whom to thank for't, and where to pay his Acknow-

* Judges 13.

knowledgments for the Blessing. The Angel told him, *That he had no Need of Rewards, neither did he expect any for his News.* "Why then, *says Manoah*, be pleased to accept of "a hospitable, homely Treat." The Angel declin'd it at first; but by Prayer and Importunity he was over-persuaded to stay till somewhat might be provided. *Manoah* immediately kill'd a Kid, and gave it his Wife to dress. And when every Thing was ready, the Angel commanded the Bread and the Flesh to be laid loose upon a Rock there, without Dishes. This being done, he touch'd the Flesh with a Rod he had, and presently there started a Fire from it, that devoured Flesh, Bread, and all; and as the Smoak mounted, the Angel was seen to be wafted up to Heaven in the Vehicle of the Cloud. *Manoah* lay under a superstitious Dread of some great Mischief that might betide them upon this Vision; but his Wife kept up his Heart by a confident Assurance, that it would turn to their Comfort, and prove the greatest Blessing imaginable to them both in the Conclusion. She found herself soon after to be big, and from that Time forward kept punctually in her Mind the Orders the Angel had given her.

* The Child she went with prov'd to be a Son, and they gave him the Name of *Samson*, that is to say, *Robust*. He improv'd every Day wonderfully as he grew up; in the Advantages both of his Body and Mind: Insomuch that betwixt the Dignity of his loose flowing Hair, and the Sobriety of his Way of Living, in the Government of his Appetite, he seem'd to have somewhat (I know not what) in him, that was more than humane.

It was his Hap once upon a solemn Festival-Day in *Timnah*, a City belonging to the *Philistines*, being there with his Parents upon that Occasion, to fall in Love with a Damsel of the Country that he saw at that Meeting; and upon the Sight of her, he was very earnest with his Father to procure her for him in Marriage. His Parents told him, That it was against the Rules of their Religion to marry with Strangers, and that there was Choice enough of Matches among the *Hebrew* Women that were fitter for him. But the Will and Humour of the Son prevail'd over the Reason and Authority of the Father, and the Love proceeded to a Contract. It was *Samson's* Fortune, as he was once upon the Way on a Visit to his Mistress, to encounter a *Lion* directly in his Passage. He never shrunk or boggled for the Matter, but advanc'd up to the

the very Throat of him ; and unarm'd, as he was, with his naked Hands strangled him ; casting the Body into a Thicket afterwards by the Way-side. As he was upon the same Journey some few Days after, and on the same Errand, he stept into the Wood to look at the Carcase of the *Lion* ; and there he found a Swarm of Bees working their Wax and Honey in the Breast of him. He took out three Honey-Combs ; and with some Curiosities that he had gotten together, made a Present of them to his Bride Elect. The *Nuptials* being now to be solemniz'd, his Wife's Relations, and the People of the Place that were invited, assigned him thirty of their stoutest young Fellows to wait upon him, as an Instance, in Pretence, of the great Honour and Respect they had for him ; but in Truth, as so many Spies and Guards upon him, in Case he should be troublesome in his Cups, being a Man of so unruly and incredible a Strength. As the Guests grew warm and chearful, and passing from one Merriment to another, *Samson* told the Company that he had a Riddle to propound ; and if any of them should resolve it in seven Days, he would be bound to give them every Man a Shirt, and a Coat, as a Respect and a Reward ; so that they should have both Honour and Profit. Now betwixt those that had a mind to be thought wise, and others that had an Eye upon the Benefit, they accepted the Proposal by Consent, and bad him put the Question. " Why then, *says he*, the Parable is " this, [*Out of the Eater came forth Meat, and out of the " Strong came forth Sweetness.*"] In short, the *Philistines* laid their Heads together about it, till after three Days puzzling, and never the nearer, they fell to work at last by fair Means, and by foul, upon the new Bride, to draw the Secret from her Husband ; threatening, without any more ado, to burn her, unless she fith'd it out, and made a full Discovery of the Secret. *Samson* stood off a while, but in the End, betwixt Tears, Importunities, and Reproaches, for she imputed his Refusal to his Want of Love) he was prevail'd upon to give her the whole Story, of his killing the *Lion*, and of the *Honey-Combs* he brought her ; and so expounded the Riddle from End to End, without so much as dreaming of any *Mystery* or *Intrigue*. But still, whatever he told her, she told it again to the *Philistines*. The seventh Day was now come, which was the precise Term appointed for the Solution of this Difficulty ; so that the *Philistines* met before Sun-set, and told *Samson*, by Way of Answer to his Question. " That " nothing is stronger than a Lion, or sweeter than Honey."

" No

"No, says *Samson*, nor falser than the Woman that has given you the *Key* to this *Cypher*." This did not hinder *Samson* yet from making good what he had promised; for he stript thirty Men of *Ascalon*, [which are reckon'd among the *Philistines*] and made Payment of the Shirts and Coats he had undertaken for. He cast off his Wife upon't; and she in Spite marry'd his Friend that solicited the Match, which *Samson* took for so unpardonable an Affront; that he determin'd a Revenge, not only upon the Woman, but upon the whole Nation for it; having at that Time also a fair Opportunity before him of putting it in some Measure in Execution. * It was then towards Harvest-time, and the Corn being ripe upon the Ground, *Samson* got three Hundred Foxes, and tying them Tail by Tail, with Firebrands between them, turn'd them loose into the Fields of the *Philistines*. In the Hurry of this Fright, they carry'd the Fire from Place to Place all over the Grounds; and wherever they came, they destroy'd all the Fruits of the Earth in an Instant. So soon as the *Philistines* came to understand, that it was *Samson's* doing, and what it was provok'd him to it: They sent the Princes of the Country to *Thamna*, who took up the Wife of *Samson*, and all her Relations, and burnt them alive, as the Authors of this Calamity.

Samson made several bloody Inroads into the Land of the *Philistines*; and took up his Habitation at *Etam*, a Rock of great Strength, and in the Tribe of *Judah*: Against which Tribe entire, the *Philistines* were now upon the Point of declaring War. The People pleaded for themselves, that they liv'd quietly, and paid their Taxes, and that they hop'd, they should not be punish'd for *Samson's* Fault; but it was turn'd upon them, that nothing could discharge them of *Samson's* Guilt, but the delivering up of *Samson's* Person. They were so much concern'd to clear themselves of this Suspicion, that they drew together three Thousand arm'd Men, and march'd to the Place of his Retreat: Where they enter'd into Expostulations with his People, what a Mischief *Samson's* Violence had drawn upon the *Hebrews*, in stirring up an Enemy against them, that might bring a Ruin perhaps upon the whole Race. Their coming, they said, was only to take Possession of his Person, and give him up to the *Philistines*, which they desir'd him to submit to, both for their Sakes and his, as his own voluntary Act. Upon this Overture *Samson* came down from the Rock, and upon their solemn Oath
that

* Judges 15.

that they would do him no further Hurt, than barely to deliver him up into the Hands of the Enemy, he render'd up his Person to his Countrymen, who led him away, according to the Agreement, near to a Place that was formerly obscure, but since made famous by a memorable Exploit of *Samson's* there. Not far from the Enemy's Camp, the People came out in Troops to meet them, with Shouts of Joy and Exultation, for the good Fortune that had befallen them. *Samson* in the mean while brake his Cords to Pieces, and with the † *Jaw Bone of an Ass* that lay there upon the Ground, fell upon the *Philistines*, and defeated them; kill'd a Matter of a Thousand upon the Place, and routed all the rest. *Samson* was so transported upon the Thought of this Victory, that he had the Vanity to assume the Honour of the Action to himself, without ascribing the Glory of it to God's Power and Providence, as he ought to have done. But while this arrogant, and overweening Humour was yet upon him, he found himself seized with a violent parching (a) Thirst; which gave him to understand, that after all his Successes, he was but Flesh and Blood still, and liable to humane Infirmities. The Sense of this Disorder brought him to the Knowledge of himself, and to a penitent Confession that the Victory was God's, and that he was able to do nothing of himself, without the Divine Assistance. He begged Pardon for his past Vanity and Presumption, and so casts himself wholly for the Future upon God's infinite Power and Goodness, as his only Dependence for Deliverance out of all his Distresses. His Prayers were not in vain, for there gush'd immediately out of a Rock near at hand there, a Stream of delicious Water to relieve him in his raging Drought: Which Rock, from the Exploit of *Samson*, bears the Name of the *Jaw*, unto this very Day. After this Combat, *Samson* made nothing of the *Philistines*; but went publickly to *Gaza*, and took up his Lodging there in a common Inn. The Governour of the Town getting Notice of it, had Guards and Spies set at the Gates to watch him, that he should not give them the Slip; but *Samson*, having some Hint of the Design, got up at Midnight, and taking the Gates off the Hinges, carried them away upon his Shoulders, Frames, Bolts, Locks, and every Thing that belong'd to them, to Mount *Hebron*, and there he left them.

Samson was now come by little and little to a great Abatement

† Judges 15.

(a) See *Bochart's Hierozoicon*, Part. 1. l. 2. c. 15. p. 201. Edit. Lond.

ment of the Reverence he formerly had for the Laws of his Country, and consequently to a Hankering after the Laws and Customs of other Nations, which proved in Time the Foundation of his Ruin. It was his Hap to fall passionately in Love with a common Prostitute of the *Philistines*, whose Name was *Dalilah*; and the *Amour* was gone so far, that they lived and accompanied together. The Judges finding how great a Power this mercenary Woman had over him, made use of her Interest, by Flattery and Corruption, toward the Betraying of him. It was their Business upon the main, some way or other to destroy *Samson*; and the Part she had to ply, was to find out his Weak-side, and to discover where that invincible Strength of his lay. This was the State and Condition of Affairs betwixt the *Philistines* and the *Harlot*; and as there wanted not either Art, or Bribery, on the one Side, so neither was there any Failing in the Matter of Treachery, and Good-will, on the other, for the bringing of it about; she took all Occasions in his Cups, and Dalliances, to be still admiring his strange Activity, and Vigour; and nothing would serve her, but she must needs know where that Excellency lay, that put such an unaccountable Difference betwixt *Samson*, and all other Men. Now *Samson* had as yet so much Wit in his Freak, as to put off his Mistress at present, with a Trick for her Trick: And so told her, that if his Hands were but bound with *seven green Withs*, or Creepers of a Vine, it would be with him as it is with other Men. *Dalilah* said no more, but went away presently to the Magistrates with the Story. Upon this Report there were Soldiers order'd privately into the House, who upon the first Opportunity of finding *Samson* drunk, and drowsie, laid hold of him, and bound him according to their Instructions: But *Dalilah* awaken'd him immediately with an Outcry, that the *Philistines* were upon him. *Samson* upon the very Instant, took the *Alarum*, and snapping the Withs like Twine-Threads, put himself in Posture as for the Encounter of an Enemy. There follow'd a heavy Squabble a little while after, betwixt *Dalilah* and *Samson*. "If he had loved her, *she said*, he could never have denied her a Thing her Heart was set upon; but she found he durst not trust her, and so fobbed her off with a Tale; as if she could not keep a Secret as well as another Woman." At this rate she went on, putting the same Question to him over again; and over again he fool'd her too, with a Mock-story, that if he were ty'd up with a Band of seven Cords,

it

it would do the Work; but upon Trial, that Experiment failed them likewise; and so did a Third also, of filleting, and twisting up his Locks. *Dalilah* having been now thrice imposed upon, was not at all discouraged yet, but betwixt Spite, and Wilfulness, pressed him so hard with fresh Charms and Importunities, that he was now brought to the last fatal Necessity of yielding up what he could hold no longer; and so he up and told her. "That God, *says he*, that gave me my Being, hath been pleased in his Goodness, to take me into his particular Care, and to give me in special Charge not to suffer my Hair to be cut, for that in the Preservation of that Hair consisted my Security and Strength." Upon this Discovery, she cut off his Locks in his Sleep, and when he was no longer able to defend himself, delivered him up to his Enemies, who put out his Eyes, and carried him up and down in Bonds, for a Spectacle. Some considerable Time after this when *Samson's* Hair was well grown again, there was a great Meeting of the Princes, and Nobility of the *Philistines*. The Feast was held in a Building that had only two large Pillars to support the Roof of it. While they were together at this Festival, in their Jollity, blind *Samson* was sent for to make Sport for the Company. Nothing went so near the Heart of him, as the Indignation of finding himself out of Condition to be revenged of his insolent Enemies; but he spake to the Boy however that led him, to let him lean against one of the Pillars, for he was weary he said, of standing. The Boy did so; and *Samson*, with all his Might gave the Pillar such a Shake, that he brought down the House upon the Heads of three Thousand Men besides himself, and they were all crushed to Death under the Ruins.

This was *Samson's* End, in the twentieth Year of his Government. He was a Man of wonderful Strength and Courage, and to his immortal Honour, he employed his uttermost Force to the Confusion of his Enemies. It is true that it was his Hap to be inveigled by a Woman; and where is he that hath not been so more or less, that carries Flesh and Blood, and human Frailty about him? To say nothing of his other excellent Qualities, that deserve eternal Memory. His dead Body was under the Care of his Kindred, who caused it to be transported to *Sarasa*, and there laid by his Fathers.

C H A P. XI.

Of Naomi, Ruth, and Boaz. The Birth of Samuel. The Hebrews defeated by the Philistines.

* **E**LI the High-Priest succeeded *Samson* in the Government of the *Israelites*; and in his Time, there happened a miserable Famine. *Abimelech*, a Citizen of *Bethlehem*, in the Tribe of *Judah*, that was loth to stand it out, took *Naomi* his Wife, and two Sons that he had by her, *Mallon*, and *Chellion*, and so withdrew into the Land of *Moab*, where every Thing went prosperously with him, and they married their Sons to two Women of the Country; *Chellion*, to *Orpha*, and *Mallon*, to *Ruth*. Within the Compass of ten Years *Abimelech* and his two Sons died, in a short Time one after another. Upon their Decease, *Naomi*, that had now to her inconsolable Affliction, lost those dear Friends and Relations, for whose only Sake she was prevailed upon to quit her Country, with this Change of Affairs changed Counsels too; and resolved to go back again; especially being informed that Matters at home were now in a better State than she left them. Her Sons Widows could not endure to think of parting with her, but pressed her with Importunities, even whether she would or no, to bear her Company. She wished them all Manner of good Fortunes, and that they might be happier in their next Husbands than they had been with her Sons, but alas! She was not in a Condition, she said, to be any way helpful to them; and for them to venture a Certainty for an Uncertainty, in the Risk of such a Journey, only to condole with a miserable Mother-in-Law, to no sort of purpose; she was utterly against it, she said. Upon this Reasoning of the Matter, *Orpha* was over-ruled; but for *Ruth's* Part, "Come Life, come Death, nothing should ever make her forsake her Mother, she said:" So that *Naomi*, without any more Ceremony, went her way, and took *Ruth* along with her.

† When they came to *Bethlehem*, they were there received by *Boaz*, a Kinsman of *Abimelech's*, and the People calling *Naomi* by her Name; Nay, says *Naomi*, let it be rather *Mara*: The former in *Hebrew* signifying *Felicity*; the other *Sorrow*. It was now Harvest-time, and *Ruth*, with her Mother's Leave,

* Ruth 1.

† Ruth 2.

Leave, being gone out a gleanings for somewhat to eat, she happened into a Field of *Boaz*, who a while after came himself, and upon the Sight of this Young Woman, enquired more particularly of his Head-Servant what he knew concerning her. So he told his Master over again what he had heard from her before. *Boaz* was wonderfully pleased with the Tenderneſs of her Affection for her Mother-in-Law, and for the Memory of her dead Husband; and therefore ordered his Servant, not only to ſuffer her to glean what ſhe could, but to let her reap, and carry away whatever ſhe had a mind to, and to ſupply her with Meat and Drink ſufficient, in common with his own People. *Ruth* ſaved Part of the Bread and Proviſions they gave her, for her Mother-in-Law, and at Night carried it to her, with her Gleanings, all together; *Naomi* doing the like for *Ruth*, in what ſhe had received that Day from her charitable Neighbours. As they were together in the Evening, *Ruth* gave her Mother the whole Hiſtory of what paſſed betwixt her and *Boaz*; the Mother giving her to underſtand that *Boaz* was her near Relation, and that being a conſiderable Perſon, and a Man of great Piety, ſhe did not know but he might take his poor Kindred into his Care. † So that *Ruth* went on ſtill, Day after Day, into the Fields a gleanings with the Maid-Servants of *Boaz*, till the Harveſt was over; and then after ſome few Days, when the Corn was thrashed out, *Boaz* took up his Lodging in his own Barn, which coming to *Naomi*'s Knowledge, put her upon a Contrivance, how ſhe might bring him and *Ruth* to lie together, to the Advantage of them both: Which was, that *Ruth* ſhould convey herſelf into the Barn to the Feet of *Boaz*, and there lie down to take her Reſt. *Ruth* making a Conſcience of obeying her Mother, did as ſhe was commanded. But *Boaz*, being aſleep, knew nothing at all of the Matter, till waking about Midnight, he found that he had gotten a Companion; and calling out to know who it was, *Ruth* told him her Name, and begged his Permiſſion, in the Quality of his Servant, that ſhe might ſtill lie at his Feet. There paſſed no more Words at preſent, but early in the Morning before any of the Servants were gotten up to their Work, he called to *Ruth*, and bad her take as much Corn as ſhe could carry, and be gone immediately to her Mother with it, before any Notice could be taken where ſhe had been that Night; “ For
“ ſays he, in Caſes of this Nature, People cannot be too cau-
“ tious, let them be never ſo innocent. “ But in one Word,
“ ſays

† *Ruth* 3.

"says he, before you go; there is a Person nearer to you in Blood than myself. My Advice is, that you demand him for your Husband. If he agrees to it, you are bound to follow him: If he refuses, I can lawfully take you to Wife myself." With this short Word of Comfort, *Ruth* returned to her Mother, who upon hearing the Story, blessed the Providence of finding her Affairs in so good Hands.

About the Noon-time of the Day, *Boaz* was back again at the City, where he called a Court, and summoned *Ruth* and her Kinsman, to make their Appearance. Well! says *Boaz*, to the Kinsman, "If I am not mistaken, you are at present possessed of the Estate of *Abimelech*, and his Sons." "I am so, says t'other, and the Law has put me in Possession of it by virtue of a Right I have to it by Nearness of Blood." "Pray, says *Boaz*, do not talk of the Law by Halves; but whether it be for you, or against you, take your Lot in the one Part as well as in the other. Here stands before you the Widow of *Mallon*, and you are bound by the Law to marry the Woman, or to quit the Inheritance." The Kinsman excused himself from marrying her, by saying that he had a Wife and Children of his own already; and so by a publick Declaration in Court, rendered both the one and the other to *Boaz*, he being then the next a-kin to the Deceased. *Boaz* had this Declaration recorded, and then (a) commanded the Woman to loosen her Kinsman's Shoe, and (b) spit in his Face, according to a Formality of Law. This being done he took *Ruth* for his Wife, and within the Compass of a Year, she brought him a Son which he committed to the Care of *Naomi*, and by the Advice of the Women called him *Obed*, which in *Hebrew*, is as much as *Service*, or *Assistance*; applying the Name to the *Assistance* they expected from him to *Naomi* in her old Age. From *Obed* came *Jesse*, and *Jesse* was the Father of King *David*; in whose Family the Government continued for one and twenty Generations. I have been the more Particular in this History of *Ruth*, to set forth the Power, and Dispensations of God in his Providence, that brings the greatest Things to pass, even by the meanest of Instruments, advancing to the Throne, many Times, Men of the lowest Condition, according to his good Pleasure. This we find verified abundantly in the Genealogy of *David*.

A a

Matters

(a) Our Author does not perfectly agree with the Scriptures in this Place. See *Drusius* in his *Quæst. Hebr.* and *Bonfrerius* upon *Ruth*, c. 4.

(b) I read *ptusseim* not *tuptein* as *Drusius* has observed in his *Quæst. Hebr.* l. 1. qu. 62.

* Matters at this Time went very ill with the *Hebrews*, having engaged themselves a-fresh in a War with the *Philistines*. *Eli* the High-Priest had two Sons, *Hophni*, and *Phinehas* : Who were Libertines to the highest Degree, in the Contempt of Religion, and common Justice. They were Men that stuck at nothing that was ill. The ordinary Way of Gratuities and honorary Presents would not serve their Turn, unless every Thing were extorted from them by Violence and Rapine. They made it their Business to debauch Women, even at their Devotions, and to corrupt them by Bribes and Flattery, at the very Altar : And all this, with an Insolence equal to any Tyranny that ever was heard of. The profligate Wickedness of these licentious Men went to the very Soul of their Father, by reason of the daily Dread and Apprehension he lived in, of some terrible Judgment that would befall them. To say nothing of the Groans of the People under a most intolerable Oppression ; but when it came soon after to be revealed by God to the Father, and to the Prophet *Samuel*, who was at that Time but a Child, what would be the wretched Fate of these Men, *Eli* gave them quite over, and mourned for them as already lost, or dead. But for Order sake, I shall first speak a Word of the Prophet, and pass afterward to the wretched End of these lewd Young Men, and so to the true Cause of the Miseries that befel the *Hebrews*.

† There was one *Elkanah*, a *Levite*, and an Inhabitant of *Ramath*, in the Lot of *Ephraim*, that had two Wives, *Hannah* and *Phenannah* : By the latter he had Children, but by the former for a good While, none at all : But this Disappointment however did not one jot lessen his Affections to her. Coming one Day with his Family to *Shilo* to Worship, the holy *Tabernacle* being there, as has been said heretofore, *Elkanah* made a Distribution of Part of his own Portion and Provision, to his Wives and Children ; *Phenannah*, and her little Ones, feeding together. This Sight made such an Impression upon *Hannah*, that she lookt upon it as a tacit Reproach of her Barrenness, and upon that Thought, betwixt Grief and Envy, burst out a weeping. Her Husband and Friends did what they could to comfort her ; but she rejected all, and in that Passion went away directly to the *Tabernacle* : Where she besought God with earnest Supplications to grant her the Comfort of a Son, vowing, with a most religious Solemnity, to dedicate him wholly, and in a most peculiar Manner,

to

* 1 Sam. 2.

† 1 Sam. 1.

to his Worship and Service. The Length, and Earnestness of her Prayers gave *Eli*, who was then sitting before the Tabernacle, an Occasion to suspect she was in drink; inso-much that he called out to that drunken Woman to be gone. She made answer that she drank nothing but Water, only her Heart was heavy for want of Children; and that she was now imploring God in his Mercy to make her a Mother. *Eli* bad her set her Mind at rest then, for God would send her Children. Upon this Encouragement she went back chearfully to her Husband; fell to her Meat again, (which before went against her Stomach) and so returned with her Husband into the Country, where, after a while, she conceived, and in due Time brought forth a Son, whom they called *Samuel*; That is to say, *Asked of God*. The Parents returning to *Shilo*, to offer up Sacrifice, and pay their *Tenths*, according to Custom, and to give God Thanks for the Blessing of a Son, the Woman was not unmindful of her Vow but delivered the Child up to *Eli*, and dedicated him to God. They let his Hair grow; his Drink was altogether Water, and his Station, about the *Temple* where he officiated, was in Time to become a Prophet. *Hannah*, after this, brought *Elkanah* other Sons, and three Daughters.

* When *Samuel* was just entered into the thirteenth Year of his Age, he began to Prophecie; and as he lay asleep one Night, God called him by Name. He took it for *Eli's* Voice, and so went to him to know his Pleasure; but *Eli* had not called him, he said; and so he told him over and over again, upon a second, and a third Call after the same Manner: But *Eli* finding at last where the Mistake lay, told him that it was God that called him; "Wherefore, my Son, *says Eli*, " whenever thou hearest the Voice again, let this be thy Answer; Here I am, Lord; speak, for thy Servant heareth, " and is ready to obey thee." The Words that *Eli* put into his Mouth, *Samuel* made use of at the next Call, and the Voice then went forward, saying, " Since thou art here at " hand, I will now give thee to know, that the *Israelites* are " at this Instant upon the Brink of so dreadful a Calamity, " that is not to be expressed, or believed, and hardly to be " conceived. The two Sons of *Eli* shall be cut off both in a " Day; the High-Priesthood taken away for ever, from him- " self and his Family, and transferred to *Eleazar*; for *Eli* " (*says the Voice*) hath had more Regard to his Sons, then to " my Worship, though to the common Destruction of them

A a 2

" all."

* 1 Sam. 3.

"all." *Samuel* was not willing to be the Reporter of these dismal Tidings to *Eli*, and his Family, but being adjured by the High-Priest to give him a faithful Account of the whole Revelation, he deliver'd it in Order from Point to Point, and left the old Man no Place to doubt of the inevitable Destruction of his Sons. *Samuel's* Reputation encreased daily for a Prophet that never failed.

* At the same Time the *Philistines* marched with an Army against the *Israelites*, and encamped in *Ampheck*; but meeting there with no Opposition, they advanced further, and came soon after to a Battle, wherein the *Hebrews* were routed; and having lost 4000 upon the *Place*, the Remainder fled, and were pursued to their very Tents. This Blow struck the *Hebrews* with so mortal a Dread, that they gave all, in a Manner, for as good as lost, and sent immediately to the High-Priest, and the Elders, to cause the Ark of God to be brought into the Army; That by its Presence they might obtain a Victory; little dreaming that they were doomed to Destruction by a higher Power than that of the *Ark*; nay, by that divine Original, for whose Sake alone the *Ark* itself was had in Veneration. The *Ark* however was brought into the Field, the Sons of the High-Priest attending it with a Charge, that if it should happen to be lost, they should never look their Father in the Face again. *Phinehas* assisted only as the Old Man's Deputy, who was far gone in Years, and out of Condition for that Service. The Presence of the *Ark* inspired the *Hebrews* with new Courage; as if the very Appearance of it brought Victory along with it, while the other Side looked upon it as a Foreboding of their Ruin; but upon the Event, they both found themselves mistaken; for the Hopes of the one were disappointed, and so were the Fears of the other also; if an Error to their Advantage may be called a Disappointment. But in short, the *Hebrews* turned their Backs upon the first Encounter, lost 30000 upon the Spot; the two Sons of *Eli* fell in the Number, and the *Ark* itself remained in the Possession of the Enemy.

* 1 Sam. 4.

C H A P. XII.

The Death of Eli for the Loss of the Ark; and the Birth of Ichabod.

*THE sad News of this Overthrow, and the Taking of the *Ark* being brought to *Shiloh*, by a young *Benjamite* that made his Escape out of the Battle, fill'd the City with mournful Cries and Lamentations, which coming to the Ear of the High-Priest, as he sat mounted upon a high Chair at one of the Gates, gave him reasonably to presume the Truth of the Matter, and that some miserable Disaster had befallen the Army. So he call'd for the Young Man to speak with him, from whom he understood the Particulars, and the Event of the Battle. As for the Loss of Men, and for the Death of his Sons, he supported that Part of the Story with Constancy enough, being, in Truth, prepared for it by a Revelation, which gave him Foreknowledge of so much of the Calamity, and he bare it the better, in regard that it was no Surprize to him. But when he came to the Circumstance of the *Ark* being Taken, the Stroke was so unexpected, that he sunk under the Weight of it; dropt down from his Seat, and gave up the Ghost; in the Ninety-Eight-Year of his Age, and the Fortieth of his Government. The Wife of *Phinehas*, that was seven Months gone with Child, fell in Labour upon the News of her Husband's Death, and died the same Day; but the Child lived, and was called (a) *Ichabod*: (That is to say, *Shame* and *Ignominy*) pointing at the Disgrace of that Defeat.

Eli was the First of the Family of *Ithamar*, (another of the Sons of *Aaraa*) that exercised the Function of High-Priest; for till then, it passed from Father to Son in the Line of *Eleazar*: Who left it to *Phinehas*; and he to his Son *Abiezer*: From him it went to his Son *Bocejas*, and thence to his Son *Ozis*, whence afterward to *Eli*, of whom we are now speaking; and in his Family it continu'd till the Reign of King *Solomon*, after which it return'd again to the House of *Eleazar*.

* 1 Sam. 4.

(a) *Ioohabes*. Jos.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the SIXTH.

[From the Year of the World 2850, to 2890.]

CHAP. I.

*The Taking of the Ark. Dagon falls down before it.
The Plagues that attended it, till it was brought back
again.*

* **A**FTER this Rout of the *Hebrews*, and the Taking of the *Ark* Prisoner, as is said already, the *Philistines* carry'd it to (a) *Azotus*, in Triumph, and there lodg'd it among other Donatives, and Trophies, in the Temple of their God *Dagon*. Upon coming thither next Day to their Morning-Devotions, there was *Dagon* tumbled down from his *Pedestal*, and lying flat upon the Ground before the *Ark*. This Accident put them into a superstitious Confusion what to think of it; but they presently help'd him up again, and put him in his former Place. They continu'd going and coming, off and on, as they had Occasion; and still as they set him right one Day, they were sure to find him prostrate upon the Floor, and in a Posture of adoring the *Ark* next Time they came, which ran in the Peoples Heads as the worst of Omens. In Conclusion,

* 1 Sam. 5.

(a) *Asbdod*.

clusion, the City and Province of *Azotus* was visited with a most judicial Plague of the Guts, which rotted them alive, and carry'd them off by a violent *Dysentery*, with Vomitings, and Torments not to be express'd. They had another Plague in the Fields too; that is to say, such Swarms of Mice, that they laid all waste wherever they came; Plants, Fruit, Corn, and in short, nothing escap'd them. While the People of *Azotus* lay groaning under these Afflictions, without any Hope or Prospect of Ease or Remedy, they came to understand that all this had befallen them for their sacrilegious Violence upon the *Ark*; and that at this rate, all Things consider'd, they had paid dear for the Victory: So that they sent a Messenger with a Request to the People of *Ascalon*, that they would be pleased to take the *Ark* into their City; who were so far from any Difficulty of Complying with them, that they most thankfully admitted it. After a short Time they found, that the Judgments went along with the *Ark*; for the very Plagues of *Azotus* were now transported to *Ascalon*: And it staid not long there neither, but was still sent away from Place to Place, one after another, till it had travell'd through five of the *Philistines* Cities; and wherever it went, the same Calamities attended it, with such a Mortality, as if Divine Justice had imposed a Tribute upon the Violators of God's holy Worship. The *Ark* wander'd, in fine, so long, and so far, that People were grown shy of it, and would have nothing further to do with it: So that it was now the Question, how to get quit of it for good and all.

† To this End, there was a Council call'd of the principal Men of the five Cities before spoken of: That is to say, of (a) *Gath*, *Ekron*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, and *Ashdod*, to advise what Measures to take upon this Occasion. Some were of Opinion at first, for sending the *Ark* back to the Owners of it; for the God, they saw, that had it under his Care, would vindicate it, having already upon that Account destroy'd their People with Pestilential Diseases, and laid several of their Cities desolate. There were some again, that would not allow the *Ark* to be a Thing of Moment enough to make all this Bustle about. "If God, they cry'd, had such a Kindness for it, why did he suffer the Enemy to take it? (And an Enemy of another Religion too.) So that this Party was absolutely against the sending of it home again; advising them

A a 4

† 1 Sam. 6.

(a) In the Original, *Gitta*, *Accaron*, *Askalon*, *Gaza*, and *Azotus*.

them rather to bear the common Chances of humane Life with Courage and Patience : And to consider, like wise Men, that there was nothing in all this, but according to the Course of Nature, that has a Power over Mens Bodies, Plants, Seasons, and the like, to do greater Wonders then any Thing here amounted to. There remained yet another Sort, and Men of Gravity and Experience too, that advis'd a middle Course, betwixt either sending it Home, or detaining it ; and this Expedient carry'd it from the former, as being more congruous to the present Humour and Affair. The Proposal was this, that there should be made *five Golden Images*, one for each of the five Cities, and dedicated to God, in Acknowledgment of his Goodness in delivering them from a Plague by his Almighty Power, which was out of the Reach of any natural Remedy to relieve. They propounded also *five Golden Mice*, alluding to the Vermin that devour'd their Plants ; all to be put in a Box, and laid upon the *Ark* ; the *Ark* itself to be put into a new Waggon, made expressly for that Service, and so to be drawn by two Milch-Kine, their Calves shut up, and left behind, to keep them from lingring upon the Way : This Waggon, with the *Ark*, to be conducted to the Parting of three Ways ; and the Cattle there left at Liberty to go whither they pleas'd. If they took the *Hebrew* Road, and went forward in it, the Calamities they suffer'd might be imputed to the *Ark* ; but if they bent their Course any other Way, they might conclude there was nothing of the *Ark* in the Case. This Advice was the Sense of every Man that was there present ; and it was soon after put in Execution : Every Thing being provided according to the Order ; the Waggon drawn out to the Cross-way ; and the Company leaving it.

C H A P. II.

*The Joy of the Israelites at the Return of the Ark. A
miraculous Victory obtain'd over the Philistines.*

*THE Beasts being left to themselves, struck directly into the *Hebrew*-Way, and went forward in it as directly as if they had been led, or driven. Divers *Philistines* following at a Distance, out of a Curiosity to see whither they would

would go, and where they would take-up. They went travelling on till they came to (a) *Bethshemeth*, a Village in the Tribe of *Judah*, and there they stopt, notwithstanding the Temptation of a large Plain in Sight to invite them further. It was now Summer-Harvest, and the People all busie about their Corn; but upon this Occasion there came great Multitudes thronging-in: Some from their Work; others from their Houses in the Village, to see the *Ark*; and overjoy'd they were at the Occasion. Upon coming to the Waggon, they took down the *Ark* and the Box, with the Images, and Mice in it, and set them down upon a great Stone that was there in the Field. After this, they sacrificed and feasted; presenting both the Waggon itself, and the Beasts that drew it, to God, for a Burnt-Offering. So soon as this Ceremony was over, the *Philistines*, that had follow'd them thus far, return'd into their own Country. Upon this Occasion several of the *Bethshemites*, to the Number of *Seventy*, fell under God's Displeasure for the Temerity of laying prophane Hands upon the *Ark*, without the due Authority and Qualification of the Priesthood. This Judgment cast a terrible Damp upon the Spirits of the Multitude in the middle of their Rejoicings; to see so many of their Friends and Companions taken away from them by so judicial a Stroke. By this Calamity, they became conscious to themselves of their own Unworthiness to have the *Ark* of God lodged under their Care: So that they sent Messengers up and down to all the *Hebrews*, with Advice, that the *Philistines* had brought it back again. Upon this notice, it was forthwith transported to *Kiriath-Jearim*, not far from *Bethshemeth*, in the House of *Aminadab*, a *Levite*; a Man of a great Repute for Religion and Integrity, and therefore the fitter for the Entertainment of so sacred a Trust. It was committed to the Charge of himself, and his Sons, † and with them it rested twenty Years; (saving only the four Months that it was detained by the *Philistines*) to the great Honour of themselves, and the Satisfaction of the People. For the twenty Years that the *Ark* continu'd at *Kiriath-Jearim*, the People spent their whole Time almost in Prayers and Sacrifices; Attendances upon God's Worship, and the Exercise of holy Duties. *Samuel* took an Occasion from this good Disposition of the Multitude, to *Harangue* them upon the Subject of Liberty, and the Blessings that attend it; accommodating his Discourse very pertinently, both to the Season, and to his Bus'ness.

“Ye

(a) *Bethsane*, *Jos.*

† 1 Sam 7.

“Ye Men of *Israel*, says he, since you find by Experience
 “that the Malice of your Enemies is implacable, and that
 “your earnest Supplications to God for Relief, are graciously
 “receiv’d; You shall do well to consider, that your wishing
 “for the Freedom you want, will never do your Bus’ness,
 “without exerting your Power to the uttermost, upon the
 “proper Means of procuring it; for to do otherwise, is but
 “Praying one way, and Acting another. Wherefore, in the
 “first Place, be careful not to bring a Scandal upon your
 “Profession by Ill Manners, but inure yourselves to the Love
 “and Practice of Justice, without Partiality or Corruption.
 “Purge your Minds of all gross Affections; turn to God,
 “call upon him, and adore him; and honour him in your
 “Lives and Conversations, as well as with your Lips. Do
 “good Things, and Good will come of it: That is to say,
 “Liberty and Victory; for these are Blessings not to be ob-
 “tain’d by Force of Men, Strength of Body, or Bands of
 “Soldiers; but God, who is Truth itself, hath promised
 “them, as the Rewards of Probity and Righteousness, and
 “you may depend upon it, he will never disappoint you.”
 This Discourse was follow’d with the Acclamation of the
 whole Multitude, who with one Voice made a solemn Pro-
 fession of their Readiness to do or suffer any Thing that it
 should please God to Will and Command them.

Samuel, after this, summon’d the People to a Congrega-
 tion in a City call’d (a) *Mizpeh*, (That is to say, *Conspicuous*)
 where they drew Water, and sacrific’d; spending the whole
 Day in Fasting and Prayer. The *Philistines*, in the mean
 Time, were not without Intelligence of this Meeting of the
Hebrews; and so they advanced toward them with a very
 great Army, designing to fall upon them, while they were
 utterly unprepared for Action, and not so much as dreaming
 of any Occasion for it. This Surprise put them into the
 greatest Terror imaginable; insomuch that they went trem-
 bling, and half dead to *Samuel* for Advice what to do; tel-
 ling him flat and plain, “that they had neither Hearts, nor
 “Strength, to encounter an Enemy by whom they had been
 “so often worsted. They should be glad to be quiet, they
 “said, without provoking so powerful an Adversary. They
 “told him that they came thither in Obedience only to his
 “Order, to offer up Prayers and Sacrifices, and to enter in-
 “to a Military Oath of Fidelity; and here are we, they said,
 “Naked, and Unarm’d, at Mercy, without any Hope or
 “Possibility

(a) *Masphat*, Josh.

“ Possibility of coming-off, unless you can prevail with God to rescue us miraculously out of the Hands of the *Philistines*.” *Samuel* had them fear nothing; for God had promis’d them his Protection and Assistance, and he would most certainly make good his Word. So *Samuel* sacrificed a Sucking-Lamb to God, in the Name of the People; imploring his Aid against the Power of the *Philistines*, in Favour of the *Hebrews*, who put their whole Trust in him, and not to forsake them at present, in the Danger of a second, and a final Ruin. God accepted of the Sacrifice, and answer’d *Samuel*’s Request with the comfortable Assurance of giving the *Hebrews* an entire Victory. But while the Sacrifice was yet upon the Altar, and not wholly consum’d, the *Philistines* drew out in a Body, and presented themselves in Order of Battle, in such Hopes and Assurances of a Victory, as if the *Jews* were already taken and surprized; without either Arms or Order, or the least Thought or Design of Fighting. The Event however prov’d so contrary to what they expected, that if the Issue had been foretold by an Oracle, it would not have been believ’d.

In the first Place, God shook the Foundations of the Earth under the Feet of the *Philistines*, so that they could not stand without staggering. Elsewhere it open’d, and swallow’d them up alive before they knew where they were: And all this, accompanied with such dreadful Claps of Thunder, and Flashes of Lightning, that their very Eyes and Limbs were scorched, to the Degree that they could neither see their Way before them, nor stand to their Arms. In this Consternation, they fled, in as defenceless a Condition, as if they had been so many naked Men without their Arms; *Samuel* and his People following them upon the Heel with a terrible Slaughter, (a) till they came to a Place called *Chore*; and there he fixed a Kind of monumental Stone, in the Nature of a *Tropee*, for a Mark of the Bounds, both of the Victory, and of the Chace, calling the Place, the [*Strong*,] in Remembrance of God’s powerful Assistance of his People in the Action. The *Philistines* were so cow’d, and cast-down with this Disaster, that betwixt the Dread they had of the *Hebrews*, and the Memory of what they suffer’d, they never had the Hearts afterward to lift up their Hands against them; but contented themselves to sit down Losers, and to keep within their Bounds. The ancient Courage of the *Philistines* was now gone over to the other Side. And *Samuel* would not give them over, till by Inroads, fresh and fresh upon them, and frequent Executions,

(a) *Mechri Korraion topu tinos.*

Executions, he had brought down the Stomachs of the whole Nation to the lowest Degree of Despondency and Abjection. In this Course of Successes, he retook the Country that lies betwixt *Gath* and *Ekron*, which the *Philistines* had formerly taken from the *Jews*. But there was Peace at this Time betwixt the *Hebrews*, and the *Canaanites*.

C H A P. III.

Samuel being now in Years, transfers the Government to his two Sons.

SO soon as *Samuel* had put the People in some Sort of Order, and reinstated them in the Possession of their Lands and Cities, he appointed publick Meetings at certain Times and Places, for the Hearing of Causes, and Administration of common Justice: Taking a Progress twice a Year into all those Towns of Appeal, and Law-Bus'ness, to see Right done himself; making it his principal Care still, not to depart from the Laws of his Country. This was the Polity and Method of his Management for a long Time. * But in the End, when old Age, and the Weaknesses that attend it, had put his Body out of Condition for the personal Performance of these publick Offices, he devolved the Authority and Care of the whole upon his two Sons, *Joel*, and *Abiah*; the former, the Elder; and the other, the Younger: Directing them to make a Distribution of the People into two Divisions, and the two Brothers to go several Circuits; the one to have his Court of Judicature at *Bethel*; the other at *Beersheba*.

We may learn from hence, that Sons do not always take after their Fathers, either for Good, or for Evil: But many an excellent Father has a wicked Wretch to his Son; and so on the contrary, a sober conscientious Child, may be the Son of a graceless Father. As these Young Men, for Example, without any Regard to the Doctrine and Practice of *Samuel*, steered a Course directly contrary to the Prudence and Equity of his Institutions and Measures. They prostituted the sacred Name of Justice for Money, making Judgment to be mercenary; and in this State of Corruption, Controversies were decided by the Value of the Bribe, not the Righteousness of the Cause. They were still guzzling at their Treats
and

* 1 Sam. 8.

and Collations, when they should have been upon the Bench, and so abandon'd to their Avarice and Pleasure, as if they had deliberately entred into an equal Defiance of the Will and Commands of their God, and of their Father. For *Samuel* laid nothing more to Heart then the Care of keeping the People in the Train of a dutiful Obedience to their Superiors, and in the Knowledge and Observance of common Justice one with another.

C H A P. IV.

The Israelites press earnestly for a King, and God in his Wrath gives them one.

THE People were so outrageously transported against the Sons of *Samuel*, to see such Havock made of so excellent a Frame of Government, both in Respect of Policy, and of Manners, that they went presently open Mouth to the Father, who was then at *Ramah*, with a grievous Complaint against his Sons for their Misgovernment in general, and the Particulars at Length, of their Male-Administration; making it their earnest Request to him, in Regard of his own Craziness of Body, and the intolerable Extravagancy of his Sons, that he would set some King over them, under whose Conduct they might revenge themselves upon the *Philistines* for the Injuries they had done them.

Now these Words to *Samuel*, who was naturally a Lover of Justice, and a profess'd Enemy to *Tyranny*, went so near the Heart of him (being in his Judgment also for an *Aristocracy*, as a Form most accommodate to the Well-being of the People) that he could neither eat nor sleep, for the Thought of it; but lay tossing and turning himself all Night, restless, and unquiet. While he was thus labouring under an Anxiety of Mind, God appeared to him in a Vision, and for his Comfort, bad him trouble himself no further with this Remonstrance of the People: "For, says the Voice, they have not cast off *You*, but *Me*, to the End that I alone should not reign over them: And this is no more then the same Thing over again that they began with, when they were first brought out of *Egypt*: Wherefore let them go their own Way; but they shall dearly rue it e'er it be long, and abhor themselves for their Ingratitude, both to Me, and to My Prophet; but it will then be too late, and to no Purpose;

“ pose ; for when the Thing is once done, its never to be
 “ undone. Wherefore, I will have you give them a King,
 “ and he shall be a King of my designing too ; but before
 “ they go any further, tell them the Miseries they are now
 “ drawing upon their own Heads. Do as I bid you ; but
 “ let them see at the same Time how much it goes a-
 “ gainst your Heart to comply with them.”

Samuel, according to his Commission and Instructions, summoned an Assembly to meet next Day, passing his Promise that he would assign them a King, but not without letting them know before-hand, what they were to endure under that Form of Government. “ Your new King, *says he*,
 “ shall take your Sons to drive his Chariots, and to be his
 “ Horse-men, and some shall run before his Chariots ; others
 “ he will make Tribunes, and Centurions ; some again he
 “ will set to till his Ground, reap his Harvest, dig in his
 “ Vineyards, and make them Instruments both for War, and
 “ for other Purposes. There is nothing so mean, or extra-
 “ vagant, but you shall be forc’d to do it, like Slaves bought
 “ with his Money. He will make your Daughters Perfumers,
 “ Cooks, and Pastry-Servants ; compelling them to do all
 “ that upon Necessity, which the meanest of your Slaves are
 “ frighted into for Fear of Correction, and Blows. He shall
 “ give away your Possessions to his Eunuchs, and Guards ;
 “ divide your Flocks and Herds among his Favourites ; but
 “ to say all in a Word, you and yours shall be as much his
 “ Vassals as his own Domesticks. When you come to find
 “ all this to be true, remember what I foretold you. When
 “ that Day comes, you shall beg to be quit of your King,
 “ with as much Importunity as ever you did to have one.
 “ You shall then curse your Obstinacy, and reflecting upon
 “ your Sins, cry to God for Mercy, in the Anguish of your
 “ Souls, and not obtain it. You shall despair under the
 “ Repulse and suffer the Punishments of your Wickedness
 “ in the Torment of a guilty Conscience.”

These Counsels, and Premonitions wrought no more upon the Multitude then if they had been all deaf ; for they shut their Ears against all that could be offer’d them, either of Sobriety, or sound Reason ; and instead of desisting, nothing would serve them but a *King* immediately at a Venture. “ They could not defend themselves, *they said*, against their
 “ Enemies under any other Form of Government ; and why
 “ should not they have a King as well as their Neighbours ?”
 When *Samuel* found them so untractably wilful, in despite of all Counsels and Forebodings, he dismiss’d them all to
 their

their own Homes, with this Assurance, that he would call them together again so soon as ever he should receive Direction from God what *King* to give them.

C H A P. V.

Saul declared King. Nahash besieges Jabesh. Saul relieves it, and gives the Enemy a total Defeat.

* **T** Here was one *Kis*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, a Man well-born and bred, that had a Son whose Name was *Saul*; a Man of a proper, goodly Stature, and a Mind answerable to the Graces of his Body. The Father took much Pleasure in a Breed of *Asses* he had, above all his other Beasts; and some of them being missing, he sent his Son abroad, and one Servant with him, to look after them. When he had sought, and enquired from one Tribe to another, without any Tidings of them, he put himself upon his Way home again, for Fear his Father should be troubled to think what was become of him. As they were upon the Way near *Ramah*, the Servant told *Saul* that there was a famous Prophet liv'd there, and advised him to go and enquire of him, after the *Asses*. "Ay, but says *Saul*, I have not wherewithal about me to gratify him for his Pains, for the Stock is all spent that I brought out with me. The Servant told him, "That he himself had a *Quarter-Sicle* left yet; and he thought "that might be sufficient;" not understanding that this was none of the Prophets that make a Trade of discovering Things lost, for Money. So they went forward, and meeting several Damsels at the Gates of the Town going out to fetch Water, asked them whereabouts the Prophet liv'd. They shew'd them the House, and told them, "That if they had any Business with him, they should do well to make haste, and get to him before he went to Supper; for he had invited a great Deal of Company that Night, and they stay'd only for his coming, to take his Place with the rest of his Guests."

Samuel had been close at his Prayers the whole Day before, for Directions from God what King to set up; and he was answered, "That the next Day he should receive his Order; for there should come a Young Man to him of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, at the same Hour. *Samuel* sat waiting in the House

* 1 Sam. 9.

House all this while, in Expectation of this *Benjamite*, till the precise Hour was come, and then going down to Supper, there was *Saul* in his Way, whom he knew by an immediate Inspiration to be the Person that was design'd for the Government. *Saul* went forwards toward *Samuel*, and with a fair Civility, told him he was a Stranger, and so desir'd the Favour of him to know where he might find the Prophet. *Samuel's* Answer was that he had found him already; and so taking him to Supper, he discover'd unto him not only that the *Asses* he sought for were all safe; but that he himself was upon the Point of being advanced from that Employment to the highest Pitch of sovereign Power. "Alas! my Lord, says *Saul*, I have no such Thing in my Hope, or Thought, as you do me the Honour to imagine: Neither am I of a Tribe, or Family that sets up for Kings. It looks as if you were not in earnest, to put a Fancy in my Head of a Dignity so much above my Condition." The Supper waited, and the Prophet took *Saul*, and placed him above the rest of his Guests, (who were seventy in Number) and his Servant next him, giving Order to the Waiters to bring *Saul* a Royal Mefs. There they sat till towards Bed-time, when the Company brake up, and every Man went to his own Home, saving only *Saul* and his Servant, who stay'd with the Prophet that Night.

* By Break of Day next Morning, *Samuel* call'd up his Guest, and set him onward of his Way. When they were gotten out of the City, he desir'd *Saul* to bid his Servant go a little before; for he had somewhat to say to him in private. He did so; and when the Prophet had him alone, he took out a Glass of Oil, and pouring it on his Head, he pronounced, and saluted him *King*, upon that Anointing; telling him, "That this Honour was done him in Expectation that he should protect the *Hebrews*, and do them Right upon the *Philistines*, for the Injuries had been put upon them. Now, says *Samuel*, for the better Authority of what I tell you, satisfy yourself with this Token, you shall fall into Company upon your Journey, with three Men going to *Bethel* to worship: One of them carrying three Loaves; the second a Kid, and the third a Bottle of Wine. They shall treat you with Respect, and give you two of their Loaves, which you are to receive. You will then advance to the Sepulchre of *Rachel*, where you shall meet the News of your *Asses* being found. After that, you will go to *Gabatha*,
and

“ and join yourself to a Congregation of Prophets that you
 “ shall find there, and by the Assistance of the Spirit of God,
 “ you yourself shall prophesie in Company with them, to
 “ the Astonishment of all that shall see and hear you : In-
 “ somuch that People shall say among themselves in Admi-
 “ ration, how comes the Son of *Kis* to be found among the
 “ Prophets ? When this comes to pass, you may conclude
 “ for a Certainty that the Hand of God is in it. You may
 “ go then to your Father, and your Kindred ; and when I
 “ send to you, come to me to *Gilgal*, where we may offer up
 “ our Prayers to God, with Sacrifices, and Thanksgiving.”
 Upon these Words they parted, and *Saul* found every Cir-
 cumstance in his Journey to fall out, as *Samuel* had foretold
 him.

Upon coming back to his Father's House, his Kinsman
Abner (for whom he had a very great Kindness and Esteem)
 was mightily Inquisitive into the Story of his late Adventure,
 and *Saul* very frankly told him the whole Bus'ness of his go-
 ing to the Prophet, and how he came to hear of his *Asses*
 again, but not one Word of his Elevation to the Throne, for
 fear, either of drawing an Envy upon him, if it should be
 believ'd, or of incurring the Censure of a vain whimsical
 Man, if it should be mistrusted : So that though *Abner* was
 his singular Friend, and near Relation, yet considering that
 Men's Affections are changeable, and Flesh and Blood frail,
 he thought it safer, and more discreet, to reserve himself up-
 on that Point ; for Men do naturally cast an evil Eye upon
 other Peoples Prosperity, in Preference to themselves, even
 where the distinguishing Favour of God shews itself most re-
 markably in the Blessing. The next Thing *Samuel* had to
 do, was to call the People together ; which he did, and they
 met at (a) *Mispah* ; where, in a full Congregation he deli-
 vered himself to this Effect.

“ I am now, by the Command, and in the Name of God,
 “ to tell you, that it was he that deliver'd you out of your
 “ *Ægyptian Bondage*, and again and again rescu'd you out
 “ of the Hands of your Enemies, when they had you under
 “ their Feet at Mercy. I am likewise to mind you of your
 “ Contumacy and Ingratitude toward that God, in return
 “ for all those Mercies and Benefits : How you have, as
 “ much as in you lay, deposed him from his Authority over
 “ you, and rather chosen a Man of your own Make, and
 “ Frailty, then the Almighty *King of Kings* for your Gover-
 B b nour ;

(a) *Masphatha. Jos.*

“nour; as if any Ruler would do better for you then he that made you: A *King*, that shall treat his Subjects like Beasts, at Will and Pleasure, and use them only as Instruments and Ministers of his Passions and Lusts. But well! My Brethren, since you are unalterably determin’d to have it so, and for the Sake of an inconsiderate Transport of Levity to cast off all Manner of Reverence for the Duties of Honour, Honesty, and Conscience: Since this, I say, is your final Resolution; a *King* you shall have, and therefore divide yourselves into Tribes and Families, and put it then to the Lot who shall be the Man.” They did so, and the Lot of the *Tribe* fell upon *Benjamin*. That of the *Families*, upon *Matri*; and in Conclusion, when they came to try it Man by Man, the *Personal* Lot fell upon *Saul* the Son of *Kis*: Who being made privy to all this beforehand, slipt out of the Way so soon as the Choice was over, that he might not be thought ambitious of the Honour. It was an Instance of great Modesty and good Government in him, that being advanced from a private State to a sovereign Authority over a mighty Nation, he was not only, not vain, proud, and forward to shew himself upon the Promotion, but to avoid the Pomp, and Ostentation of his new Dignity, he so industriously withdrew himself from the Eyes, and Acclamations of his own Subjects, that no Body knew where to find him; whereas the hundreth Part of this Surprise would have turn’d the Brain of a Man less temperate, with Joy and Ostentation.

Upon *Saul*’s not appearing, or rather upon his not being to be found, they were all at their Wit’s end, what to do without him, and how to come at him: Till upon the Application of the Prophet for further Light and Direction, God was pleas’d to make known to him the Place where *Saul* lay conceal’d; whereupon, *Samuel* caus’d him immediately to be sent for, and brought into the Field, where he was observed to be taller by the Head and Shoulders then the rest of the People, and to have somewhat of a natural Majesty in his very Person.

Saul being thus produced, the Prophet presented him in Manner as follows, “Behold, *says he*, the King that God hath given you, and you may read in the Excellency of his Person how well he is qualify’d for this Honour: The People seconding this Recommendation with Shouts and Acclamations, of [God save the King.] *Samuel* had committed to Writing the Prediction of what would befall this People under a kingly Government, and read it over to them
in

in the Hearing of *Saul* himself; depositing the Book at last in the *Tabernacle* of God, to remain as a Memorial to Posterity of the Truth of all he foretold.

This Solemnity being now over, *Samuel* discharged the Congregation, and went home himself to (a) *Ramah*; and *Saul*, to (b) *Gibeah*, the Place where he was born. He was attended with a great Train of very good Men, that made their Court out of pure Loyalty, and Respect, to gratulate his Accession to the Throne; but not without Mutineers, and Male-contentants in Abundance, that out of Spite and Envy, made Sport of the whole Matter, behaving themselves contemptuously, even toward the *King himself*, as well as his dutiful Followers, and without any Presents or Gratulations to bid him welcome to his Dignity.

* By the Time that *Saul* had been a Month in the Exercise of his Authority, there fell out a War with *Nahash*, the King of the *Ammonites*, which redounded very much to his Honour. This *Nahash* had committed several Outrages upon the *Jews* beyond *Jordan*, breaking in upon them, and destroying their Country and their Cities with a numerous, and a powerful Army; and it was not enough neither, to make Slaves of them at present, by Force, unless they might be put out of all Possibility also, by Stratagem and Cunning, of ever recovering their Freedom. Now the Invention was this; they pluck'd out the Right Eyes of all they got into their Power, whether by Force or by Treaty; so that they must either lose the Use of the Buckler that cover'd the Left Eye, or the Benefit of having any Eyes at all.

When *Nahash* had gone this Way to work with the People beyond *Jordan*, he marched with his Army on the same Design to the Country of the *Gileadites*, and so to *Jabesh*, the Capital City of the Province, and there encamp'd. From hence he sent a Summons to the Inhabitants, either to deliver up the Town, and submit to the Loss of their Right Eyes, or otherwise to stand the uttermost Peril of Fire and Sword; leaving it at their Choice, either to compound for a Part, or to run the Hazard of the whole, Life and all. The Men of *Jabesh* were now at a stand, whether to give a tame, or a resolute Answer: But upon Consideration, they divided the Business, and the Return was this. "They desired only *seven Days Liberty*, to send to their Friends and Allies for Relief: And if none came within that Compass of Time, they

B b 2

(a) *Aramatha*. Jos.
Byzant. v. *Gabathe*.

(b) *Gabatha*. Jos. See *Berkeilius* upon *Steph.*
* 1 Sam. 11.

they promised to render themselves up to the Enemy upon their own Terms, otherwise to fight it out. *Nahash* had so mean an Opinion of these People, that he made no Difficulty at all of complying with their Conditions.

Upon this *Crisis*, they posted away Expresses to all their Friends up and down for immediate Succour, with an Account of the Straits they were in, under the Menaces of a powerful Enemy. The miserable Distress of their Condition drew Tears and Pity, wherever they came, but not a Creature durst so much as wag to help them. And it was the same Thing with the People of the *Metropolis* also, where *Saul* kept his Residence, as it was in other Places : But he having been abroad, and upon coming to Town again, finding the People under so dismal Consternation, he fell instantly upon sitting and enquiring, and from the Couriers that brought the News, he got the whole Story.

While Things were in this desperate Extremity, the Spirit of God came upon *Saul*; who in the Heat of this Impulse, sent some of the Messengers back again to the Men of *Jabesh*, with an Assurance, that in three Days they should be reliev'd; the Enemy beaten by Break of Day; and that the Rising Sun should see them totally routed and destroy'd; and the wretched Citizens safe against any further Danger. Some he dispatcht away with this Message; others he kept for Guides, to conduct him the right Way upon his March to his Journey's End.

C H A P. VI.

Saul gets an Army together; Routs Nahash; and is a Second time Anointed, and Declar'd King.

S *AUL*, being now straiten'd in Time, and the People backward enough to the War, bethought himself of an Invention how he might both quicken, and encourage them; making account that in some Cases, Men will do more for fear of Loss, then for the Love of Virtue : So that he first cut-off the Legs of his own Oxen, and then publish'd a Declaration, that whoever should fail of appearing the next Day in Arms, at the River *Jordan*, and thence to follow him and *Samuel*, wheresoever they should lead them, he should have his Oxen serv'd after the same Manner. This succeeded so well, that
for

for fear of incurring the Penalty, there was gotten together at the precise Time a Body of seven Hundred Thousand fighting Men, as appear'd upon a Review near the City of *Balam*, where they had their *Rendezvous*; not reckoning seventy Thousand Men more, of the Tribe of *Judah*. With this Army they pass'd the *Jordan*, and after a March of about ten *Schœni* that Night; they possess'd themselves of the Ground that *Saul* had pitch'd upon, before Sun-rise next Morning. From this Place they brake in upon the Enemy, Front, Flank, and Rear, in three Divisions, by a most unexpected Surprise, cutting them down on all Hands with a dreadful Slaughter. The *Ammonites*, in fine, were totally routed; their King *Nabash* among others slain in the Battle, and the *Hebrews* remaining Masters of the Field, with an entire Victory. This glorious Action gave *Saul* a mighty Reputation, both for his Valour and Conduct; insomuch that it brought his very Enemies over to him; and those that betwixt Envy, Hatred, and Contempt, could not before afford him a good Word, were now the Men that paid him the greatest Honour, and cry'd him up to the Skies for the bravest, and the best of Governors. For he did not stop, they said, at the Relief, and Deliverance of *Jabesh*, but carry'd-on a War against the *Ammonites*; laid waste their Country; enrich'd his Army with the Spoil, and brought off the People safe and victorious to their own Homes again.

Neither did the Multitude forget to celebrate themselves all this while, for the notable Expedient of fancying a *King*; for they look'd upon *Saul* to be the *People's King*, and consequently their *Instrument*: So that whatever he did, they took it virtually to be their own Act. "Where are those busie Fellows, *they cry'd*, that were so fierce against our having a King? Why are not those Traitors to their Country ston'd, or made Examples of?" At this Rambling-rate of Outrage and Extravagance, they went roaring up and down, (after the Humour of the Rabble, that judge of every Thing by the Event) till *Saul* interposed with an Oath, that he would not suffer any Thing so derogatory to the Occasion, as the confounding of God's Mercies, with human Passions; by polluting a Day of Victory over their Enemies with the Blood of their Friends. He put a Complement however upon the good Intention of a laudable Zeal, but still adjuring them to lay aside all Animosities and Grudges, and to join all as one Man in the Dedication of that blessed Day wholly to Joy and Thanksgiving.

When Matters had proceeded thus far, *Samuel* advised the calling of another Assembly to ratify and establish *Saul* in the Right and Possession of the Throne. So the Convention was appointed, and met at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was again anointed, and proclaimed *King* a second Time, in the Sight and Hearing of all the People. Thus was the *Republican* State of the *Hebrews* translated to a *Monarchy*: The Form of the Government, military and civil, under *Moses* and his Successor *Joshua*, was an *Optimacy*, or *Aristocracy*: And for a Matter of eighteen Years after that, it was no better then a direct *Anarchy*, without any Order at all; but returning to their old Way again, of chusing some eminent Person, whom they found most competent for the Function: The Sovereignty was lodg'd in *Magistrates*, under the Name of *Judges*, and there it continued so long as the Administration lasted.

* The Assembly being by this Time ready to break up, *Samuel* apply'd himself in a Discourse to them, by Way of Appeal, to this Effect. " I do adjure you, *says Samuel*, in " the Name of the Great God of your Forefathers, that gave " them those incomparable Brothers, *Moses* and *Aaron*, for " their Rulers and Guides, and deliver'd them out of the " Bondage of *Egypt*, to give me a true Answer now, in the " Presence of the King, without any Restraint or Fear, Tenderness or Respect, to some few Questions that I shall ask you. Can you, or any of you, charge me with so much as one single Act of Corruption, Partiality, or Injustice, in my whole Administration: Whose Ox, whose Sheep, or whose Ass have I taken? Not but that Presents of Good-will in the Matter of Necessaries for Life, may be received, without either Crime, or Scandal. Yet give me Leave to say again, if you can lay any Thing of this Kind to my Charge, let it be done, and do not spare me." Upon this, the whole Multitude acquitted him with one Voice, to all Manner of Purposes; declaring unanimously, that his Government had been faultless, and according to the strictest Rules of Piety and Justice.

" Well! *says Samuel*, I am glad of your Acknowledgment here before the King, that you have no Cause of Complaint against me. I wish I could say as much for you too; for to deal freely, you have been mightily to blame. What should you chuse another King for, after the Experience of so many signal Mercies, and miraculous Deliverances, while " you

“ you were under *God's Protection*, and own'd him for your
 “ Governour. You have forgotten the Story of your Fore-
 “ father *Jacob's* coming into *Egypt*, only with seventy Men
 “ in his Train, and purely for Want of Bread; how God pro-
 “ vided for them, and by his Blessing how they increased and
 “ multiplied. You have forgotten the Slavery and Oppression
 “ they groaned under, till upon their Cries and Supplicati-
 “ ons for Relief, God rescu'd them himself without the Help
 “ of *Kings*, by the Hands of *Moses* and *Aaron*, who brought
 “ you out of *Egypt* into the Land you are now possess'd of.
 “ How can you be so ungrateful now, after so many Blef-
 “ sings and Benefits received, as to depart from the Reverence,
 “ and Allegiance you own to so powerful, and so merciful a
 “ Protector! How often have you been deliver'd up into the
 “ Hands of your Enemies for your Apostasy and Disobedience,
 “ and as often afterward restor'd to God's Favour, and your
 “ Liberty, upon your Humiliation and Repentance! Who
 “ was it but God that gave you Victory, first over the *Assy-*
 “ *rians*, and then over the *Ammonites*, and the *Moabites*, and
 “ last of all, over the *Philistines*? Not by the Influence and
 “ Direction of *Kings*, but under the Conduct of *Jephthah* and
 “ *Gideon*. What Madness has possess'd you then, to abandon
 “ a heavenly Governour for an earthly! But however, to
 “ gratify your Asking; a *King* you would have, and a *King*
 “ you have, whom I have only ministerially declar'd, accord-
 “ ing to the overruling Order and Appointment of God.

“ But to shew you now, by an infallible Token from Hea-
 “ ven, that God is highly offended at this Importunity of
 “ yours, for an Alteration of your Government, I do now
 “ beg from Heaven, as a Sign that I speak Truth, and that
 “ God is infinitely displeased with you, that such a Tempest
 “ may fall now, as in the Middle of Summer; never was
 “ heard of before in this Quarter.” This Word was no sooner
 out, but there follow'd so outrageous a Storm of Thunder,
 Lightning, and Hail, that it look'd as if the Day of Judg-
 ment had been come, and frighted the Congregation imme-
 diately to their Prayers, that God would forgive them the
 Sins, both of their Iniquity, and of their Ignorance; desiring
 the Prophet also, out of his fatherly Tenderneſs, to join with
 them in his Mediation to God for their Pardon, for this last,
 as well as for former Transgressions. *Samuel* promised them
 his Intercession, and not without Hope of obtaining Mercy
 for them: But at the same Time gave them a strict Charge,
 “ to lead sober, virtuous Lives, and never to forget the Mise-
 “ ries and Calamities that had befallen them for departing

“ from their Duties ; and to bear likewise in perpetual Memory, the Miracles that God hath wrought in their Favour ; and the Laws deliver'd by him to his Servant *Moses* ; and this to do, as they had any Consideration, either for the Well-being of their *King*, or of themselves : Upon the Penalty, as he foretold them, of a certain Ruin both to the one, and to the other, if they acted contrary to what he had prescribed.” And so with this second Confirmation of *Saul* in his Government, the Assembly was dismiss'd.

C H A P. VII.

Saul incurs God's Displeasure. Jonathan obtains a glorious Victory over the Philistines. Saul makes a rash Vow. His Children, and his mighty Power.

S *AUL* being now settled, and confirm'd in the Possession of his Royal Dignity, made a Call of three Thousand choice Men out of the whole Body of his People. *Two Thirds* of them he took with him to *Bethel*, where he kept his Residence, for the Guard of his Person ; and the *other Thousand* he order'd to attend his Son *Jonathan*, whom he sent to *Gibeah* : With which Party, *Jonathan* reduced a Castle, not far from thence, and belonging to the *Philistines*. Now the *Philistines* thereabouts, wherever they got the better of the *Jews*, did not only disarm them, but forbade them the Exercise of any Trade that wrought in Iron : So that for the very *Iron-work* of their Ploughs, Spades, Mattocks, and other domestick Necessaries, they were fain to have Recourse still to *Philistine-Workmen* to supply them. They took Care also to secure all Passes, fortify all tenable Towns, and to furnish them with Men and Munition. The News of this Baffle was receiv'd by the *Philistines* with all the Indignation and Contempt imaginable ; and presently they drew an Army into the Field of three Hundred Thousand Foot, thirty Thousand Chariots, and six Thousand Horse, and pitched their Tents at *Michmash*. So soon as the Tidings of this Preparation came to *Saul's Ear*, he went to *Gilgal*, and sent his Messengers, and Proclamations, every-where up and down to summon all his People that had any Regard for the Liberties of their

their Country, to take up Arms against the *Philistines*; making them much less considerable than in Truth they were, both for Numbers, and military Prowess. But when *Saul's* People came to understand, upon the Certainty of better Intelligence, the full State and Strength of the Enemy, there past a *panick Terror* quite through the whole Body of them, to such a Degree, that they fled every way up and down, skulking and scowring, as in a Rout; some into Vaults, and Caves, and other nasty Hiding-places; but the greater Part of them made over the *Jordan* for Shelter, and Concealment, among the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*.

While Things were in this Hurry and Confusion, *Saul* sent for the Prophet to advise with, upon the present Juncture: Who made him this Return, "That he should continue where he was; get Sacrifices in Readiness; and that at the End of seven Days, he himself would be with him, when they would offer them up, and so advance to give the Enemy Battle." *Saul* waited out his Time, but most unhappily fail'd in another Article of his Commission; for the Prophet, he thought, was long a-coming, and his Men perpetually deserting him, he offer'd-up the Sacrifice without attending any further for *Samuel*. The Ceremony was no sooner over, but Word was brought that the Prophet was come; and *Saul* immediately, as upon a Point of Honour and Respect, went out to meet him. When *Samuel* came to understand what had pass'd, he told *Saul* that he had done very unadvisedly in not keeping to his Instructions, and in taking so rashly upon himself the Office of delivering up the Prayers and Sacrifices that God had appointed on the Behalf of the People, in his Absence. *Saul* excused it, that he had attended so many Days according to his Order; but that the Enemy's leaving *Michmash*, and marching directly towards *Gilgal*, had so frightened his Men, that he was under an absolute Necessity in all Haste to offer-up the Sacrifice before his People had quite forsaken him. "Well! says the Prophet, it would have been better for you to have follow'd my Direction, which was effectually a Message to you from God himself, then so heedlessly to incur the Censure of so dangerous a Contempt: For, in short, your Obedience would have secured the Government to yourself, and your Posterity." Upon this Reproof, the Prophet left him, and went his way home again, highly unsatisfy'd with what had been done. *Saul*, after this, with six Hundred Men only, and his Son *Jonathan*, marched to *Gibeah*, the greater Part of his People unarm'd too; for there was little Iron in that Country; and none of

of the *Hebrews* permitted to exercise the Trade of Armourers, as we have said already.

The *Philistines* divided their Army into three Bodies, and so marched three several Ways into the Country of the *Hebrews*, where they ravag'd and destroy'd all the Way they went. *Saul* and his Son, with *Abiah* the High-Priest (of the House of *Eli*) helplessly looking on from an Eminence near hand, but in no Condition (to their infinite Affliction) of giving them any Relief.

* *Jonathan* was so transported with the Spectacle of this Contrage, that he took his Armour-bearer aside upon it, and put a short Question to him how far he would stand by him in a bold and generous Enterprize, for the saving of his Country? His Answer was, (and he bound it with an Oath too) that let the Hazard be what it would, he would die at his Feet. Now the Plot was this, That *Jonathan* and his Armour-bearer should convey themselves secretly into the Enemy's Camp, and try what they could do to put them into a Tumult and Confusion. So they went away down the Hill toward the Enemy's Quarter, being posted in a craggy Place that ran-out at Length into three Angles, encompass'd every-where with Rocks, that were as good as Ramparts, to keep off an Enemy. The Place was so strong of itself, that there hardly needed any Guard to defend it; the Passage to it being not only difficult, but dangerous, and within a little of inaccessible. As they two were upon the Way, *Jonathan* told his Armour-bearer, for his Comfort and Encouragement: "If, says he, they discover us, and call out to us to come-up, you may depend upon it that we shall certainly succeed; but if they say nothing at all, we must content ourselves to go back again as we came."

When they were come within a very little of the Enemy's Camp, the *Philistines* got Sight of them, and made Sport of it from one to another, how the *Hebrews* were come creeping out of their Holes and Burrows; calling-out to *Jonathan* and his Companion, to come-up to them, and take the Reward of their Impudence: These Words were look'd upon by *Jonathan* as a most auspicious Presage of Victory; and so they went from one Side of the Rock to the other, where the very Situation was look'd upon to be Defence sufficient without a Guard. They made a hard Shift however with creeping and clambering, to mount the Rock, though with
infinite

* 1 Sam. 14.

infinite Toil and Difficulty ; and from thence slipt-in upon the Enemy at unawares ; cutting-off a Matter of twenty of them in their Sleep. The Alarum the Enemy took upon this astonishing Surprize, put the whole Army into such a Terror, and Consternation, that some threw down their Arms, and made the best Shift they could to save themselves by Flight ; others (being of several Nations) fell foul one upon another among themselves, not knowing Friends and Foes asunder. Some were forc'd into Rivers, and down Precipices, and into the Certainty of Death, to avoid the very Fear of it : Others, as it happens commonly in Tumults, were trod to Death in the Croud, tumbling one over another.

By this Time the *King* had Intelligence brought him by his Scouts, that the Army of the *Philistines* were all in an Uproar ; and the first Thing he did was to enquire if any of his own People were missing, and Word soon after brought him, that *Jonathan* and his *Armour-bearer* were not to be found. Upon this Information, he appointed the High-Priest to put on his *Sacerdotal Vestments* with his *Ephod*, and to consult God about the Event of this Action. He did so, and brought him for Answer, That God would make him victorious, to the utter Confusion of his Enemies : Whereupon *Saul* drew out immediately, and press'd-in upon the *Philistines*, while they were in Disorder, and falling *Pell-Mell* one upon another. The Rumour of this fatal Distraction was made publick every-where, and came at last to the Ears of the fugitive *Hebrews* in their very Dens and Caverns. Upon this Intelligence, they sally'd out from their several Retreats, to the Number of some ten Thousand Men in the whole, and press'd so hard upon the *Philistines*, that they had the Chace, and the Execution of them at Pleasure. But the *King*, after all this, was so unhappy yet as to commit a great Oversight in the very Course of his Successes, whether out of an Impotency of Mind under so surprizing a Joy, (as that's a common Case) or out of Inadvertancy, is not the Question. But so it was, that *Saul*, in the vindictive Resolution of making but one Work of a total Extirpation of the *Philistines*, pronounced a heavy Curse upon that *Hebrew*, whoever he were, that should presume, barely to intermit the Slaughter and Pursuit of the Enemy, though but by eating or drinking any Thing before the Night parted them. Soon after the denouncing of this Malediction, *Jonathan* had the Hap, passing through a Wood of the *Ephraimites* where

where there were Bees, to find the Droppings of some Honey. He took a Comb, and suck'd it, knowing nothing as yet of his Father's Vow, and the Solemnity of the Peoples Consent to it; but when they came afterward to admonish, and inform him of the Malediction, with all the Circumstances, *Jonathan* gave over eating, and not without some Reflection upon the Temerity of the Vow: "For, *says he*, "when Men are spent and weary, a little Refreshment "would have enabled them to go through with their Work, "with more Alacrity and Vigour."

After the Slaughter of a great many Thousands of the *Philistines*, upon the Place, the *Hebrews* came back at Night to the Rifling of the Camp; where, beside other Booty, they took a World of Cattle, which they kill'd as they had Occasion; dressing, and eating them with the Blood in them. This being an Offence against their Law, the Scribes immediately complain'd of it to the *King*, who presently commanded a huge Stone to be set up in the Middle of the Field; ordering the Beasts to be kill'd upon that Stone, and the Flesh not to be eaten till it should be first purg'd of the Blood; for that it was an Abomination in the Sight of God. This Decree was readily obey'd, and so *Saul* erected an *Altar* (the first Altar of his setting-up) and offer'd Sacrifices upon it.

Now *Saul's* Heart being mightily set upon a full and final Extermination of the *Philistines*, he thought it highly advisable, without giving the Enemy any Time for the Recovery of their broken Strength and Courage, to follow the Blow against the miserable Remainder of those that 'scap'd, that very Night; and he was sure of the Hearts and Hands of the Soldiers along with him to all Purposes. But however, before he would attempt any Thing further upon the Ruins of their scatter'd Troops, he appointed the High-Priest *Architob* to consult the Will of God upon the Issue of this Enterprize; who return'd Answer to the King upon his Application, that the *Oracle* was silent. "Well! (*says Saul*) It "is not for nothing that God keeps himself thus upon the "Reserve on this Occasion, who has been formerly so gracious as to prevent our very Requests, by granting them "before-hand; and therefore there must be some secret Mystery of Iniquity in this Matter, to draw his Displeasure "upon us: So that I am resolved to sift it out; and by that "Holy God, I swear, if I should find even my Son *Jonathan* "himself to be the guilty Person, his Life should answer for't,

“for’t, with no more Concern to me, then if he were a “Stranger.” The Multitude were one and all for putting of it to the Test, and immediately thereupon, *Saul* order’d the People to keep together as they were, himself and his Son standing apart, and so try the Issue by Lots. The Lot falling upon *Jonathan*, his Father bad him bethink himself, what ill Thing he had done that he could charge upon his Conscience. “Truly, *says he*, I know nothing more then “this: That Yesterday, upon the Pursuit of the Enemy, I “tasted a little Honey, knowing nothing at all of any Decree of yours to the contrary.” “Why then, *says Saul*, “with another Oath, You shall die for’t; for the Reverence “I have for my Vow, is more to me then all the Kindred “and Tendernefs in Nature.” The Young Man was not at all daunted with the Apprehension of Death; but with a brave and generous Resolution, he told his Father, that he did not desire to be forgiven; for “That Death, *says he*, “shall be welcome to me, that acquits my Father of the “Obligation of a Religious Vow, and only befalls me in “Consequence of so glorious a Victory, to him that gave “me my Being. I have liv’d long enough, since I have liv’d “to see the Pride and Insolence of the *Philistines* brought “down by the *Hebrews*; which will serve me for a Consolation, in all my other Sufferings.” The whole Multitude was so charm’d with the Piety and Bravery of the Young Man, that in an Extasy of Tendernefs and Compassion, they took him away out of the Hands of his incens’d Father, with an Oath, that “They would not suffer a Hair of that Person’s Head to be touch’d, who had been so instrumental “in that Victory, to the Preservation of them all. Only “they besought God to forgive him for what he had done “amiss.”

After the Slaughter of a Matter of sixty Thousand of the Enemy, *Saul* returned to his own Home, and reigned very happily, acquitting himself with great Reputation in all his Military Adventures against the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Philistines*, the *Edomites*, and the King of (a) *Zoba*. He had three Sons, *Jonathan*, *Joshua*, and *Melchi-shui*, and two Daughters, *Merab* the Elder, and the Name of the other was *Michal*. *Abner*, the Son of *Saul*’s Uncle *Ner*, was the General of his Army. *Ner* and *Kish*, the Father of *Saul*, were Brethren, and the Sons of *Abiel*. He had a mighty

(a) *Obs.* *Jos.*

ry Strength in Chariots and Horsemen, and still came off victorious, what Enemy soever he had to do withal. He advanced the *Hebrews*, in fine, to the highest Degree of Glory, for their martial Exploits, and made them formidable to all their Neighbours, taking particular Care in the Choice of his Guards, not to have any about him but the goodliest Persons, for Make, Stature, and Vigour of Body, that he could pick up out of his Dominions.

C H A P. VIII.

God commands Saul to extirpate the Amalekites: But taking King Agag Prisoner, and keeping him alive, he is cast-off for his Disobedience.

† **A**Bout this Time, *Samuel* came to *Saul*, by the special Direction and Appointment of God, with a certain Message to him; which was, "To put him in mind, who it was that advanced him above his Fellows to be a *King*, and of his Duty to the *King of Kings* that made him so; for though he was a Ruler over the People, it was yet but in Subordination to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe: And he had in Charge, *he said*, to tell him further; that whereas the *Amalekites* had been great Persecutors of the *Hebrews*, in the Wilderness, upon coming out of *Ægypt* into the Land which they then possess'd; it was therefore the Will of God that he should declare a War against them, and that upon subduing them by Arms, he should not spare so much as one living Soul, Man, Woman, or Child: Nay, that he should destroy the very Sheep and Oxen, and every Thing else that belonged to them, as well as the People, without making Profit of the Spoil, or seizing any Part of the Booty to himself; for all their Goods and Possessions were to be dedicated to God in one common Sacrifice: The very Name of *Amalek*, according to what *Moses* had order'd, to be razed out of the History of Mankind; and all this, as a just Vengeance for former Injuries and Oppressions, as above."

Samuel's Instructions, were peremptory and strict, and *Saul*, on the other Hand, was as frank of his Promises to observe them

them all to a Title, and to shew his Readiness, not only to do as he was bid, but to put his Orders also in Execution without Delay. The next Thing *Saul* had to do, after this, was the drawing of his Men together; which upon a Review at *Gilgal*, he found to be some forty Thousand, beside the Tribe of *Judah*; which muster'd thirty Thousand Men of War itself. With this Army, *Saul* brake in upon the *Amalekites*, disposing of his *Ambushes* upon the Passes of the Woods, and the Rivers, in such Manner, that the Enemy could hardly wag without Danger of a Surprize. But from this insidiary Way of Skirmishing, it came, in a short Time, to a capital Battle; wherein the *Amalekites* were routed, and betwixt those that fell in the Combat, and those that were cut off upon the Pursuit, the whole Body was so totally destroy'd, that there were scarce enow left to carry the News of the Defeat.

After this Overthrow of their Army, according to what God had foretold, *Saul's* next Work was to attack them in their Walled Towns, and strong Holds. Some they took by Siege, and Approach; others, by Engines, Stratagem, Mines, Starving, &c. Till in the End, carrying all before them, this Outrage concluded in an universal Slaughter of Men, Women and Children. For they look'd upon nothing to be cruel, or inhumane, that was done either in a just War, or in Obedience to a Divine Command, which would have been dangerous to dispute.

In this dismal Calamity, *Agag*, the King himself was taken Prisoner, who was so goodly a Figure of a Man, that *Saul*, even for the Sake of his Person, resolved to save him: In which unwarrantable Dispensation, he did but indulge a natural Infirmary at his own Peril, and in Opposition to the exprefs Command of God. For the *Amalekites* had made themselves so abominable in the Sight of Heaven, that God's Wrath descended to their very Children, in which Case, Nature itself would have excus'd a Tendernefs, if there had been any Room left for Mercy. But so it was, that *Saul* kept *Agag* alive to gratifie his Fancy, in Contradiction to his Duty; and in so doing, he laid the Foundation of all the Miseries that afterwards ensued to the *Hebrews*. The People fell into the same Iniquity also with their King, in driving away the *Amalekites* Flocks, and Herds, and converting to their own Use, the Pillage of Money and Goods, and the best of every Thing; which was all contrary to God's positive Order; and in fine, only destroying what was not worth the
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the saving. In this Expedition, *Saul* over-ran the whole Country, from *Pelufium*, on the Borders of *Ægypt*, to the Red-Sea, and laid it all waste, leaving only the *Sichemites* in the Land of *Midian* untouch'd: *Saul* having precautioned them before the War, not to join Interests with the *Amalekites*, but rather to get somewhere out of the Way, without involving themselves in the Fatality of a judicial Ruin that attended them. Now the *Hebrews* had a particular Kindness for these People, upon the Account of ancient Affinity; for out of them came *Raguel*, the Father-in-Law of *Moses*.

Upon the Credit of this glorious Exploit, away went *Saul* to his own Home again, mightily satisfy'd in Appearance to all Manner of Purposes; both in his Honour, and in his Conscience, as if he had not only done the great Work of subduing the Enemy, but kept himself to his Commission too, in a punctual Obedience to his Instructions. But the *King's* sparing of *Agag*, and the Peoples making Profit of the Spoil, being two Articles so expressly forbidden in *Saul's* Commission, gave great Offence: And it would have been look'd upon as an unpardonable Contempt, even toward a Temporal Prince, not to allow him that gives the Victory, a Right, and Title to order and dispose the Issue of it as he pleases. Upon this Way of Proceeding in *Saul*, according to his own Humour, without any Regard to the Tye of a known Duty obliging him to the contrary, God was pleased to declare himself to the Prophet, that it now repented him of setting up *Saul* to be *King*; for his Bus'ness was, he saw, to do what he had a Mind to do, not what he was commanded to do. This Revelation put *Samuel* in the greatest Confusion, and Anxiety of Thought imaginable; insomuch that he spent the whole Night following in fervent Prayers and Intercessions to God for *Saul's* Pardon: To all which Importunities he receiv'd this short, and final Answer, "That it was no longer Lenity, but Facility, and a mistaken Mercy, upon any Mediation whatsoever, to pass over Faults of such a Quality as to make the pardoning of one Offence a manifest Encouragement to the committing of another."

When *Samuel* found that God was not to be prevail'd withal, on *Saul's* Behalf, he went his way next Morning to him at *Gilgal*: Where the *King* had him no sooner in his Eye, but he ran presently to him, with open Arms, embracing, and saluting him, with a gratulatory Thanksgiving in his Mouth, for the late Victory, which God had given them,

them, telling him withal, that for the Order of the Affairs every Thing was done according to his Direction. "If it be so," *says Samuel*, what meaneth this bleating of the Sheep in my Ears, and the lowing of the Oxen, which I hear in the Camp?" The King told him, "those were only some Beasts the People had reserv'd for Sacrifices: And then for the *Amalekites*, he had destroy'd them all but one Man, whom he kept a Prisoner till he might have Advice what should be done with him." *Samuel's Answer* was, "That God took no Delight in Sacrifices, but in the Righteousness of good and just Men: That is to say, of such as observe his holy Will, and keep his Commandments; accounting nothing to be well done, but what is done in Conformity to his sacred Pleasure. God doth not consider the Sacrifice, but the Obedience, and without that true and only Sacrifice, the Fat of Beasts, and the Oblation of Gold and Silver, are but such Ostentations of a false Piety, as he neither requires, nor will accept of: But as to them on the other Side that take Delight in his Commandments, and keep his Precepts in Mind, and will rather die then depart from them, God exacts no Sacrifices at their Hands: But whatever they offer, let it be never so mean and poor, the Integrity of the Heart gives it a Recommendation beyond all the Pomp and Vanity under the Heavens.

"I am to tell you now, *says Samuel*, that you are fall'n under God's heavy Displeasure for the Contempt of his Commandments. What will you be able to say for yourself, when he shall call you to an Account for reserving that for a Sacrifice, which God had expressly commanded should be wholly destroy'd? Unless you look upon destroying and sacrificing to be one and the same Thing. For this Disobedience you are now condemn'd to the Loss of your Kingdom, and of that Power which you have most dangerously abused, to the Dishonour of the Sovereign Author of your Promotion." *Saul* could not in his Conscience but confess himself guilty, and own that he had done grievously amiss, in transgressing the Prophet's Orders, and going beyond his Commission. All he had to say for himself was, that he lay under a Force, and that the common Soldiers were so intent upon the Booty, that he durst not venture either to oppose, or restrain them; but *says Saul*, "Obtain my Pardon this one Time, and it shall be a Warning to me to my Life's End, never to do the same Thing over again." After this Profession of his Repentance, he would

fain have had *Samuel* stay a little longer, and sacrifice to God on his behalf: But the Prophet, foreseeing that it would be to no Manner of Purpose, went his way.

C H A P. IX.

The Translation of the Kingdom from Saul to another Family; and David proclaim'd King.

AS *Samuel* was pressing to get away, *Saul* caught hold of his Garment to stop him a while, and upon that Accident the Mantle was rent, betwixt them; which the Prophet apply'd by an Allusion to *Saul*, telling him that his Kingdom would be torn from him, and given to a Man of Piety and Justice. "The Sentence is pass'd, *says he*, and it is not with God as it is with Men; for his Decrees are unchangeable." *Saul* confess'd his own Iniquity, and the Justice of God's Displeasure: "But, *says he*, What is done, cannot be undone. Honour me only before the People, and turn again, that I may worship the Lord." So *Samuel* turned back, and they went and worshipped together. After this, they brought forth *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites*, who being over-heard to say something about the *Bitterness of Death*, had this Reflexion turn'd upon him by the Prophet: "As thy Sword, *says he*, hath made many an *Hebrew Mother* miserable and comfortless in the Destruction of their Children, so it is but reasonable, that thy Mother should be left Childless too." So the Prophet order'd him immediately to be put to Death in *Gilgal*, and he went back himself to *Ramah*.

* *Saul* was come now to be sensible of the Calamities he had brought upon himself by his Disobedience, and so went away to his Palace at *Gibeah* (or the *Little Hill*) which was the last Time that ever *Saul* saw *Samuel*. The Prophet was extremely afflicted at the dismal Circumstances of this Separation; But God commanded him, without troubling himself any further about that Matter, to take a Cruise of *holy Oil*, and go to *Bethlehem* with it to *Jesse*, the Son of *Obed*: There to anoint such a Son of *Jesse's King*, in *Saul's* Stead, as he should be directed to, and one that should be found worthy of the Royal Dignity. The Prophet objecting, that if ever it should come to *Saul's* Ear, he would certainly be the

* 1 Sam. 16.

the Death of him, one way or other; but *Samuel* had nothing to fear, and so he set forward for *Bethlehem*, and got safe to his Journey's End. Where there was great Numbers of People met to receive him. Every Body enquiring what brought him thither, and one Answer serv'd for all, that he came to *Sacrifice*.

So soon as the holy Office was over, *Samuel* invited *Jesse* and his Sons to take a Dinner with him. The eldest Son was so tall, so well made, and so graceful a Person, that *Samuel* said within himself, "This is to be our King." But Providence it seems look'd another Way; for upon the Prophet's breaking out into Admiration at the Graces of his Person, and how worthy he was to be plac'd upon a Throne, and putting it to the Question also, whether this was the Man or not that was to be anointed. Answer was made him, That God does not see with the Eyes of Men, as if the Excellency of an external Frame of Body, were enough to entitle a Man to the Prerogatives of Government: But the Qualifications that he requires are Piety, Justice, and Fortitude, nay and Obedience too; all which together make up, in Harmony, the Beauty of the Mind. The Prophet, upon this Answer, appointed *Jesse* to send for the rest of his Sons, and there were five more produc'd, as goodly, and as well-favour'd Men as their eldest Brother, (Six in all) Their Names, according to their Seniority were *Eliab*, *Abinadab*, *Samma*, *Nathanael*, *Rael* and *Afa*. *Samuel* consulted God now upon this Appearance, which of these Brethren was to be chosen, and the Answer was, [None:] Which put *Samuel* upon a further Enquiry to the Father, what other Sons he had? "Only one more, he told him, that look'd to his Sheep, and his Name was *David*:" Whereupon the Prophet order'd *Jesse* to send immediately away for him, for there was no eating without him. The Father sent for him the same Instant, and the Son came upon the first Call: He was a Youth of a fresh ruddy Complexion; a brisk Soldier-like Air of a Face, and with all this, a great deal of Modesty, and good Nature in his Countenance. Upon the first Sight of him, *Samuel* whisper'd the Father, that this was the Person God had design'd for their King: So the Prophet seated himself, with the Young Man next him; and after them, the Father, with the rest of his Sons. When they were thus dispos'd of in their Places, *Samuel*, in the Sight of *David*, took out the *holy Oil*, and anointed him; telling him in his Ear, "That it was God's Will, he should take the Kingdom upon him; strictly admonishing him, to

“do Justice to his People, and to keep God’s Commandments; for in so doing, *says the Prophet*, you shall stand firm in your Government: The Name, and Honour of your Family shall be glorious to After-Ages: You shall triumph over the *Philistines*, and be victorious in all Encounters: You shall live Great, and be yet greater in the Fame of your Memory.”

When *Samuel* had made an end of his Charge, he departed, and the Spirit of God passed from *Saul* to *David*; by the Power, and Virtue of which Spirit, *David* at that Time began to Prophecy: When all on a sudden, *Saul* was taken with Fits, and Fancies of Suffocation, and Difficulty of Breathing like a *Dæmoniac*. The Physicians could not give any natural, or philosophical Account of the Distemper, but only advis’d the having some Body about him that could sing, and play upon the Harp well, that might be ready at hand to give him the Diversion of an Hymn, or an Air, still as the Fit should be upon him. *Saul* was so well satisfy’d with the Prescription that he presently order’d such a Man, with all Care and Diligence, to be presently found-out and brought him. One of his Domesticks, upon this hint, told him, “That there was one *Jesse* of *Beth-lehem* had a very lovely handsom Youth to his Son, that sung, and touch’d the Harp to Admiration. He said he was as brave too, as he was beautiful, and every way answerably accomplish’d.” Upon this Recommendation, *Saul* sent a Complement to *Jesse*, giving him to understand that he had heard so many good Things of such a Son of his, for his Courage, Loveliness; his Skill in Musick, War, and the like, that he had a great Mind to see him. *Jesse* call’d him out from his Flocks, and sent him to *Saul* with Presents suitable to the Occasion, and the Person. *David*, upon his coming to Court, was received with great Joy; taken into the Guards, and treated by *Saul*, with remarkable Instances of Esteem. He was highly acceptable to the King at all Times and upon all Accounts; but never more then when he was in his Fits; for *David* was the only Physician, and his Voice and Harp, the only Remedy, that in these Fits ever had the Power to bring him to himself again. *Saul*, in fine, was so delighted with him to all Purposes, that with his Father’s Leave, and Consent, he took him to his own Palace to live with him.

C H A P. X.

The Philistines advance with an Army against the Hebrews. Goliath defies the Israelites to a single Combat; and David accepts the Challenge.

*IT was not long after this, that the *Philistines* marched against the *Israelites* with a prodigious Army, and encamped betwixt *Shecoth*, and *Azekah*; while *Saul* on the other hand, was at the Head of another Army to encounter them. He drew-out his Men upon a Mountain, and forced the *Philistines* to remove, and post themselves upon a stronger Mountain just over against the *Israelites*, with a Valley betwixt the two Armies. While they were in this Order, there came down from the *Philistines*, one *Goliath*, a Citizen of *Gath*; a Man of a prodigious Stature, and a Strength answerable to his Height: Which was six Cubits, and a Span; and his Armour proportion'd to the Size and Force of his vast Limbs. His Coat of Mail weighed five Thousand *Sicles*; his Helmet, and Cuisses, of Brass, answerable: The Head of his Spear was Iron, and weigh'd six Hundred *Sicles*: It was not a Spear to be carry'd like a Lance, but born upon his Shoulder. With these Accoutrements did this mighty Man march down the Hill, and a Troop of armed Men at his Heels, into the Middle of the Valley betwixt the two Bodies, and there he stop'd; calling-out to the *Israelites* with a horrid Outcry, after this Manner. "I am come hither, *says he*, you Men of *Israel*, to do an Office of Humanity, and to save Blood. "Why should we hazard so many Thousand Lives upon the "uncertain Issue of a Battle, when the Cause may be more "reasonably decided by two single Persons. My Business "here is only to do the Part of a Champion for the *Philistines*. "Do but you send out another Man with the same Commission from the *Hebrews*, and leave it to us two to put an "End to the Matter in Dispute, for the Prevention of a bloody "War. If he kill me, then will we be your Servants: But "if I kill him, then shall you be our Servants, and subject "to us. It is better, in fine, to expose one then all." With these Words, he went back again to his Party. He made the same Challenge again the very next Day, and so Day after Day, for forty Days together, to the great Trouble and Amazement,

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* 1 Sam. 17.

ment, both of *Saul*, and of the People, to have the Armies stand facing one another so long without engaging.

Saul had three of *Jesse's* Sons along with him in this Expedition: But *David* was sent back again to his Father, and to his Flocks. In some short Time after this, *Jesse* sent him to the Army with Necessaries for his Brothers, and to learn what News. Upon his coming to the Camp, *Goliath* was still bragging, and reproaching the *Hebrews*, that not a Man of them had the Heart to look him in the Face. It was his Hap, one Time, as he was talking with his Brothers about somewhat of his Father's Business, to hear *Goliath*, in the Height of his execrable Outrages against the *Hebrews*. This transported *David* to such a Pitch of Indignation, that he took up a Resolution himself of accepting his Challenge, and he told his Brothers as much; but *Eliab* took him up sharply for his Rashness; "A Boy, says he, that had neither Strength, Skill, nor Experience, to talk of Undertaking such a Commission! No, no: E'en go to your Father, and to your Sheep again. That's the fitter Employment for you of the two." *David* had a Reverence for his Brother, but yet could not forbear saying the same Things over again in the Hearing of the Soldiers, who presently carry'd the Report of it to the King, and *David* was forthwith sent for to Court upon it; where *Saul* ask'd him what he had to offer upon that Point? "Great Prince, says he, hope the best, and fear nothing, for I myself will take down the Pride of this boasting Man; and, as tall as he is, tread him under my Feet. Your Army shall appear glorious, and your terrible Enemy become the more ridiculous, when they shall see him fall by the Hand of a raw unexperienc'd Boy." The King stood in Admiration at the Firmness, and Magnanimity of the Youth; but he could not yet think it safe, or prudential, to put the main Cause to an Issue upon so unequal a Match: *David* perceiving that *Saul* took his Measures from the common Reason of other Encounters, gave the King to understand, "that this was not so much a Challenge to the Army, as a Defiance to Heaven itself; neither was the Combat to be taken, in Truth, for a Trial of Skill betwixt *Goliath* and *David*, but betwixt *Goliath* and the Lord of Hosts: For it is not my Arm, says *David*, that fights the Battle; but the Power of a gracious and invincible God, that many Times brings to pass, even by the weakest of Instruments, the noblest of his Divine Purposes, for his greater Glory. In that God is my Trust; and I doubt not but he will still continue to protect and deliver me in all Difficulties,

“ as he hath done formerly. As I was tending my Father’s
“ Sheep once, there came a *Lion*, and took away a Lamb
“ out of the Flock. I pursu’d him, till turning upon me, I
“ took him by the Tail, and threw him against the Ground,
“ and kill’d him. It was my Hap to have another Encounter
“ with a *Bear*, upon the same Occasion, and with the like
“ Success. Now this blaspheming foul-mouth’d *Beast*, from
“ their *Army*, is no more to me then a *Lion*, and a *Bear* out
“ of the *Forrest*. But Divine Justice will call this audacious
“ Wretch to an Account, and make me the Instrument of
“ his Vengeance. I do not speak this upon the Impulse of a
“ rash and ungrounded Confidence, but in a full Assurance
“ of Persuasion, that God will avenge himself upon this au-
“ dacious Wretch ; And that even I myself shall have the
“ Honour of a Hand in the Execution of that Justice.”

These Words were delivered with another Sort of Spirit,
then the daring Heat of Youth and hot Blood : So that *Saul*
look’d upon them rather as an Inspiration, then a Proposal
of his own proper Motion ; and being so convinc’d, *David*
easily obtain’d his Leave, and his Benediction, both in one ;
and then accordingly prepared himself for the Action. To
which End, *Saul* dress’d him-up in his own Armour, Coat
of Mail, Sword, and Helmet, and so bad God speed him.
But *David* found these Arms for Want of Use, rather a Bur-
den then a Defence : Excusing himself to *Saul* with Modesty
and Respect, That they were much fitter for a Prince then
for a Shepherd. Wherefore he put them off again, desiring
only that he might be allow’d to fight after his own Way.
Upon this, he took his Shepherd’s Staff, a Sling in his Right
hand, five smooth Stones out of the Brook in his Scrip ; and
so advanced toward the Enemy : The other launching for-
ward to meet him, as fast as his Legs, under so vast a Load
of Armour, were able to carry him. When they were come
within Ken one of another ; and that *Goliath* saw what a
Dwarf of an Adversary he had to encounter, with the un-
couth Appearance of his Equipage, he call’d out to him in
Derision : “ Hark ye little Man, says he, with the Cudgel
“ there : Are you come into the Field now, to beat a Dog,
“ or fight a Soldier ?” To beat worse then a Dog, says *Da-
vid* ; and pressing still nearer him. This Reproach trans-
ported the *Barbarian* into so blasphemous a Rage, that he
curs’d *David* by his Gods ; threatning to give his Flesh for
Food to the Fowls of the Air, and to the Beasts of the Field.
“ You come to me, says *David*, with a Sword, and a Spear,
“ and a Coat of Mail ; but I come to you with a Commission

“ from the Living God, who by my Hands will this Day destroy both yourself, and your Army ; divide your Head from your Body, and carry it away with me, and cast your Carcass upon the Dunghill for Dog’s Meat : Dog as you are yourself. By this Providence it will be made evident to the whole World, that the God of the *Hebrews* takes Care of his People, and that his Protection is both their Strength, and their Armour. As likewise on the contrary, that there can be no Security, either in Arms, or in Numbers, to those that fall under his Displeasure.” The *Philistine*, in the mean Time, advanc’d toward *David*, as fast as he was able to march, under the Weight of his Armour ; and with all the Contempt imaginable, to think of having to do with so raw and undisciplin’d an Adversary.

C H A P. XI.

David kills Goliath. The Philistines routed. And Saul takes-up a mortal Jealousy against David.

D*avid*, on the other Hand, pressing forward to the Combat, under the Conduct and Protection of his Almighty and Invisible Second : He took out of his Scrip, one of the Stones of the Brook, that he had provided for this Occasion ; Couched it in his Sling, and cast it with such a Force at the Head of his Enemy, that it brake the Skull of him, and pierced his very Brain ; laying the Monster grovelling, with his Face upon the Ground, in his last Sleep. *David* immediately runs-up to him, and bestrides him ; takes his Sword from his Side, (having none himself) and cuts-off the *Philistine’s* Head with his own Weapon. This Exploit had such an Effect upon their Army, that they fled, and scatter’d, upon the very Hearing of it. The Loss of their Champion put them into such an Astonishment, and Desperation, that all they had to do in the World was by a shameful Flight, every Man of them, to make the best Shift he could for the saving of his own Skin. *Saul* and the whole Army of the *Hebrews*, made their Advantage of this Disorder, and falling-on in the Hurry of this Terror, with military Shouts and Clamours, had the Chace of them to the Skirts of *Gath*, and the very Gates of *Askalon*. They reckon’d thirty Thousand kill’d out-right upon the Pursuit, and twice-as many wounded.

ed. The Army also, at their Return, taking the Pillage of the Camp, and setting Fire to it. As for the Head of *Goliath*, *David* carry'd that to his own Tent, and dedicated the Sword to the Lord.

This brave and generous Atchievement of *David's*, rais'd soon after a mortal Jealousy and Hatred in *Saul*; which happen'd particularly on this Occasion.

* Upon *Saul's* returning from the Victory, the Women and Virgins went in Throngs out of all the Cities, singing and dancing, with their *Cymbals* and *Taborets*, to meet him upon the Way, and joy him of his Successes: The Women leading the Song with [*Saul hath slain his Thousands;*] the Virgins following it, [*And David his ten Thousands.*] This Preference of *David* to *Saul*, in a ten-fold Proportion, put such a Freak into his Head, that he could not think himself safe after it, so long as *David* had any Command near his Person: Wherefore he advanced him to the Charge of a Colonel: And in Truth, his promoting the Young Man, and putting him upon so many hazardous and glorious Enterprises, was not so much to do *David* Honour, as to provide for his own Security; in Hope he might fall by the Chance of War in a Battle. For after such an Instance of the Peoples Affections to *David*, as to ascribe to him the Credit of the Victory, their next Business would be to transfer the Authority of the Government, and for him to take it too. But *David* had the Providence of God along with him, wherever he went, and in whatsoever he did; and he had not only won the Hearts of the People by the Charms of his Courage and Behaviour, but so far gain'd upon the Affections of a Virgin-Daughter of *Saul's*, that her Father himself took Notice of the Passion she had for him; and in his ordinary Discourses upon that Subject; he seem'd well enough content that it should be a Match: Not out of any true Tenderness and Esteem that he had for *David*, but as the most plausible Cover for a Snare, that in a short Time might probably cost him his Life: Which was the very Bottom of his Design.

While this Treaty was in Speculation, *Saul* cast-out a Word by the by. "Let him, *says he*, bring me the Heads of "six Hundred *Philistines*, as an Acknowledgment; and take "my Daughter." He computed within himself that *David* was not of a Temper to decline any generous Enterprize, that carry'd Honour and Danger along with it; and that his

* 1 Sam. 18.

his Acceptance of this Offer would certainly engage him in some desperate Action upon the *Philistines*, that might probably cost him his Life to attempt. This, says *Saul* to himself, will be the more decent Way of gratifying my Jealousy and Revenge ; for it will look better to have him taken-off by the Hands of the *Philistines*, as my Instruments, then expressly by my own Order.

Saul, upon this Deliberation, set some of his Domesticks at Work to learn how *David* stood affected to the Marriage of his Daughter ; who gave him to understand by Insinuations, that he was in so great Favour both with King and People, that there was a Speech as if *Saul* intended to make him his *Son-in-Law*. You may perhaps reckon it no great Matter, says *David*, to be *Son-in-Law* to a mighty Prince ; but under the Circumstances of my Quality, and Extraction, I am not vain enough so much as to think on't.

Upon the Return of the Commissioners with an Account of their Negotiation, *Saul* sent them once more back again with further Instructions. " Tell the Young Man, says he, " that my Business is not either Fortune or Presents ; and " that whenever I part with my Daughter, she shall be bestow'd, not sold. The *Son-in-Law* that I propose to myself must be a Man just so qualify'd with Courage, and other laudable Graces, as I find him to be. Tell him, that " I expect neither Silver nor Gold from his Father ; for I " do not want either Money or Honour. Let him only bring " me six Hundred *Philistines* Heads ; which will be welcome to me than any Thing, and the most honourable " of Presents to my Daughter, in Justification of her to the " whole World, that she has taken a brave Man to her Husband." *David* took every Thing that *Saul* said, for good Faith, in his Proposal of this Affinity, without any dilatory Consideration, whether the Thing were feasible or not : And immediately fell to Work with his Companions upon the Execution of the Conditions, and found God's Providence as propitious to him in this, as it had been in former Encounters ; for his Adventure succeeded to his Wish : That is to say, he fought the Enemy, and after, a great Slaughter, made a Present to the *King*, of six Hundred of their Heads, and minded *Saul* of his Promise.

C H A P. XII.

Saul designs upon David's Life, and Jonathan from Time to Time gives him Notice of his Danger.

* *S* AUL found himself so hamper'd, that there was no starting, without giving himself the Lie, or discovering the Treachery of his Heart, in so base a Design upon the Life of a generous Young Man, under the Pretext of an honourable Affinity : So that betwixt Shame, and Scandal, he lay under a Kind of Force to be as good as his Word, in giving his Daughter in Marriage to *David*. But this Nearness of Relation wrought no Change at all upon the *King* : For *Saul* observing that *David* grew daily more and more in Favour both with God and Man, he fancy'd to himself, that so long as he liv'd, neither his Crown, nor his Life were in Safety : So that he took up a Resolution, for the Security of both, to have *David* dispatch'd ; designing his Son *Jonathan*, with some of the trustiest of his Servants, for his Executioners. This lewd Inconstancy of *Saul*, not only in withdrawing his Affection from so deserving a Youth, but entring also into an impious and perfidious Design upon his Life, struck the Son with such an Amazement and Horror, that what with the natural Inclination he had for the Person of *David*, and likewise a profound Veneration for his Virtue, he went and gave *David* private Notice of *Saul's* Intention ; advising him as he lov'd his Life to be gone without any Delay : And in the mean Time, says he, I will go to my Father, and take my Time to mention your Name to him ; for I have a mind to try if I can learn what it is he takes so heinously, and bring him to better Reason ; for, says *Jonathan*, I cannot imagine so much as any colourable Pretence for such an Indignation and Displeasure, against a Person that has deserved so eminently well, both from his Prince, and from his Country. Or supposing Things at the worst, and that in Truth he might have made a false Step or two, why are not his Services set in Ballance against it ? For the Publick owes him a Pardon, *Jonathan* then told *David*, that he should be sure to have Intelligence from Time to Time how Matters went with his Father. So *David* follow'd *Jonathan's* Counsel, and immediately withdrew out of the Way.

C H A P.

* 1 Sam. 19.

C H A P. XIII.

Jonathan reconciles Saul to David: And Saul restores him to his former Post.

Jonathan accordingly went the next Day to his Father, and finding him in a pleasant easy Humour, lays hold of the critical Minute to say somewhat to him about *David*. "Father, says he, you have here taken up a terrible Displeasure against this Young Man, and given Orders for his Death; but upon what Provocation, or for what Fault, great or little, I cannot comprehend. He is a Person to whom we stand indebted for our own Safety, and the Destruction of the *Philistines*; for vindicating the Honour of our Nation from the Scandal of a *Forty-Days-Affront*, in the Challenge of the Giant; and not a Creature but this innocent Youth had the Heart to encounter him: A Person that purchas'd my Sister for his Wife at your own Price; to wit, *the Heads of six Hundred Philistines*, which were punctually counted according to his Agreement. A Person, in fine, entitled to your Esteem and Tenderneſs, both as a brave Man, and as a Member of your Family, which will make up two sensible Aggravations of the Loss. Be pleas'd to consider too, the Injury you do to your own Daughter, in making her feel the Mortification of a Widow, before she enjoys the Blessing of being a Mother. Pray be pleas'd to lay these Things together, and betake yourself to moderate Counsels. Remember who it was that cur'd you of your dark Splenetick Fits, and drove the evil Spirit from you; and consider the Obligation he has laid upon the whole Family by that Relief; and who it was, next under God, that deliver'd us from our implacable Enemies. These are Benefits never to be forgotten, without the Infamy of the blackest Ingratitude." The Strength and Equity of this Way of Reasoning wrought so effectually upon *Saul's* Rage and Jealousy, that he bound himself with an Oath, never to do any Manner of Harm or Wrong to *David*, for the Time to come. *Jonathan* carry'd the News of this Reconciliation to *David*, with an Assurance that *Saul* was mollify'd, and ready to do him all Sorts of good Offices: In which Confidence he carry'd him back again to Court; reconcil'd him to his Father, and re-instated him in the same Post of Service and Attendance that he was in before.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

David overthrows the Philistines. Saul seeks his Life, and Michal saves it. A League betwixt David and Jonathan. David flies to Gath. Abimeleck relieves him, and Saul puts Abimeleck and the whole Sacerdotal Race to the Sword; only Abiathar escapes. David's miraculous Deliverances. The Death of Samuel. David marries Abigail. Achish entertains him; gives him Zicklag, and engages him in his War against the Israelites.

ABOUT this Time the *Philistines* made War afresh upon the *Hebrews*, and *David* was sent out by *Saul* in the Head of an Army to encounter them. They fought a Battle, and the *Philistines* were totally broken and cut to pieces, with a terrible Execution. So soon as the Action was over, *David* went forthwith back to the King with an Account of the Victory. But his Reception was not answerable, either to his Expectation, or to the Merit of his Services; for *Saul* was rather sad, and cast down at the Story of the Success, then elevated with it; for fear of the Consequences of *David's* growing Reputation among the People; for *Saul* turn'd every Thing that contributed to *David's* Honour and Advantage, to his own Loss and Reproach.

It happen'd one Day, that *Saul*, being fallen into one of his old Fits again, sent for *David* into his Bed-Chamber, to sing, and play on the Harp to him as he lay there upon the Couch with a Lance in his Hand. *David* was in the very Act of his Obedience, Singing and Playing, as the King had commanded him, when *Saul* starting up all on a sudden, darted his Lance at him; but *David* keeping a watchful and a jealous Eye upon him, slipt aside out of Harms-way, and so from thence, as fast as he could run, to his own House, where he continu'd for the Remainder of that Day. At Night, there was a Guard set upon the House by the King's Order, to prevent *David's* Escape, and to bring him in Custody next Morning, as a Criminal, to suffer Death by a publick Sentence; but (a) *Michal*, *David's* Wife, and the King's Daughter, having very good Intelligence of her Father's Design, ran presently

(a) *Melcha*. Jos.

sently to her Husband, and told him the whole Story at length, and the Danger he was in, charging him to be gone before next Morning, or he was a dead Man ; for “ if you “ should be taken, *says she*, my Father will certainly put you “ to Death. Wherefore shift for yourself now in the Dark “ of the Night, and may God lengthen it beyond the ordi- “ nary Course, rather than you want Time for your Escape.” So [after a decent Interchange of all those Tendernesses that naturally occur in such Cases, the Royal Couple were now upon the very Point of Parting, with mutual Protestations, that neither of them either would, or could live without the other. This was the Farewel ; and so] *Michal* let her Husband down from the Window by a Rope, committing him to Providence.

By Break of Day came *Saul's* Messengers to the House to fetch away *David* ; but *Michal* told them he was sick in Bed, and after a very bad Night on't, was now fallen to rest ; so she shew'd them the Bed, which she had dress'd up on Purpose for the Fallacy, and somewhat panting under the Coverlet, which they took for the Sick Man. All pass'd for currant with the Messengers, and so away went they to the King, with an Account of every Thing ; but *Saul* sent them back again the next Night, with a peremptory Command to bring *David* away as they found him : For Die he must. Upon the second Search, they turn'd up the Bed-cloaths, and perceiv'd that *Michal* had put a Trick upon them ; for there was no *David* to be found. Now the Panting under the Blankets was only a Device of *Michal's*, that had convey'd into the Bed the warm Liver of a Kid newly kill'd to represent the Palpitation. The Officers told the King the whole Bus'ness, and how his Daughter had impos'd upon them. *Saul* rattled her severely for being so base as to take part with an Enemy against her Father ; but she had this to say plausibly enough for herself ; that her Husband swore he would kill her if she would not undertake to conceal him, and help him away : And therefore she hoped he would pass over what she had done under such a Force ; for she must have sacrificed the Life of his Daughter, if she had not saved the Life of his supposed Enemy.

Michal had now obtain'd her Pardon, and *David* was gotten off safe to *Samuel* at *Ramah* ; where he gave the Prophet the History at large of the Snares that had been laid for him ; the Adventure of the Lance, &c. without any Pretence all
this

this while of the least Failing in Matter of Duty and Respect, or of any Miscarriage in his Commissions; for God had still prosper'd him in whatsoever he undertook. And it must be added now for a further Aggravation, that God's peculiar Favour toward him was the very Ground of all the Hatred, and Envy that was stirr'd up against him.

When *Samuel* came to understand the Extravagance and Iniquity of *Saul's* Way of Proceeding, he took *David* along with him from *Ramah* to *Galbaath*, and there they continu'd a while together; but so soon as *Saul* had gotten Intelligence of *David's* being with the Prophet, he sent a Party of Soldiers to take him up, and bring him away a Prisoner: But the Messengers, upon their Arrival, found *Samuel* in the Congregation of the Prophets; and after a while, by the same Spirit, they began to prophesie themselves too. *Saul* having Notice of this, sent others, and then others, again and again still, upon the same Errand, and it fared with them as with the former. Upon the third Disappointment, all in a Rage, *Saul* went himself, and when he was come almost in Sight of *Samuel*, the Spirit of Prophecy seized him also: And going a little further, the Impulse was so strong upon him, that he stript himself stark naked, and prophesy'd a whole Day and Night so, in the Presence of *David* and *Samuel*.

David all this while thought himself very ill us'd by the King, considering how dutiful and useful he had been to him: But upon making his Moan to *Jonathan*, of the hard Measure he had receiv'd, T'other advis'd him not to judge, or to suspect rashly, nor to be led away with private Tales and Suggestions, but rather to depend upon himself, that there was no Mischief in the World intended him by his Father, who seldom did any Thing of Consequence without making him privy to it; or if any such Thing had been, he himself would certainly have told him of it. * *David*, on the other Hand, affirmed with an Oath, the Truth of the whole Matter as he had set it forth, and besought *Jonathan* to venture rather to be a little credulous, where the Life of his Friend was at Stake, then to suspend his Belief, upon the Hazard of coming to be convinced of his Error by the Loss of a Brother. "Neither is it to be imagined, says he, that the King, who knows you and me to be so particular Friends, should ever communicate to either of us, a Design he has upon the Life of the other." *David's* Discourse had more Weight in it, then *Jonathan* could have wish'd: So

* 1 Sam. 20.

So that being half convinc'd, and in some Trouble at it; he only desir'd *David* to make use of his Service, if there were any Thing in the World wherein he might be useful to him. "I am sensible, *says David*, of your good Will, and Readiness to oblige me, and in that Confidence I am to mind you, that we are to have a Mew-Moon To-morrow, and a Festival in course. The King will be there; and while I was in waiting, I had the Honour to be one of the Number myself. Now if you please, I can go out of the City, and privately wait your Leisure somewhere about the Fields where you may find me out. If the King should ask for me, you may tell him that I am gone to *Bethlem*, to celebrate the Day with my own Tribe, and that I had your Leave to go. If he shall speak any Thing kindly upon it; as a good Journey to him, or a God speed him, take that for a certain Token that he has no Malice in his Heart against me. But if otherwise, you are to take it for granted that he bears me a Grudge. Pray let me hear how you find him, as you will be just to that sacred, and mutual League of Friendship that is struck betwixt us, and as you desire to make me easie under my present Calamity. If you can think me unworthy of your Affection, or any way guilty toward your Father, e'en sheath your Sword in the Heart of me without waiting for further Orders." *Jonathan* took these last Words a little unkindly; but yet promis'd to do every Thing as he was desir'd; and that if ever he should find his Father in any Plot, or Practice against *David*, he would be sure to give him timely Notice of it: Sealing this Promissory Declaration of his, with the Solemnity of an Oath: That he would leave nothing unattempted that might conduce to his Preservation. "That God, *says he*, that fills and governs the Universe, and that knows the Thoughts of my Heart in the very Conception of them; let that God, *says he*, be a Witness to the Faith that is vow'd and promised betwixt us; and that I will never give over searching into, and sifting the private Deliberations and Purposes of my Father, till I shall have discover'd the Bottom of his Heart, and whether there be any secret Rancour in his Thoughts or not, that may work to your Prejudice: And if I shall be able to make any Thing out at last, whether it be for you, or against you, it shall be the first Thing I do to give you the Knowledge of it. The Searcher of Hearts will bear me Witness that this is true, and that I have ever made it my earnest Prayer to Almighty God to bless, and prosper you in your Person and Designs; and

" you

“ you may assure yourself, that he will be as gracious to you
 “ for the future, as he hath been hitherto, and lay all your
 “ Enemies at your Feet ; which he will most certainly do,
 “ even though my Father, and myself should be found in
 “ the Party against you. In the mean while, pray be sure
 “ to keep these Things in Memory, and when I am gone, to
 “ take care of my poor Children.”

Jonathan having now pass'd his Oath, appointed *David* to withdraw into a certain Part, or Corner of the Field, which they two had agreed upon : “ For, says *Jonathan*, I will
 “ first go to my Father, and when I have gotten as much
 “ from him as I can, I will come back again to your Hiding-
 “ place, as if I were a-shooting, and bring a Boy along with
 “ me. I shall then shoot three Arrows, and if I bid the Lad
 “ take them up and bring them to me, set your Heart at rest,
 “ that all is well with my Father ; but if I say any Thing
 “ else, take it for granted that you are in Danger : But as-
 “ sure yourself however, happen what will, it shall be my
 “ particular Care that you come to no Harm. Only once
 “ again I say, let not this be forgot in the Days of your Pro-
 “ sperity, and be kind to my poor Children.” *David* took the Hint, and so went his way to the Post that was assign'd him.

The Day following was the Feast of the *New-Moon* ; where the *King*, according to Custom, having duly prepar'd himself, sat down to Supper ; with *Jonathan* on his Right-hand, and his General *Abner* on the Left ; *David's* Place being empty all this while : But *Saul* took no publick Notice of it the first Day ; supposing that his Absence might possibly be Matter of Scruple, for want of a regular, and customary Purification, after the Company of his Wife. But *Saul* missing him again the next Day, put it quick upon *Jonathan* to know how it came to pass, that the Son of *Jesse* should now absent himself from the Festival two Days together. *Jonathan* told his Father that he had given him leave to go into the Country, and feast with his own Tribe, upon the same Occasion. “ He would fain have had me along with him,” says *Jonathan*, and truly I have so great a Friendship for him, that, if you please, I should be well enough content yet to go to him.” This Expression of *Jonathan's* touch'd *Saul* so to the quick, that he was no longer able to conceal the mortal Hatred he had for *David* ; but brake out into an extravagant Passion against his Son, upon it : Calling him a Traitor, and an Enemy to his Father ; an Abettor of, and a Confederate with *David* ; and a shameless Conspirator

with the common Adversary of the Family : “ For he must “ be wilfully blind, *says he*, that could not see the absolute “ Impossibility of *Saul’s* ever being safe, so long as *David* “ was living : Commanding him also at the same Time to “ send for him, and deliver him up to Justice.” *Jonathan*, upon this, desir’d of his Father very respectfully, to know what Capital Crime was objected against *David*. This Question transported *Saul* into such a Rage, that he snatch’d up a Javelin there within reach, and had certainly kill’d his Son with it, if some of his Friends then present had not interposed, and prevented it. There needed no other Evidence of *Saul’s* deadly Malice to *David*, when the Father had like to have murder’d his own Son for his Son-in-Law’s Sake.

This furious Outrage made *Jonathan* quit both the Company, and the Feast ; and what with the Trouble he had upon him for his Friend’s Danger, and what for his own, he pass’d that Night without any Rest either of Body, or Mind. So that early the next Morning, he took his Bow and Arrows, and a Boy along with him, into the Fields, under the Pretext of going a-shooting ; but in Truth, to give *David* the necessary Information of what had pass’d, the first Thing he did was to convey his Intelligence by his Arrows, as he said he would. After which, he sent the Boy away to Town upon a formal Errand, for the better Opportunity of a Word or two in private with his Friend. They were no sooner within Sight one of another, but *David* cast himself down at the Feet of his Preserver, and in that Posture saluted him : The other immediately taking him up ; and both joining in one another’s Arms, to curse the Malignity of the Age, and their own hard Fortune, that was now forcing them upon a Separation worse then the worst of Deaths. When they had consoled their Time out, and indulg’d all Softnesses of dear and parting Friends, they took their final Leave, with fresh Vows and Assurances, never to depart from the Conditions of their League, and so submitted at last to the Necessity of going their several Ways.

* *David* being now in great Distress by the Persecution of a watchful, and an implacable Enemy ; and under the Consideration of a certain Death if he should be taken, went in his Wanderings to *Abimeleck* the High-Priest, in the City of *Nob*. He had no Company with him, either Friends, or Servants, which *Abimeleck* took notice of ; and not without some Admiration, ask’d him the Reason of it. “ He came by

* 1 Sam. 21.

“ by special Order, *he said*, upon a piece of secret Service,
 “ from the King ; and that, for Privacy-sake, he had for the
 “ present discharg’d his Train, and appointed them a set
 “ Time and Place, when and where they should attend him.”
 He told *Abimeleck* likewise, “ That it would be a very friend-
 “ ly Office, and a great Furtherance to his Bus’ness, if he
 “ would but supply him with Necessaries for his Journey.”
 This being granted, he told him once again, “ That if he
 “ could but furnish him with a Sword, or a Spear, or some
 “ piece of Arms, it would lay yet another Obligation upon
 “ him.” It so happened that a Servant of *Saul’s* was all this
 while within Hearing ; a *Syrian*, by Nation : His Office was
 that of a Groom, and his Name *Doeg*. The High-Priest said,
 “ He had no Arms, but the Sword that kill’d the *Philistine*,
 “ which was hung up, and dedicated to God ; and that Sword
 “ he might have, if he pleas’d.” *David* accepted of it ; and
 with this Sword, making what haste he could out of the Ju-
 risdiction of the *Hebrews*, he fled to the City of *Gath* in the
 Land of the *Philistines*. This was in the Reign of King (a) *Achish*.
David had no sooner shew’d his Head among them,
 but several of the King’s Servants call’d him to mind, and
 taking him up in a Hurry, carry’d him Open-mouth to the
 King, with an Exclamation, that this was the Man, that,
 upon such a particular Occasion, kill’d so many Thousands
 of the *Philistines*, and this they offer’d to make good against
 him. But *David*, finding himself in as much Danger of
Achish now, as he had been of *Saul* before, fell immediately
 to foaming at the Mouth, and driveling like a Mad-man ;
 insomuch that *Achish* call’d out to his People in Wrath, to
 take away that Fool : “ What did they trouble him for with
 “ a Changling ? *he said*.” And upon this Rebuke, *David*
 was a second Time deliver’d out of a Strait more dangerous
 then the other.

* By this Artifice he got clear of *Gath*, and from thence
 shifted away into the Tribe of *Judah*, where he took up his
 Resting-place for some Time in a Cave in the Field of *Adul-
 lam*. His Friends and Relations, (and in Truth other People
 promiscuously) being advertis’d of the Place of his present
 Abode, came flocking in to him : Some for the Love and Re-
 spect they bare to himself ; others out of the Fear, or Hatred
 of *Saul* : Some, in fine, that were uneasie in their Fortunes ;
 others in their Minds, being unsatisfy’d with the present
 State of Things ; beside Libertines of all Sorts, and the like.

D d 2

So

(a) *Agchus*. *Jos*.

* 1 Sam. 22.

So that upon the whole, there were a Matter of four Hundred of them gotten together, and every Man devoted to the Service of *David* with Life and Fortune.

In the Strength, and Confidence of this little Body, *David* remov'd, and march'd directly away to the King of *Moab*, with an Address to him for Leave to himself, with his Friends and Relations there, being under a Persecution, to take Sanctuary in some Part of his Dominions, only till the Storm might blow over, and their Affairs be put into some sort of Settlement at Home. The *Moabite-King* receiv'd *David* and his Company very generously, and treated them with great Honour and Hospitality, for the Time they were there : That is to say, till by the Order and Direction of the Prophet *Samuel*, *David* marched away with his People out of the Desert, into the Land of *Judah*, and so to (a) *Hareth*.

When *Saul* came to understand (as it was not long first) that *David* had been seen upon his March in the Head of a Body of armed Men, he was not a little terrified, and troubled at the Intelligence ; for he had seen so many experimental Proofs of the Greatness of *David's* Soul and Courage, that he could not but reasonably expect some mighty Matter from him ; which he apprehended would tend, at least, to the perplexing, and disordering of his Counsels, if not to the endangering of the very Government itself. Upon this Occasion, he call'd all his Friends; and his Captains together, the People of his own Tribe, and all his Officers Civil and Military, at his Royal City of *Gibeah* ; and there enthroning himself in the Field, at a Place they called *the Field*, with his Men of War, Honour and Bus'ness, about him, he spake to them from his Post of State, after this Manner.

“ Taking for granted, my Friends and Fellow-Tribesmen,
 “ that the good Offices I have done you ; the Possessions I
 “ have bestow'd upon you ; the honourable, and profitable
 “ Commissions that I have given you, are not as yet so absolutely sunk and bury'd, as to be quite out of your Memory : I shall now put this short Question to you ; whether or no do you expect greater Benefits and Advantages from the Son of *Jesse*, then you have received from me ?
 “ For I find it manifestly, that all your Inclinations bias that Way ; and that my Son *Jonathan* ministers both an Example, and an Authority for your so doing : For I am no Stranger to the Solemnity of a strict League and Confederacy betwixt *Him* and *David* ; nor of his abetting the Cause

(a) *Ets Sarin polin.* Jos.

“ Cause of my Adversaries with his Power, Interest, and Counsels. Now this is a Matter that you never trouble your Heads about ; but sit quietly, and indifferently looking on, in a careless Indifference for the Event.”

These Words of the King were follow'd with a general Silence, till *Doeg* the Groom, a *Syrian*, deliver'd what he had to say upon the Point then in Question. The Account he gave was this. “ When I came, *says he*, to the City of *Nob*, to the High-Priest *Abimeleck*, I saw *David* there to consult the Oracle. *Abimeleck* gave him Conveniencies for his Journey, and the Sword of *Goliath*, and so helped him forward to go whither he pleased.” After this Declaration of *Doeg*, *Saul* order'd the High-Priest to be sent for, with all his Relations ; to whom the King said as follows.

“ What have I done to make you give this Encouragement to a Traitor to his Prince ? For the Son of *Jesse* is no better. And yet who but you to entertain him ! Furnish him with Provisions and Arms, and to give him comfortable Returns from the Oracle, of the hopeful Success of his Designs. You cannot be ignorant that he is now run away, in the Conscience of the Malice he has for my Family, and in the Fear of being taken up, and punish't for't.”

The High-Priest made no Opposition to the Truth of the Charge ; but frankly confess'd, that these Respects had a Regard, not so much to *David*, as to the King himself ; “ For, *says he*, I did not receive him as your Enemy, but as the faithfullest of your Friends and Officers ; and, which is more, in the Quality of your Son too, and a Relation in so tender a Degree of Affinity and Alliance. For how should any body imagine that Man to be your Enemy, upon whom you have conferr'd so many Honours ? Or why should not I rather presume such a Person, without any further Enquiry, to be your singular Friend ? If he consulted me about the Will of God, it is not the first Time that he has done it, nor the first Time that I have given him an Answer : Neither has it been always alike. He told me that he was sent in haste by yourself, about earnest Business, and if I had not supply'd him with what he wanted, it would have reflected an Indignity upon yourself, rather than upon him. Wherefore I hope the Blame shall not be laid at my Door, even if you should find *David* to be as guilty at last, as you suspect him to be ; unless an Act purely of Compassion, and Humanity, abstracted from the least Thought, Knowledge, or Imagina-

“tion of any evil Intention, shall be understood to make
“me a Party to a Conspiracy. For the Service I render’d
“him was Matter of Respect to the King’s Son-in-Law, and
“the King’s Military Officer, not to the Person or Interest of
“*David*.” This was all plausible and fair ; but the Fear of
the *Danger* wrought more upon *Saul*, then the *Apology*, tho’
never so just. So that without giving any Credit to the Ex-
cuse, he commanded the Guards about him to seize *Abime-
leck* and his Family, and put them all to the Sword. The
Hebrews flatly refus’d to execute so sacrilegious a Commission ;
for it was no less, in the Construction of their Religion, to
put any Man to Death that serv’d at the Altar. Upon this
Scruple, and Denial, the Charge was committed to *Doeg* the
Syrian ; who with an impious Band of Ruffians, and Assas-
sins like himself, began with the High-Priest, and went
through his whole Family, to the Number of three Hundred
and eighty five Persons. This barbarous Massacre was no
sooner over, but the same hellish Crew was dispatch’d away
to *Nob*, the Seat and Residence of the Priesthood, on the
same Errand, where they kill’d all the Inhabitants they
could find, to a single Soul, sparing neither Age nor Sex :
And, in Conclusion, they laid the whole Town in Ashes.
Abiathar, the Son of *Abimeleck*, was the only Person that
escap’d in this Butchery, to verifie an ancient Revelation
from God to the High-Priest *Eli* ; foretelling him, that the
Iniquity of his two Sons would in Time to come be punish’d
with the Rooting-out of the Family. This execrable Cruel-
ty of *Saul*’s in the Extirpation of the Sacerdotal Race ; the
putting of Old Men, Women and Children to the Sword,
without either Pity for the one, or Reverence for the other ;
the destroying of a City that God himself had honour’d with
a peculiar Privilege, by setting it apart as a Nursery for
Priests and Prophets. This barbarous Course, I say, of in-
humane Violences, shews us the licentious Corruptions of
Flesh and Blood, when unbridled Nature is left to itself,
without some external Check upon it. While Men are
low, poor, and impotent ; in fear of Laws and Penalties ;
and in Truth, under some sort of Necessity to appear hon-
est, for want of Power to be wicked : How temperate,
just, and gentle ; nay, how religious do they pretend to
be ! They live as if they own’d a Providence, and believ-
ed the Omnipresence of an Almighty, and an All-seeing God.
But so soon as ever they come to be deliver’d from the
Clogs and Impediments of these Inabilities, and advanced
to the Authority of Prerogative and Government, they are
no

no longer the same Men ; but shift like Stage-Players, and lay-by their old Manners with their old Cloaths, changing both the Scene, and the Person. They grow bold, proud, and insolent ; quitting all Reverence either for God or Man ; and instead of exercising that Piety and Justice, which can only secure Men in that eminent Station, from the Stroke of Detraction and Envy, (for their very Thoughts, as well as Actions, in that Height of Elevation, are expos'd to common Censure) they live, and act, as if either God knew not what they did, or as if their Greatness had transported them out of the Reach of Divine Justice. When this arrogant Vanity is once upon the Wing, what Havock does it make of Men, and of Things ! What Hurly-Burly, and Confusions in the World ! They govern by their Passion, not their Reason : Vain Fears, and groundless Aversions toward some, and partial Prepossessions of Favour toward others, are the only Counsellors they advise with. Now the Result of these Dictates is that which they impose upon the World for no less than a Decree ratify'd in Heaven : And all this while, not one Word, or Thought of the Future. As for those, in fine, that have done them signal Services, they commonly make them early Acknowledgments, by Honours and Rewards : But then it is in every Informer's Power, by Subornation or Calumny, to strip them for a Word speaking, not only of their Dignities, but of their Lives too ; and all this without Proof, Probability, Trial ; nay, or so much as Examination. And this Tyranny exercises itself not so much upon the Guilty that deserve to be punish'd, as upon the Innocent that may be oppress'd without Danger.

We find all this to be punctually made good in the present Instance of *Saul*, the Son of *Kis*, who was the first King of the *Hebrews* after the Dissolution of the *Aristocracy*, and the taking of the Administration out of the Hands of the *Judges*. He put to Death three Hundred *Priests* and *Prophets*, upon the Caprice of a bare Jealousy of *Abimeleck*. He laid their City in Rubbish, kill'd all that were in it, and bury'd the Dead under the Ruins of it : Doing all that in him lay, toward the utter Extinction of the *Sacerdotal Order* and Race : Without leaving so much as one Priest alive to serve at the Altar, or any Habitation to receive them. *Abiathar*, the Son of *Abimeleck*, was the only Man that escaped ; and he carry'd the dismal Tidings of the Destruction of his Father, and his Family, to *David* : Which was no more, he said, then he expected, when he saw *Doeg*

there ; who he was sure would make the worst of it to the King ; And, in fine, he told *Abiathar*, that it went to the Heart of him to find himself any way the Occasion of so dreadful a Calamity. But, says he, since so it is, keep where you are, and stay with me, for you can be no where safer.

* About this Time there was Word brought to *David* that the *Philistines* were enter'd with an Army into the Province of *Keilah*, burning and destroying all before them wherever they came. *David* had a mind to attack them ; but not without consulting the Prophet first, for Encouragement and Direction. The Prophet bad him go on and prosper ; whereupon he presently drew-out ; fought the Enemy, and routed them with a very great Slaughter, and carry'd-off a considerable Booty. After this, he staid a while in *Keilah*, for a Guard to secure the Inning of the Harvest. *Saul*, in this Point of Time, receiv'd a particular Account of *David* being in the Town, and likewise of the Action ; as it was too considerable to lie long conceal'd. It was also observable, that the Relation was deliver'd much to *David's* Honour. Upon the Intelligence of *David's* shutting himself up in a walled Town, *Saul* look'd upon his Business to be as good as done ; and as the Favour of a singular Providence that had put his Enemy into his Hands : So that he gave out Orders immediately for the Besieging of *Keilah* ; and not to quit the Place till *David* should be brought to Justice. But *David* being premonish'd by a Revelation, that if he did not seasonably provide for himself, the People of *Keilah* would deliver him up to the King to save themselves ; he quitted the City, and betook himself with his four Hundred Men into the Desert, where he encamped upon a Hill that was well fortify'd, by the Name of *Engedi* : But *Saul* understanding that *David* had left the Town, countermanded his Orders for the Siege too ; while *David*, with his People, remov'd out of the Wilderness to *Cana*, a Place belonging to *Ziphe*, where *Jonathan* the King's Son came to him, and saluted him with an Intent to have some Discourse with him about Things to come. He bad him despond of nothing ; for all those present Difficulties would vanish : For the Time (he said) was at hand when the whole Nation of the *Hebrews* should be his Subjects ; advising him to consider, that Blessings of that Quality are not to be compass'd without Toil and Hazard. So they renew'd their League

of

of Friendship over again, with a Sanction of most dreadful Curses upon him that should first act contrary to Covenants: The Obligation to be for Life, and God to be a Witness to it. This Solemnity being perform'd, *Jonathan* left *David* upon the Place, much easier, and better satisfy'd then he found him, and so return'd to his own Home.

While this was a-doing, the Men of *Ziphe*, to curry Favour with the King, gave him to understand that *David* lay lurking up and down about their Grounds, and undertook, if *Saul* would be pleased to come to their Assistance, to deliver him up; for it was but the securing of some narrow Passes, and it would be impossible for him to 'scape. *Saul* highly extoll'd the Zeal, and Good-will of the Men, with very gracious Acknowledgments of the Obligation they had laid upon him, in telling him where he might find his Enemy, and promis'd them large Requitals also for the Service they had done him. So he presently sent away his Agents, if possible, to find out *David*, and to search all the Hiding-places in the Desert for him; promising to follow them himself in a very short Time with his Army: The People of *Ziphe* were wonderfully forward and officious, not only to serve as Guides toward the Discovery of *David* in his Haunts; but for the very Seizure of his Person, and the giving of him up into the King's Power. But after all the Villany of this pragmatICAL Zeal, their malicious Purpose was at last disappointed. Now they might have held their Tongues in the Case, with all the Security imaginable: So that the Baseness of their thrusting themselves into the Treachery of betraying a pious, and an innocent Person to Ruin and Destruction, contrary to Law and Justice, was only a scandalous wicked Office, undertaken for the very Wickedness-sake; but Mercenaries and Pick-Thanks will stick at nothing.

David being seasonably advertis'd of this brutal Conspiracy of the *Ziphites*; and of the King's being upon his March in Prosecution, and in Favour of it, he quitted the Fastnesses where he was before, and made away as fast as he could to a great Rock in the (a) Wilderness of *Maon*. *Saul* having gotten Intelligence upon the Way, of *David*'s Removal, and what Course he took, follow'd him upon the Heel; and was come so near him, that *Saul* was on one side of the Rock, and *David* on the other, and just ready to be hemm'd-in beyond all Possibility of Escaping: But by great Providence, just in this precise Instant, came the sad News to *Saul*, that the *Philistines* had

(a) *En te eremoa Simoonos.* *Jes.* but 'tis *Maon* in *Rufinus's* Version.

had broken-in upon the *Hebrews*, and were ravaging their Country. This Intelligence diverted *Saul* from his Pursuit of *David*; chusing rather to turn his Arms upon the sworn Enemies of the Nation, and to redeem his Country, then run the Risk of losing all to gratify a particular Pick against one single Person. By this blessed Providence, was *David* deliver'd beyond all Expectation: And his next Retreat was to the Straits of *En-gedi*.

* When *Saul* had encounter'd, and beaten back the *Philistines*, Word was brought to him once again in his Return, where he might find *David*; for that he had been seen somewhere about *En-gedi*. Upon this Advice, *Saul* drew-out three Thousand choice Men to march immediately after him. As they were upon the Way, and within a little of the Place, there was a deep dark spacious Cave, and *Saul* stept aside into it alone, as a Place of Privacy, upon a necessary Occasion to ease himself. Now this Cave happen'd to be the very Place where *David* and his four Hundred Followers had hid themselves. One of *David's* People, that knew *Saul* very well, had the Fortune to discover him, and presently went up to *David* with the good News, that now was his Time to put an End to all his Troubles, by taking the Opportunity of a glorious Revenge, in cutting-off the Head of his mortal Enemy; for God had now deliver'd *Saul* up into his Hands. But it neither suited with *David's* Greatness of Mind, nor with the Sense and Conscience of his Duty and Allegiance, to lay violent Hands upon his Anointed Lord and Master, whom God himself had set over him; and to return Evil for Evil. So that *David* cut-off a Piece of the Skirt of *Saul's* Garment, and so let him go: But repented in the very Instant even of that too.

Upon *Saul's* going out of the Cave, *David* follow'd into the open Air, calling out after him: The King, upon the hearing of a Voice he was so well acquainted with, turn'd presently about; and *David*, with all Decency of Reverence and Respect both to the Person, and the Occasion, address'd himself to him in Words to this Effect.

" It is a very unhappy Thing, *Sir*, with your Majesty's gracious Leave for this Freedom, when a great Prince has his Ears so open to Calumniators, and Detractors, as to suspect the Integrity of his try'd, and most faithful Friends, upon the Credit of the vainest and falsest of Men; that is to say, of Pick-Thank-Flatterers, and Underhand-Informers.

" Were

“ Were it not, under Favour, a much more laudable Way
“ to put every Man to the Trial of his Honesty by his Works?
“ For Words may be false as well as true; but Demonstra-
“ tion by Fact, is infallible. You may be pleased now, upon
“ the Force of this single Instance at present before you, to
“ consult your Reason, upon second Thoughts; whether I
“ have had hard Measure or not, in being taken for a Crimi-
“ nal, upon the Suggestion of an evil Intention, that never
“ so much as enter’d into my Thought; and yet it has (most
“ unhappily to me) so far gain’d Belief with your Majesty,
“ that I go in Danger of my Life every Hour of the Day, and
“ of the Night, upon a bare and an ungrounded Jealousy of
“ my Guilt. Can any Thing, with Pardon, be clearer, then
“ the Evidence of your Majesty’s Mistake, when you suspect
“ me for malicious Practices upon your Life, as well as on
“ your Family? How will your Majesty look God in the Face
“ with this Guilt upon your Conscience, that you are still
“ practising upon the Life of a Person, that had you wholly
“ at Mercy, and the Opportunity of gratifying his Revenge;
“ and yet spar’d you out of good Nature, Justice, and Re-
“ spect. Look you Sir, *says he*, I could as easily have taken
“ your Head from your Shoulders, as this Piece of Stuff from
“ your Mantle, (*shewing the Skirt that he had cut-off, to con-
“ firm the Truth of what he had said.*) I had not the Heart to
“ indulge any Thing of a vindictive Execution, though ne-
“ ver so just; while you at the same Time, without any Dif-
“ ficulty, or Scruple, pursue me with a most injurious Perse-
“ cution. But let God judge betwixt us, who will determine,
“ in the Conclusion, which of the two was in the Right.”

Saul was so confounded at the Modesty, and Softness of
the Young Man, and in such Admiration at the good Nature
and Humanity of *David* in sparing his Life, after so many
bitter Provocations, that he could not forbear Groaning, up-
on the Thought of it; and upon *David*’s answering his Sigh
with another. “ No, no, *says Saul*, these Lamentations will
“ better become me; for as you, on the one hand, have been
“ the Cause, and the Author to me of a great deal of Good;
“ so have I, on the other side, made you a Return only of
“ Cruelty and Misery, for all your Obligations and Benefits.
“ You have in this, *says he*, given to understand, that you
“ are not degenerated from the Generosity and Goodness of
“ your Ancestors; who, when they had their Enemies at Mer-
“ cy, chose rather to dismiss them safe and free, then to make
“ an ill Use of the Advantage they had over them. Now do
“ I manifestly perceive, by the Passages of this Day, that
“ God

“ God has set you apart for this Kingdom ; and that the
 “ whole Nation of the *Hebrews* is to be subjected to your
 “ Government. Wherefore I have this Request to make
 “ you, that you will give me your Promise, upon Oath, to
 “ forgive all the Injuries I have done you ; and that when
 “ you come to be possess’d of your Government, you will
 “ be merciful to my Family.” *David* pass’d his Promise upon
 Oath to do as he was desir’d, and so dismiss’d the King, and
 (a) departed himself with his Train to the Straits of *Mispeh*.

† At, or about this Time, dy’d the Prophet *Samuel*, a Person in great Reputation among the *Hebrews*, for his Probity and Virtue: And the People gave an eminent Proof of the Esteem they had for him, in the Magnificence and Expence of his Funeral. They bury’d him at *Ramah* in his own Country, and mourned for him afterward a long Time, not with the Ceremony of a formal publick Sorrow ; but every Individual had a distinct, and a particular Share in the Loss; for he was a Man of a natural Benignity and Justice, and most remarkably in God’s Favours for his Virtues. After the Death of *Eli*, he govern’d twelve Years alone ; and then in the Reign of *Saul*, eighteen Years more, ending his Days according to the Relation that is here set forth.

There liv’d at that Time near the Place where *David* frequented, a Man of *Ziphe*, of the City of (b) *Emma*, whose Name was *Nabal*. He was very wealthy in Herds and Possessions ; for he had in his Grounds three Thousand Sheep, and a Thousand Goats. *David* was so much his Friend, that he set his own People to assist *Nabal*’s in looking after his Flocks ; forbidding them upon their uttermost Peril, either for Avarice, or for Hunger, or upon any other Pretence whatever, to touch so much as one Hair of them : No, not if they should be sure not to be discover’d ; preaching to them still upon the Text of doing Justice to all Men living, in Conformity to the Will of God, who was never pleas’d with any Man that coveted, or laid violent Hands on the Goods of his Neighbour. This was the Doctrine he inculcated to those about him, and they liv’d accordingly : *David* little imagining that his Kindness had been cast away all this while upon a Creature so unworthy, as he appear’d afterwards, of so generous, and so friendly an Office.

This *Nabal* was a brutal, ill-natur’d Wretch ; but the Husband of a well-fashion’d, prudent, and agreeable Woman.

(a) *Eis loqn mastheroon anebe stenen.*

† 1 Sam 25.

(b) *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has *Maon* for *Emma*.

man. One Day as he was upon his Sheep-shearing, *David* sent Ten of his People to *Nabal* with the Complement of a Thousand good Wishes to him, and desiring only some moderate Supply of Provisions out of his Abundance; for his Shepherds could inform him, that all the while they had been together in the Desert, they had been so far from doing *Nabal* any Injury, that they had rather kept, and preserved his Sheep for him: Closing the Discourse with an Assurance, that what Friendship soever he should do for *David* upon this Occasion, should be abundantly acknowledg'd. The Answer that *Nabal* returned them was coarse, and churlish, like himself. [*David!* says *Nabal*, Why who's that same *David*, I wonder?" They told him, he was one of the Sons of *Jesse*. "Yes, yes, says *Nabal*, your Runaway-Servants "look upon themselves to be brave Fellows, I warrant ye.""] This contemptuous Affront put *David* in the Head of four Hundred Men toward *Nabal*, leaving two Hundred more behind them with the Baggage; (his Number being now encreased to six Hundred) with a Vow, and Determination that very Night to ruin *Nabal*, to all Manner of Purposes, with his House and Family. Now *David's* Indignation against him, was not so much for his Barbarity and Ingratitude, where he had been so frankly obliged; but for the Virulence of so insolent an Outrage against a Man that never did him an Injury.

While Matters were in this Hurry, some of *Nabal's* Shepherds and Servants carry'd the Story of this Encounter to their Mistress: Telling her how *David* had sent to her Husband to desire a small Pittance of something to eat; which *Nabal* did not only refuse, but answer'd him with insufferable, and opprobrious Revilings; though *David* had ever dealt honourably and respectfully by him upon several Occasions; telling her further, what Apprehensions they had of the Mischief, that the Sense of this Indignity might bring upon herself and her Husband. So soon as *Abigail*, the Wife of *Nabal*, had heard what they had to say, she presently call'd for the *Asses* out; caused them to be laden with Presents, and without one Word speaking to her Husband, (who was at that Time fuddled, and senseless) she put herself upon the Way to find out *David*; whom she met coming down the Straits of the Mountain, and four Hundred Men following him, going to take Vengeance upon *Nabal*. *Abigail* had no sooner Sight of him, but leaping from her Ass, she threw herself prostrate upon the Ground, and "Humbly besought *David* to pass over the Words of her Husband, as one whose
" Name

" Name was suited to his Nature ; *Nabal*, in *Hebrew* signifying a *Fool*, and a *Madman*. She pleaded for herself, that she saw none of the Messengers to her Husband ; begg'd Pardon, and desir'd *David* to give God Thanks for sending her as the Instrument to keep his Hands from Blood : And, Sir, *says she*, may you still preserve yourself clear of that Pollution, that God may turn the Vengeance that threatens *Nabal*, upon the Heads of your Enemies. Be pleased, I beseech you, to accept of the good Will of your poor Servant, with these small Presents ; and, upon my humble Request, to pass over the Offence of my Husband, who hath so justly incurr'd your Displeasure ; for there is nothing so well becoming, the Character of the Person, that Providence designs for a Crown, as Clemency and Compassion. *David* was prevail'd upon to receive the Presents ; and Woman, *says he*, Bless God that put it into your Heart to come hither this Day, you should never have liv'd to have seen another else ; for I had sworn to myself to lay your House in Ruins this very Night, and not leave one Soul alive in the Family of that ungrateful Man, that had cast so many Indignities upon me, and those that belong to me. You are however now come in a blessed Hour to allay my Rage, and put a stop to my Resolution ; but yet after all, though I am content, for your Sake, to forgive *Nabal's* Fault against me, there is a Judgment still behind that attends him : And his ill Manners will be his Ruin some other way." With these Words *David* discharged *Abigail*, who went directly Home, and found her Husband among his beastly Companions, so sottishly drunk, that there was no speaking to him that Night ; but the next Morning, while he was dry and sober, she told him the whole Story from End to End ; which struck him into such an Astonishment, that he fell into a dead Numbness all over his Body upon't, and died in ten Days. *David*, upon the News of his Death, was heard to say, that the Judgment was righteous, and that God had avenged his Cause, while he that received the Injury came off with clean Hands. The World may gather from this Example, that there's no avoiding the Stroke of Divine Justice ; and that it is Providence that governs the World, not Passion, or Chance ; but that both good and wicked Men are either rewarded, or punished in their own Kind.

After the Decease of the Husband, *David* sent a Message, and an Invitation to the Widow ; desiring her to come over to him ; for he would take her to his Bed as his Lawful Wife.

Wife. Her Answer was, "That she was not worthy so much as to wash the Feet of *David*;" but she went to him however, with all her Equipage, and became his Wife; an Honour that she was indebted for to the Graces both of her Mind and Person; for it was her Prudence, Modesty, and Beauty, that recommended her to this Preferment. * *David* had also a former Wife, [*Abinoam*] of *Abesar*; but as for his late Wife *Michal*, the Daughter of *Saul*, her Father gave her away to *Phalti* the Son of *Laish* of *Gallim*. It was not long after this, when the Men of *Ziphe* brought a fresh Account to *Saul*, that *David* was come into their Quarters again, and that with a little Help he might be easily taken. Upon this Intelligence, *Saul* immediately marched toward them with three Thousand Men; and the Night coming on, he pitched his Tents at a Place called (a) *Zicklag*. When *David* came to understand that *Saul* was moving that Way, he sent out his Scouts for a particular Information where the Enemy lay; and Word being brought that they had posted themselves near a Place call'd *Zicklag*, *David* got up in the Night, and with only *Abishai*, the Son of his Sister *Zeruiah*, and *Ahimelech* the *Hittite*, went directly, without the Privy of any other Creature, into the Camp of the Enemy; where they found the King in his Tent, with his General *Abner*, and his Guards about him, all fast asleep.

Abishai, seeing the King in his Bed, and his Lance by him, would needs have nailed him immediately to the Ground; but *David* held his Hands, and told him: "*Abishai*, says he, *Saul* is God's King, and his Person sacred, let the Man be never so wicked; and he is only accountable for the ill Management of his Power to him that gave him the Power itself. But for a Proof however, that I had him at my Mercy, though I would not make a bad Use of the Advantage, I will now take away his Lance, and Pitcher of Water from his Bed-side." *David* leaving the Camp as silently, and unperceiv'd, as he came into it, and betwixt the Darknes of the Night, and the Strength of his own Resolution, he went his way, without any Apprehension of Danger upon the Adventure. He pass'd the River, and then getting up to the Top of a Mountain near at hand, within hearing of the Camp, he called out from thence to *Abner*, and the Guards, as loud as he could, to wake them: *Abner* started upon this Clamour; and hearing himself call'd upon by

* 1 Sam. 26.

(a) *Sakella* Jos. but it should be read *Sekella*.

by Name, cry'd out aloud to know, who it was that would speak with *Abner*? Answer was made, "It was *David*, the Son of *Jesse*, one of your Fugitives. "Are not you a fit Man, says *David*, to be a great Prince's Favourite; a General of his Army, and to take upon you the Guard of his Royal Person, and under all these honourable Obligations, to lie dozing and stretching yourself at Ease, when your Master's Life is in Danger? Can you tell me what is become of the King's *Lance*, and the *Pitcher* of Water that were this Night taken by the Enemy out of his Tent, and from his very Bed-side? And you, in the mean time, and your Guards, all snorting about him, without knowing any Thing of the Matter? Whether this were Neglect, or Treachery, 'tis as broad as 'tis long; for whether it was the one, or the other, you do certainly deserve to lose your Head for't."

When *Saul* came to find this to be *David's* Voice, and himself now a second Time betray'd, betwixt the Frailty of his own Drowziness, and the Neglect of the Guards, into the Hands of the very Person, whose Life he himself was now about to take away; mistaking the best Friend he had for the most mortal of his Enemies: *Saul*, I say, was so sensible of *David's* Goodness and Respect, under the greatest of Provocations, and not without some sort of Right to be severe upon him, that "He gave him publick Thanks for his Life: Bidding him set his Heart at rest for the future, and fear nothing, but return in Peace to his own Habitation; for he found by Experience, he said, that his Life was not dearer to himself then it was to *David*; whom he look'd upon as his Preserver, and a Person of so try'd, and unchangeable Affection to him, that notwithstanding all Banishments, Hazards, and ill Usages; Loss of Friends, and many violent Attempts upon his Life, he returned him nothing but Benefits for Injuries, and Good for Evil." *David*, at last, called for some Body to fetch back the *Lance*, and the *Pitcher*; appealing upon the whole Matter to the Righteous God of Heaven and Earth, to judge betwixt them, and to bear him Witness, that when he took away *Saul's* *Lance* and *Pitcher*, he could with as much Ease have taken his Life.

After this second Deliverance, *Saul* returned safe, and at Liberty to his Palace. * But *David* having no mind to venture himself any longer in a Place, where he was still in Danger

* 1 Sam. 27.

Danger to be taken up, remov'd with his six Hundred Men into the Land of the *Philistines*, to live there, with the Consent, and Liking of all his People. Being now come to *Achish*, the King of *Gath* (a City belonging to the *Philistines*,) the King entertains *David*, and his two Wives, *Abinoam*, and *Abigail*. *Saul* all this while had notice still of *David's* Removes; but after two Disappointments already, and falling into the very Trap himself that he had set for *David*, he left his Adversary to take his Fortune, and gave over the Chace.

David found himself uneasy in the City of *Gath*, and so took the Freedom to desire of the King this Addition to his former Bounties; that he would be pleased to assign him some Place, or Portion of Ground in his Dominions, for himself and those that belonged to him to live upon; for it put him out of Countenance to continue still in a Place, where he must appear burdensome to the People. So the King gave him *Zicklag* to himself, and his Heirs, for ever; and *David* retained a great Kindness for the Place, even after he came to be King: But of this more at large in another Place.

David's Stay in *Zicklag* was four Months, and twenty Days; whence he made several Inroads upon their Neighbours, the *Sarites*, and *Amalekites*, carrying away vast Booties of Mules and Camels; but taking no Prisoners, for fear they should tell Tales, and discover the whole Mystery to *Achish*. He made the King Presents however out of the Spoil, who would be asking him now and then, where he met with all that Pillage. His Answer was, that he had made Incursions into the Southerly Parts of *Judah*, and there he found it. There was no great Difficulty to make *Achish* believe a Story that his Heart was so set upon to have it true; for it was reasonably to be presumed, that after all this Havock and Outrage committed by *David* upon his own Countrymen, he would never dare to look homeward again; and by that means have nothing left to trust to, but the Service of King *Achish*. The *Philistines* were about this Time preparing for a War against the *Hebrews*, and a general *Rendezvous* appointed upon such a Day, in *Rengam*, where *Achish* was to draw them into a Body, and thence to lead them out against the Enemy. * The King spake to *David* also to join him, with his six Hundred Men, over and above his own Troops; who not only promised it with great Readiness, but told *Achish* further, that the Time was now at hand, that

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would

* 1 Sam. 28.

would put it into his Power to make an honourable Return for all his Bounties. The King on the other hand, passing his Royal Word to *David*, the more to oblige him, that if he succeeded in this Battle, he would do him all the Honour that in him lay, and in particular, give him the Command of his Guards.

C H A P. XV.

Saul consults the Ghost of Samuel. The Spirit foretels him the Loss of the Battle, with the Death of himself, and his Sons : And it proves so accordingly. The Amalekites pillage and burn Zicklag: David pursues, and cuts them to pieces.

IT is to be noted, that *Saul* had already banish'd all Diviners, Sooth-sayers, Fortune-tellers, and all other People whatsoever of those vain Pretensions, out of his Dominions: But the Prophets he still retained. News being now brought him that the *Philistines* were advanced as far as *Sunem*, and encamped upon the Plain there, he went out to meet them, and drew up near the Mountain of *Gilboa*, directly over against the Camp of the Enemy. The Armies being now in sight one of another, *Saul* found the *Philistines* so much Superior to the *Hebrews*, both for Order, and Number, that his Heart misgave him, and sunk upon it; and this Terror put him upon consulting the Prophets about the Event of the expected Battle. The Question being put, and no Answer returned, the Silence of the Oracle was worse to *Saul* than all the rest; for he look'd upon it to be so foreboding a Presage of an evil Fate at hand, that he fell into a downright Desperation upon it; and yet such was the Hardness of his Heart, and though *God* had withdrawn his Favour from him in such a signal Manner, and he himself conscious of it, he had still a Recourse, after all this, to *Conjurers*, and *Wizzards*, to learn the Event of Things, and set People at Work to find him out some cunning Woman that could foretel Things to come: For there are a sort of People that take upon them to call up the Ghosts of the Dead, and by the Help of the Black-Art, to resolve such Questions as *Saul* had to ask. While he was upon this Enquiry, one of his Family told him, that he had heard of such a sort of Woman at *Endor*. Upon this Information, *Saul* without any more ado, disguises himself; and two Confidents
along

along with him, away he goes to the famous Woman at *Endor*, without a Word speaking of it to any body else. The first Thing he said upon coming up to her, was to desire some Trial of her Skill, in calling up the Ghost of such a certain Person as he should name. The Woman excused herself, out of a Reverence to the King's Edict, which had forbidden this Way of Divination, upon Pain of Banishment: Wherefore she besought him, not to betray her into a Snare; for if she should pretend to give a Resolution, and be detected, the Practice would most infallibly be her Ruin. But this Refusal would not satisfie *Saul*: So that pressing her still more and more, with bitter Imprecations upon himself, that no Mortal should ever know of one Syllable that pass'd betwixt them, either Question, or Answer, she was prevail'd upon at last, betwixt Oaths and Importunities, to venture herself upon the Credit of such Assurances that she was in safe Hands.

Immediately upon her yielding, *Saul* bad her call up the Ghost of *Samuel*. She knew nothing at all who this *Samuel* was; but however, upon her calling him up, the *Phantome* appear'd. The Woman was under an Astonishment at the Sight of so Divine a Figure, and "Turning toward *Saul*, "asked him, if he were not *Saul the King* (for *Samuel* had "told her as much :) *Saul* making Answer that he was the "Man: And observing her to be trembling, and in Disorder, desir'd to know what might be the Cause of that Confusion. She saw the Resemblance, *she said*, of an ancient "Man with a radiant Glory about him, ascending from the "Earth." *Saul* demanded of her what kind of Figure, of what Years, and in what Habit it seem'd to be. "A Man in "Years, *she said*; of a venerable Aspect, and in a Sacerdotal Vest." By this Description, *Saul* concluded it to be the Figure of *Samuel*, and fell down upon his Face, and worshipped. "The Spectre demanded what he gave him "this Trouble for, to take him from his Place of Rest? *Saul* "reply'd, that it was absolute Necessity: For he was threaten'd, *he said*, with a mighty Army, and wanted Advice "what to do: God had forsaken him, and he had neither "Prophets, Dreams, nor Visions to fly to for Direction. For "these Reasons, he had now Recourse (*he said*) to *Samuel*, "as his last Refuge, and a Person that he had ever found "favourable to himself and his Affairs." *Samuel* foreseeing that *Saul* had but one Day more to live, told him, "How "vain a Thing it was for him that knew himself forsaken of "God, to launch out into unseasonable Curiosities, what

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should

“ should hereafter become of him : But, *says the Ghost*, since
 “ nothing else will serve your Turn, I am to tell you, that
 “ the Resolution is taken, and the Sentence pass’d : That
 “ is to say ; that *David* shall be put into Possession of the Go-
 “ vernment, and bring the present War to a happy Conclu-
 “ sion, while you yourself are to lose your Crown, and your
 “ Life together, for your Disobedience to God in the Busi-
 “ ness of the *Amalekites* ; and for the Contempt of his Com-
 “ mands, which from my Lips you received by his Order
 “ while I was living. Know further, That you are to be
 “ with me To-morrow ; your Army shall be overthrown, and
 “ yourself, and your Sons fall in the Battle.”

These Words struck *Saul* speechless, and in a manner dead ; for he fainted, and fell to the Ground upon them ; whether out of the Transport of so surprizing a Sentence, or out of Weakness of Body with over-fasting, may be a Question, for he had eat nothing for four and twenty Hours before ; but coming at last a little to himself again, the Woman was very earnest with him to take somewhat of Sufenance to support Nature ; desiring no other Consideration for the dangerous Office she had render’d him, then to have the putting of him into a Condition of Strength and Ability to return to his Army. She was sensible enough of the Hazard she had run in the Exercise of a forbidden Profession ; and especially in the Violation of a Decree at the Desire (unwittingly) of him that made it. After twenty Importunities and Refusals, in the Depth of his Desperation, *Saul* was prevail’d upon, in the End, to admit of some Refreshment. So the Woman though so poor that she got her Living by her daily Labour, kill’d her only Calf ; dress’d it, and set it before *Saul*, and his Servants, with her whole Fortune in that Treat ; who, in fine, took his Repast, and returned that Night to his Army.

I must not pass over here the Candour, the good Nature, and the Greatness of this Woman’s Mind, without some Note of Admiration ! The King had forbidden her the Practice of an Art that was the only Maintenance of herself and Family. Here comes a Guest, and a Stranger to her, that she had never seen before ; but a Person in Misery, and one that had need of her Advice in the Way that he himself had forbidden ; for it prov’d to be the King. She receiv’d him, treated him, and reliev’d him, and all this she did willingly, and chearfully, nay and so frankly too, that she gave him all she had, and without any Prospect or Contemplation of a Reward by gaining the King’s Favour ; for he (she knew)

knew) was doom'd to die. Beside that over and above the Piety of these Offices, she did all this for the very Man, whose Prohibition had been the Ruin of her. This Proceeding was quite contrary to the Custom of the World, that makes Charity an Interest, and gives or relieves only to get by the Truck; putting out Virtue, as they do Money, to Interest. We may reckon that we have recommended to us in the great Example of this generous Woman, the Honour and Humanity of doing good Offices to all People in Necessity; beside that a sincere and unaffected Charity, is a Virtue of all others the most acceptable in God's Sight.

After this Right done to the Woman of *Endor*, there is somewhat further to be said upon this Occasion, by way of Admonition, that all Sorts of People may be the better for it; those especially that are born great, and prompted by honourable Inclinations to the Love and Practice of Virtue. For this is it, that makes Men immortal even upon Earth, and inspires Princes and Governours with generous Thoughts and Resolutions, in Defiance not only of Danger, but of Death itself, when the Safety and Well-being of their Country requires it.

This Case of *Saul* is an eminent Instance to my Purpose. He knew most certainly that he was to die in this Combat; for the Prophet had told him as much; but he persisted yet in a Resolution to stand his Fate, without betraying his Army to the Enemy, or exposing his Royal Dignity to Scorn, for the saving of his Carcass. He made it his Glory to die fighting for the Defence of his Government; and rather to have his Sons, and his whole Family die Partners with him in the Honour of the Action, than to leave them behind him, under anxious Uncertainties how their Survivors might prove, comforting himself with this, that a good Name would supply the Failure of any other Posterity. This is the Man that, in my Opinion, deserves the Character of truly just, brave, and wise; and I would have the same Veneration paid to all publick-spirited Examples of his Pitch, and Elevation, either past, or to come. For let History say what it will, of some Men that may yet do great Things, perhaps upon the Hope, or Assurance beforehand of coming-off safe and victorious; these Men are not to be look'd upon as *Heroes* of the first Rate; (though much however to be esteem'd) but those rather, that like *Saul*, stand firm and unshaken in a fearless Defiance of the worst of Fatalities, and under the Certainty even of Death itself. What mighty Matter is it for a Man to venture his Life upon a common Chance of War, and be-

twixt Hope and Fear, to make the best of all favourable Accidents ! The other is the great Soul, that when he knows he is to perish, boldly advances upon his Destruction ; meets it, and encounters his Fate, tho' without any Hope or Thought of surmounting it. Be this spoken to the immortal Honour of *Saul*, who hath made himself exemplary to all Lovers of Glory : And whoever would celebrate himself to After-Ages, must tread in his Steps ; Princes especially ; to whom it is so necessary to have exalted Minds, answerably to the Sublimity of their Fortunes, that a Mediocrity either of Courage, or of Virtue, is a kind of Scandal upon them. More might be said upon the Subject of *Saul's* Dignity of Resolution : But not to make this Digression too tedious, I shall now go on where I left,

* The *Philistines* having drawn their Troops together from all Quarters, according to their Distribution into Tribes, Kingdoms, and Governments ; *Achish* the King of *Gath*, with his Men after the rest, and *David* with his Band of six Hundred after *Achish*, several of the *Philistine-Commanders* taking notice of a Mixture of *Hebrews* among them, enquir'd from whence they came ? who sent for them ? and what they did there ? *Achish* made answer, That the Young Man there (pointing to *David*) was a Servant of *Saul's*, that was fallen under his Displeasure, and forced to fly for his Life. He came to me (says *Achish*) with the People he has about him, for Sanctuary : So I receiv'd him, and provided for him : And now upon this Occasion he has promised me his uttermost Assistance against *Saul*, in requital for his Protection, and to gratifie his Revenge. The *Philistines* were one and all against trusting a profess'd Enemy, and rather to have him sent back again ; for they did not know, *they said*, what Mischief the Treachery of such a Party might do upon such an Occasion. And for the Controversie betwixt him and his Master, the Service he might do him upon this Opportunity, would compound for Forty such Breaches : Wherefore *Achish* should do well, *they said*, to look before him ; and without more Words, to remand him back to the Habitation he had assign'd him ; for this was the *David*, *they said*, that the Virgins cry'd-up so in their Songs, for killing so many Thousands of the *Philistines*. *Achish* could not oppose the Force, and Reason of the Objection ; and therefore he thought fit to take *David* aside, and discourse him upon that Subject. " Young Man (says he) upon the certain " Proof and Experience that I have received of your Fidelity and

“ and Courage, I have now entertain’d you as my Allie and Associate in this Expedition ; wherefore withdraw yourself immediately to the Place I have alloted you, and have a particular Care there of the Peace of my People, and the Country near you ; for Fear my Enemies should take Advantage of my Absence, and press me with Troubles at Home. You will do me the Office of a kind Allie, and every Jot as effectually in that Government, as if you were my Second in the Army. And in the mean time, I am as much your Friend as ever.” Upon this Declaration of *Achish* they parted, and *David*, according to his Order, went his way to *Zicklag*.

* But in the mean time, while *David* was following the Camp of the *Philistines*, the *Amalekites* fell upon *Zicklag* ; took it, and laid it in Ashes ; making the like Havock in the Country thereabout. They pillag’d all, in fine, wherever they came, and at last went home again with what Booty they could carry along with them. *David*, at his Return, finding the Place of his Habitation destroy’d, and desolate ; his own Wives, and the Wives and Children of his Fellow-Soldiers, hurry’d away Prisoners, with all that belong’d to them, he brake out into so passionate an Extravagance of Lamentation and Outrage, that he rent his Clothes, and wept himself a-dry, even for Want of Matter to supply more Tears. His Followers were ready to stone him too, for the Loss of their Wives and Children. For he was the Cause of all, *they said* ; and the whole Miscarriage was laid at his Door.

When *David* had mourned himself a weary, he came at last to think of applying to Heaven for Comfort : And so desired *Abiathar* the *High-Priest*, to put on his Pontifical Robes ; and consult God in Form ; and then report the Oracle. The Question was, Whether or not, in case of overtaking the *Amalekites* upon the Pursuit, the *Hebrews* might be allowed to receive their Wives and Children again, that had been taken from them before, and revenge themselves upon the Enemy. The *High-Priest* bad *David* follow them, and prosper. Upon which Encouragement, he took his six Hundred Men, and pursu’d them upon the very Heel to the Brook (a) *Besor*, where they found an *Ægyptian* that had lost his Way, and was ready to perish with Hunger, having been three Days in the Desert without Eating. They took Pity upon him, and after giving him a little Refreshment, they ask’d him what he was, and to whom he belong’d ? He told them, he was an *Ægyptian* born, and a Servant to a Person, that was at

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the

* 1 Sam. 30.

(a) *Baselos*, Jos.

the Sacking and Burning of *Zicklag*, and the Country thereabouts ; who left him upon the Way, in his Passage Home again, because he was so faint, that he could not keep-up with the Troops. *David* made use of this *Ægyptian* for his Guide, upon the Trace of the *Amalekites*, whom he overtook at last, and found them tumbling upon the Ground ; some guttling, others fuddling ; and some again with much Pride, and Vanity, in the Contemplation of their late Booty : But, in short, while they lay dozing, and drown'd in Sleep and Drink, and their Thoughts wholly set upon their Ease and Pleasure ; heedless, defenceless, and unarm'd, *David* fell upon them in this Disorder and Confusion, mingling their Blood with their Wine, and with great Ease doing dreadful Execution upon them : So that upon the Main, what with those that had no Arms at all, and those that had Arms, but were too drunk to use them ; there 'scap'd of the whole Number, not above four Hundred Persons, who were carry'd off by the Speed of their Camels. The Pursuit lasted from Noon till Night ; and in the Close of the Action, they recover'd their Wives, Children, and Booty.

David had but four Hundred Men with him in this Adventure : The other two Hundred (Part of the six) were left behind for a Guard to the Baggage. Upon his Return from the Chace, and the Spoil, the four Hundred that were upon the Action, would not allow the other two Hundred that were upon easier Service, to have any Part in the Booty, more then that of their Wives and Children ; *David* look'd upon it as an unreasonable Proposition : “ For (*says he*) the “ Victory was God's, and being a Blessing upon the com- “ mon Cause, it is but Reason that the whole Body should “ partake of the Benefit ; especially where the one Part of “ it was upon Duty as well as the other ! and at the same “ Time preserv'd the Baggage.” This Decision pass'd into a Law, which is still in Force to this very Day. That is to say ; The Spoil to be equally divided betwixt them that guard the *Baggage*, and those that fight the *Battle*. *David*, after his Return to *Zicklag*, sent up and down to his Friends and Acquaintance in the Tribe of *Judah*, Presents out of the Spoil. We shall pass now from the Destruction of *Zicklag*, and the total Overthrow of the *Amalekites*, to a bloody Victory obtain'd by the *Philistines* over the *Hebrews*.

* The Armies join'd, and the Encounter was very sharp. *Saul* and his *Sons* did all that was possible for brave Men to do ;

* 1 Sam. 31.

do ; but finding themselves oppress'd with Numbers ; (for the whole Stress fell upon them) they had no more to do, they saw, then to die honourably, and to sell their Lives at such a Rate, that the Enemy should have little Reason to boast of the Purchase. They were surrounded, in fine, with fresh and fresh Multitudes ; and still as they cut-off one Party, another came-on : So that in the End they themselves were forced to submit to the Necessity of an insuperable Fate. Upon the Fall of *Saul's* Sons, to wit, *Jonathan*, *Aminadab*, and *Melchi*, that were slain in the Heat of the Battle, the whole Army fell into a Confusion, and fled in a direct Rout ; the *Philistines* pressing upon the Rear with a prodigious Slaughter ; *Saul* shifted for himself a while, with a small Body of his own, till in the End they were broken all to pieces by the *Philistines* Darts and Arrows, and he found himself so weakened with Wounds and Loss of Blood, that after all his heroic Exploits, he was not able either to stand upon his Legs, or to do Execution upon himself. In this Extremity, he called to his Armour-bearer to do him the good Office, that he might not fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies. But the Servant excused himself, out of the Veneration he had for *Majesty*, and upon that Refusal, *Saul* cast himself upon the Point of his own Sword : But not being able to finish what he had begun, he took notice of a Young Man, an *A-malekite*, there at hand, and desired him to take the Sword, and some way or other give him a Dispatch. He did it at first Asking, and in the same Instant made Prize of *Saul's* Golden Bracelets, and of his Royal Crown, running away with them immediately as fast as he could. When the Armour-bearer saw that *Saul* was dead, he laid violent Hands upon himself too, and there was not one Man of the King's Guard that out-liv'd his Master. This Battle was fought near the Mountain of *Gilboah*.

No sooner had the *Hebrews* of the Valley beyond *Jordan*, and the Cities on the Plains, gotten Intelligence of the Death of *Saul* and his *Sons*, and of the entire Destruction and Dissolution of his Army ; but they withdrew themselves out of their open Towns into Fastnesses, and Strong Holds : While the *Philistines* took Possession, and without any Difficulty made themselves Masters of the Places the other had quitted. On the next Day after the Battle, the *Philistines* coming into the Field to view the Dead, found the Bodies of *Saul*, and his *Sons*, among the rest. They strip'd them, cut-off their Heads, and sent Expresses every Way up and down with the
News

News of this Defeat. Their Arms they deposited in the Temple of *Ashtaroth*, and their Bodies they exposed upon Gibbets, under the Wall of the City of *Bethshan*, known at this Day by the Name of *Scythopolis*. This barbarous Outrage upon the Bodies of *Saul* and his *Sons*, coming to the Ears of the Men of *Jabesh-Gilead*, they took up such an Indignation at the Inhumanity of refusing them the last Rites of Burial, that they made a Party of daring, enterprizing Spirits, among themselves, (as that Place is full of them) and travelling all Night; took down the Bodies of *Saul* and his *Sons*, from the Walls of *Bethshan*, and carry'd them away to *Jabesh*; not a Creature daring to open his Mouth against them. Their Deaths were lamented by the whole People of the Place; who gave their Bodies a publick, and an honourable Interment in the chief Part of their Province. They spent seven Days in so strick a Solemnity of Fasting and Mourning, that Men, Women, and Children were all bound indispensably to observe it.

This was the End of *Saul*, according to the Prediction of *Samuel*, for his not prosecuting the War against the *Amalekites*, according to his Order, and for the Massacre of *Achimelech*, and his Family, with the Devastation even of the Sacerdotal City itself. He ruled in the Days of *Samuel*, (a) eighteen Years, and twenty two more after his Decease; coming to his unhappy End, in Manner as it is here set forth.

F L A V I U S

(a) *Gataker* rejects this Opinion, in his *Dissert. de Style* N. T. c. xvi.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the SEVENTH.

[From the Year of the World 2890, to 2931.]

CHAP. I.

David's *Lamentation for the Death of Saul and Jonathan. The Tribe of Judah sets-up David for their King. Abner sets-up Ishbosheth. Abner marches against David, and is defeated by Joab. Hazael pursues Abner, and Abner kills him. Abner taking a Disgust at Ishbosheth, goes-over to David; and is afterwards basely murder'd by Joab. David passionately laments him.*

* **T**HE Battle last above mention'd was fought upon the very Day of *David's* coming back to *Zicklag*, from the Overthrow of the *Amalekites*; and on the third Day after that, came the Person that had kill'd *Saul*, and made his escape out of the Battle. He advanc'd toward *David* with Ashes upon his Head, and his Clothes all rent, and so threw himself down prostrate at his Feet. *David* asked him what he was, and from whence he came in such a Dress? He told him, that he was an *Amalekite*,
and

* 2 Sam. 1.

and came from the unfortunate Battle of the *Hebrews*, where the King himself, and his Sons, were missing after the Battle, beside many Thousands of the Army. "I shall speak no more," says he, then what I saw with my own Eyes. It was my Fortune to be near the King, when he was in his Extremity. He cast himself upon the Point of his own Sword; but so faint with his Wounds, that he could not execute what he had begun: So that upon his earnest Desire, I was forced to do the Office for him, to keep him from falling alive into the Hands of his Enemies." He shewed *David* at the same time, the *Bracelet* and the *Crown* that he took from the dead Body, to confirm the Truth of the Story, which he reserved for a Present to *David*. There was no Place left for doubting, after this Evidence; so that *David* rent his Clothes upon it, and spent the whole Day with his Friends, in Tears and Lamentations. But the most sensible Part of his Affliction was the Loss of *Jonathan*, his ever-dear and faithful Friend, and more then once the very Preserver of his Life. Now so transcendent was the Virtue of *David*, and the Generosity of his good Nature toward *Saul*, that notwithstanding so many repeated Practices upon his Life, he did not only deplore his Misfortune, but order'd the Criminal to be deliver'd up to Justice; not only upon his own Confession, but upon the more certain Evidence of his Guilt, in the *Crown* and the *Bracelet*, that he took from *Saul* after he was dead, to carry them to *David*: And proving himself, over and above, to be the true Brood of an *Amalekite*, by owning the very Principle of a *Regicide*. To say nothing of several Elegies and Epitaphs of *David's* Composition to the Honour of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*, that are still extant to this very Day.

* When *David* had paid his last Duties to the Honour and Memory of *Saul* and his Sons, and that the Term of the Mourning was expir'd, he consulted God by the Prophet, which of the Cities of *Judah* should be allotted him for his Habitation; and it was answer'd *Hebron*: Wherefore he left *Zicklag* immediately, and repaired thither, with his two Wives, and the Guards of his Person that he had about him; whither the whole Body of the Tribe came flocking, soon after, and in a full Convention with one Voice proclaim'd him King. *David* had heard by this Time of the generous and respectful Behaviour of the Men of *Jabesh* toward *Saul* and his Sons, and how bravely they rescu'd their Bodies from
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* 2 Sam. 2.

the Gibbet, in the Face of the Enemy, and gave them a pompous, and an honourable Burial : So that he sent them particular Acknowledgments, in his own Name, for what they had done in favour of those Princes, as an Obligation that should for ever be remember'd to their Advantage : The same Messenger giving them also to understand, that the Tribe of *Judah* had created and declared *David* their King.

In this Juncture, *Abner* the Son of *Ner*, and *Saul's* General, a Man of a large Heart and Soul, and naturally cut-out and qualify'd for glorious Undertakings : This great Man, I say, had no sooner heard of the Death of *Saul*, *Jonathan*, and Two other of his Sons, in the late Battle, but away he posted to the Camp to look after *Ishboseth* ; at that Time, the only Survivor of *Saul's* Male-Issue. So he found him at last ; and to put him out of Harms-way, cross'd the River *Jordan* with him, and got him to be accepted and declared King of all *Israel*, the Tribe of *Judah* accepted ; appointing (a) *Meanahaim* for his Residence, which signifies as much as the Camp. *Abner* was so incensed against the Tribe of *Judah* for the Choice of their King, that he resolv'd to make War upon them for it, and so detach'd a Body of the best Men he could pick-out, for the Encounter. *Joab*, the Son of *Suri*, and *Zerviah*, *David's* Sister, had the Command of *David's* Army ; taking his Two Brothers, *Abishai* and *Hazael*, along with him. When they were advanced to a certain Fountain of *Gibeon*, the Two Armies being now in Sight of one another, drew up : But as they stood in Order there, and ready to engage, *Abner* propounded a Trial beforehand between so many, and so many of a Side, to see which were the braver Men of the Two. So by Consent they sent out Twelve and Twelve to dispute the Point, betwixt, and in Sight of the Two Armies. They began the Combat with their Darts, and then fell-in with their Swords ; Every Man taking his Adversary by the Hair, and digging and stabbing one another till they fell all dead upon the Place. Upon this, the Armies join'd, and for a while it was hard fought on both Sides : But in the End, *Abner* was totally routed, and put to Flight ; *Joab*, and his Two Brothers at the Heel of him upon the Pursuit, encouraging their Men, both to the Chace, and to the Execution. But no Man stuck so close to him as *Hazael* ; who was so light of Foot, that he had the better of most Horses ; and having singled him

(a) *Manalis*, *Jos.*

him out, press'd close after him, without turning either to the Right-hand or to the Left. When *Abner* found him so hard upon him, he offer'd him a Suit of Arms to let him go; and seeing that would not take him off, he fairly advis'd him not to put him to the Necessity of doing him a Mischief, for the saving of his own Life: After which, he could never think of looking his Brother in the Face again. *Abner* perceiving by this Time, that *Hazael* was not to be wrought upon, he turn'd his Lance in his Flight, and struck his Pursuer dead upon the Place. This Accident put some kind of stop to the Pursuit; for the People gave over the Chace to stand gazing at the Spectacle. But *Joab* and his Brother *Abishai* were now past the dead Body, and so exasperated against *Abner* for the Death of their Brother, that with an incredible Speed and Vigour, they pressed the Pursuit till towards Sun-set, to *Mathon*; that is to say, the *Aqueduct*. In this Place *Abner*, with the Tribe of *Benjamin*, took the Advantage of a Rising Ground to observe the Enemy, and from thence to reason the Case with *Joab* after this Manner.

"That this outrageous Animosity was already gone too far among People of the same Blood and Profession. As for your Brother *Hazael*, says he, I begg'd of him to be quiet, and let me alone without Pursuing any further; but he brought it to this in the Conclusion, that I must either take away his Life, or lose my own: So that he may even thank himself for this Miscarriage." *Joab* could not oppose the Fairness of *Abner's* Plea, and so caused a Retreat to be sounded; Encamping upon the same Place that Night: But *Abner* continu'd his March over the River *Jordan*, and so to the Palace of *Ishbosheth*, the Son of *Saul*. *Joab*, the Day following, took a View of the Dead, (which he caused to be bury'd) computing that *Abner* lost three Hundred and sixty Men, and *David* Nineteen; without reckoning *Hazael*, whose Body was carried by *Joab*, and *Abishai*, to *Bethlehem*, and there laid in the Sepulchre of their Fathers; from whence they returned to *David* at *Hebron*.

* This Controversie betwixt the House of *David*, and the House of *Saul*, was the Rise of a long Civil War among the *Hebrews*; But still as *David* and his Party got the better of it in all Encounters, so the Sons of *Saul*, on the other side, were still worsted in whatever they undertook. *David*, in the mean time, had † six Sons by as many Wives. There

was

* 2 Sam. 3.

† See 2 Sam. 3, 4. and compare the Original, and the Old Latin Translation.

was *Ammon* the Son of *Abinoam*; *Daniel*, the Son of *Abigail*, *Abfalom*, the Son of *Maacah*, the Daughter of *Tolmai* King of *Geshar*; *Adonijah*, the Son of *Haggith*; *Sphacia*, the Son of *Abithal*, and *Jethrakam* the Son of *Egla*.

In the Prosecution of this Civil War, it was the Prudence, the Interest, and the Popularity of *Abner*, more than any thing else, that supported the Pretensions of *Saul's* Family, and kept the People in their Obedience to *Ishbosheth*. But this Prince being informed that *Abner* liv'd in a kind of scandalous Familiarity with *Rizpah*, the Daughter of *Sibeth*, one of his late Father's *Concubines*, he laid it point-blank to his Charge, and school'd him so severely about it, that it put him into a severe Fit of Melancholy, and Indignation, to find all his faithful Services to *Saul*, and his Family, so ill-requited. Upon this Provocation, he meditated a Revenge, no less than the taking of the Crown off from *Ishbosheth's* Head, and setting it upon *David's*; and giving the World to understand, that *Ishbosheth* was not advanced to the Government for any Virtue, or Ability of his own; but by the Advice, Arms, Interest, Recommendation, and the try'd Fidelity of *Abner*.

While this Humour was at Work, he sent a Commissioner to *Hebron*, with full Power to strike up a League with *David* in his Name, upon this single Condition: That from, and after the Time of *Abner's* drawing off all the Tribes from *Ishbosheth* to *David*, and advancing *David* to the Throne by the universal Consent of the People, *Abner* should be received from that Day forward, as *David's* First Minister and Favourite. Nothing could have been more welcome to *David* than this Proposal of *Abner's*, and it was entertained accordingly. The first Thing he desired, as the Earnest of a future Alliance, was the restoring of *Michal*, whom he had purchased with very great Labour and Hazard, beside the Heads of six Hundred *Philistines* paid down upon a Bargain for her with *Saul*. So *Abner* took *Michal* out of the Arms of *Phalti*, upon whom she was bestow'd, with the Privy and Assistance of *Ishbosheth*, who had been already possess'd with the Merits of the Cause, and the Reasonableness of the Demand. While Things were at this Pass, *Abner* call'd the Elders, and the Commanders; or in short, the Principals of the People both Military and Civil, together: To whom he deliver'd himself upon the present Occasion to this Purpose.

" There was a Time, says he, when you would have gone
 " over from *Ishbosheth* to *David*, and I was against it; but
 " you are now at Liberty to do what you please: For the Pro-
 " phet

“phet *Samuel* hath most infallibly assur’d us from the Voice of God himself, that *David* is the Man, whom Divine Providence hath designed for the King and Governour of the whole Nation of the *Hebrews*: And that it is he, and only he, that is to avenge us upon the *Philistines*, and to bring them under our Yoke.” These Words were so clear a Discovery how *Abner* stood inclin’d, that the Heads of the People, and of the Army, fell in unanimously with his Opinion; and from that Time forward, declar’d and acted barefac’d, in favour of *David*. When they had proceeded thus far, *Abner*, in the first Place, call’d for the *Benjamites*, which were all of the Life-Guard to *Ishbosheth*, speaking to them in the same Manner with the former, and with the same Effect too; for they all declar’d themselves as one Man for *David*.

When *Abner* had made this Advance toward the Performance of his Conditions, he took a matter of twenty Men of his own Choice away with him to *David*; in order, partly, to the ratifying of the Treaty; and in part, for common Satisfaction, because Men are better pleas’d to do their own Business themselves, then by Proxies. And he had in it also this further End, that the Proceedings on both Sides might be the more impartially transmitted from the one to the other; and an exact Report made of what had pass’d between himself, and the Heads of the Tribes, and how he had now brought over the *Benjamites* to *David*’s Party. *Abner* and his Company were treated by *David* with all imaginable Freedom, and Magnificence, for the Time they stay’d; but after some few Days, he desir’d for the present to be dismiss’d, that he might fetch up the Army, and the People to him; and, upon delivering up the Government into his Hands, by the Consent of the whole Nation, make good what he had undertaken.

Abner was presently dispatch’d according to his Desire, and hardly out of the Gates of *Hebron* at one End of the Town; but *Joab*, *David*’s General, that had been somewhere abroad (it seems) came in at the other: Where being given to understand that *Abner* had been in private with *David*, upon certain Proposals to settle him in the Government; the Conditions offer’d and accepted, and a League solemnly ratify’d betwixt them, and himself just then sent back upon that Errand; an outrageous Jealousie took *Joab* in the Head upon’t; that this Intrigue of *Abner*’s would be his Ruin; and supplant him, not only in his Master’s Favour, but in the most honourable of his Commissions: Especially considering that *Abner* was a Man of Skill,
and

and Address, and dext'rous enough to make the best of a fair Game.

The Venom of this Envy began now to work in the Heart of *Joab*, and his first Recourse was to Back-biting and Detraction. So that away he went with a smooth Tale to the King, and an Advice at the End of it, that he should do well to have a care how he trusted *Abner*; for his Bus'ness was above all Things in the World to establish the Family of *Saul* in the Government. His Pretences were only Snares: And upon the gaining of his Point, and pumping out what he had a mind to know, he was now gone home again to reap the Fruits of his false Dealing. When *Joab* found that there was no Good to be done upon *David*, by Calumny and Slander, to the Prejudice of *Abner*, he bethought himself of a surer, and shorter way of doing his Bus'ness, by taking away his Life; and so sent Messengers posting after him in *David's* Name, to call him back again, under a Pretext of somewhat forgotten in his Instructions that was very considerable. They overtook him upon the Way at a Place call'd *Sirah*, some twenty Furlongs from *Hebron*; and upon delivering their Message, *Abner* very innocently went back with them to the City, little dreaming of what afterwards befel him. Upon his coming up to the Walls of the Town, there stood *Joab* in the Gate with a wonderful Appearance of Kindness and Humanity, ready to receive him; (as the Devil himself is never so wicked as in the Shape of an Angel of Light) so taking him aside, as upon some private Bus'ness, he took the Opportunity of a secret Corner out of Sight, only his Brother *Abishai* in Company with him; and surprizing him at unawares, ran his Sword into his Guts. Thus was this brave Man taken off by the perfidious Malice, and Hypocrisie of *Joab*, in Revenge (as he pretended) for the Death of his Brother *Hazael*, that was slain in the Battle of *Hebron*, upon the violent Pursuit of *Abner*: But in Truth, to gratifie his Jealousie and Revenge, for fear of being supplanted in his Court-Preferments. This is to shew us, that Men abandon'd to the Lusts of Avarice and Ambition, will stick at nothing; for they are never at ease, so long as they see any Thing above them. So long as they are in the Pursuit of what they eagerly desire, they press their Ends without ever examining or considering the Means. There is no such Thing as Scruple of Honour, or Conscience in the Case; but right or wrong, how the Work may be done; and they are still bolder yet in the Defence and Maintenance of a Thing ill gotten, then

F f

they

they were in the acquiring of it: For they can better bear a Miscarriage in missing what they would have been at, then the Shame of having any Thing forc'd away from them that they have gotten. They will, in short, struggle harder to keep what they have; especially when they have tasted the sweet of it, then to get what they had not: But here's enough in a Word upon this Point.

The News of *Abner's* Death went to the Heart and Soul of *David*, insomuch that upon the very Instant of hearing it, he stretch'd forth his Right-hand toward Heaven, in an Appeal, and Protestation, upon the whole Matter, that *he was neither privy, nor consenting to the Fact*; cursing most bitterly the *Assassin* whoever he was; his Family, and all his Complices: And all this, not only in a Detestation, of so base, and unmanly a Practice; but likewise to purge himself, upon the strictest Niceties of Faith and Honour, that he had been true to *Abner*. He appointed by Proclamation a public Mourning for him, with all the Solemnities of tearing Garments, and putting on Sackcloth. He himself with his great Ministers and Officers assisting at the Funeral, and giving sufficient Demonstrations, by wringing of Hands, beating their Breasts, and other Expressions of Sorrow, both of the Veneration they had for *Abner's* Memory, and the Sense they had of so inestimable a Loss, all People being now fully satisfy'd in the Conclusion, that *David* was far from approving, or consenting to so execrable an Act. He caused the Body to be interr'd at *Hebron*, with great State and Magnificence, composing an *Epitaph* himself, to the Honour of the Deceas'd. He was the chief Mourner, and a President to all the rest, who acted in Conformity to his Example. The Death of *Abner*, in few Words, pierc'd the Heart of him to such a Degree, that his Friends could not prevail upon him to touch either Meat, or Drink, that whole Day. The Severity of this religious Strictness gained exceedingly upon the Affections of the People, and particularly upon the Friends of *Abner*; to whom nothing could be more acceptable then this last Testimony of *David's* Inclination and Esteem for his Person, and Memory, now he was gone; for he did not treat him, they saw, with a slight and ignominious way of Burial, as an Enemy, but with all the Tenderesses of Generosity, Justice, and Friendship. Beside that it highly elevated the Character of *David's* Piety and good Nature, in giving Men to understand what they might expect from him themselves, if ever *Abner's* Case should come
to

to be theirs. So that *David*, in this Way of Proceeding, consulted his Interest, as well as his Reputation, and Virtue; for after this Proof, he was never suspected for want of Good-will to *Abner*.

When the Company were upon the Point of breaking up, *David* entertain'd them with a short Discourse to the Advantage of *Abner*, and first upon the Account of his own particular Unhappiness, in being depriv'd of a Friend he had so great a Value for: And then with a Respect to the Publick, how much the whole Nation suffer'd in the Loss of so brave, and so wise a Man; and, in short, a Person so necessary both for War and Counsel. "But God, *says he*, that governs all Things, will not let this Murder pass unrevenge'd: He is my Witness, that I am not in Condition to call *Joab* and *Abishai* to an Account; for they have a greater Interest in the Army perhaps than I myself: But this I dare pronounce, that sooner or later, Divine Justice will find them out." Thus it was that *Abner* ended his Days.

CHAP. II.

Baanah and Rechab present David with the Head of Ishbosheth; who orders them to be put to Death by exquisite Torments. All the Tribes own David for their King. He raises an Army, and takes Jerusalem. Joab the first that scales the Wall.

*THE Fall of *Abner* was a most terrible Mortification to *Ishbosheth* the Son of *Saul*; for in him, he lost a dear Friend, and a near Kinsman, that advanc'd him to his Father's Throne: But he himself did not long survive him neither, for he was treacherously murder'd soon afterward by *Baanah*, and *Rechab*, the Sons of *Rimmon*. These two Brothers were *Benjamites*, and of the first Rank among them. They were thinking with themselves, that if *Ishbosheth* were but taken out of the Way, *David* would have a clear Stage to himself: Upon which Consideration, they concerted the Matter betwixt them, how they might do him that piece of Service; making no doubt in the World, of Honour, Re-

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wards,

* 2 Sam. 4.

wards, and Commands in Abundance, upon the Performance of that good Office. So that at a Time when he was alone in his Bed-Chamber, and taking his Afternoon's Nap; no Guards at hand; and the very Servant that commonly kept the Door, weary'd, and fast asleep, they took their Opportunity to steal into the Chamber; kill'd him where they found him; cut off his Head, and posted away with it all Night toward *Hebron*, the sooner to get clear of the People they had injur'd, and to bring the Present so much the fresher to him that they pretended to oblige. When they came to their Journey's End, they presented it to *David*, not a little valuing themselves upon the Merit of having destroy'd his Competitor for the Empire: But their Entertainment was not answerable to their Expectation, as will appear by what *David* said to them upon this Occasion.

" Wicked Wretches that you are! *says he*, prepare yourselves immediately to receive the just Reward of your horrid Villany. Do not you know how I requited the Murderer of *Saul*; that when he had taken away that sacred Life, had the Confidence to bring me his Golden Crown for an Ostentation of the Service he had done me in it? Nay, and it was at the Instance too of *Saul* himself, that he did it, to prevent the Indignity of being taken alive by his Enemies. Am not I the same Man, do you think, at this Day, that I was then? Or am I turn'd so abandon'd a Wretch since, as to countenance the most profligate of Men and of Actions, and to reckon myself under an Obligation to you for dipping your Hands (upon my Account, as you would have it thought) in the Blood of your Lord? The cutting of his Throat in his Bed too; and the Throat, over and above, of a Person so just, that he never did any Man wrong; and so generous a Patron and Benefactor to your ungrateful selves, that all the Advantages you can pretend to in this World, are but what you stand indebted for to his Bounty and Goodness. Wherefore you shall now pay for your Breach of Faith to your Master, and for the Scandal you have cast upon me, both at once; for what greater Wound could any Man give me, in my Reputation, then to expose me for a Person that could take Pleasure in the Tidings, or give Countenance to the committing of so barbarous an Assassinate?" Upon these last Words, he gave Order to have the two *Regicides* put to exquisite Torments, and the Head of *Ishbosheth* to be laid in the Monument of *Abner*, with all the Formalities of Funeral Rites and Honour.

† So soon as this Execution and Ceremony was over, all the Elders, and great Officers of War and Peace, came thronging to *David* with a Complement of Recognition, and with a Tender of their Lives and Fortunes at his Service: Not forgetting to mind him of the Zeal and Devotion they ever had for him, even in the Life of *Saul*, and when they had the Honour to serve under his Command: Enlarging upon it, how the Prophet *Samuel*, according to God's Order and Appointment, had declared him *King*, and the Government to descend to his Sons after him; foretelling that the great Work of subduing the *Philistines*, was reserved for him alone, and consequently the settling of *Israel* in the Possession of a lasting Peace and Safety. *David* highly commended them for their Good-will, and Disposition; encouraging them to go on as they had begun, with an Assurance, that he, for his Part, would never give them Cause to repent it. *David* accompany'd this Declaration with a splendid Treat, and when he had entertain'd them with all Greatness, Humanity, and Freedom, he sent them away with a Summons to the whole Body of the People to meet at his Palace.

‡ There gather'd together upon this Call, of the Tribe of *Judah* six Thousand and eight Hundred Men, arm'd with Shields and Lances. These had been hitherto of the Party of *Saul*, over and above those of the same Tribe that had made *David* King, by themselves: Of the Tribe of *Simeon*, seven Thousand a Hundred and upward: Of the Tribe of *Levi*, four Thousand and seven Hundred, with their Leader *Jehoiada*; and with these was the High-Priest *Zadock*, with two and twenty eminent Men of his Relations: Of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, four Thousand armed Men; for this Tribe was altogether of Opinion that some of *Saul's* Family would succeed to the Government: Of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, twenty Thousand and eight Hundred, able-body'd Men, and of great Courage: Of the Half-Tribe of *Manasses*, eighteen Thousand: Of the Tribe of *Issachar*, two Hundred cunning Men, or a kind of Fortune-tellers; beside twenty Thousand in Arms: Of the Tribe of *Zebulun*, fifty Thousand choice Men, and well arm'd; This Tribe coming-in to *David* entire: All these us'd the same Arming with the Tribe of *Gad*. Of the Tribe of *Naphtali*, a Thousand eminent Commanders, armed with Shield and Spear,

F f 3

with

† 2 Sam. 5.

‡ 1 Chron. 12.

with almost an innumerable Multitude of their Followers : Of the Tribe of *Dan*, twenty seven Thousand choice Men : Of the Tribe of *Asher*, forty Thousand : And of the two Tribes beyond *Jordan*, and the other Half of the Tribe of *Manasses*, that were armed with Shield, Spear, Sword, and Helmet, two and twenty Thousand. The Remainder of the Tribes wore Swords also.

This is the Muster-Roll of those that came-up to *David* at *Hebron*. They brought Corn, Wine, and other necessary Provisions with them in Abundance, and with one Voice proclaim *David* to be their King. When they had spent some three Days there, in Feasting and Jollity, *David* march'd-out in the Head of this Army to *Jerusalem*. The *Jebusites*, a People of the Race of the *Chanaanites* were at that Time in Possession of the City ; and upon *David's* Advance toward them, they shut their Gates upon him, and in a pleasant Way of defying *David*, and his Troops, brought out their Lame, and their Blind to the Walls for the Guard of the Town. They should need no other Guard, *they said*, for the Encounter of such an Enemy : So great was their Confidence in the Strength of the Place. *David* was so nettled at this contemptuous Mockery, that he took up a Resolution immediately upon it, to attack the City : Reasonably computing, that the making of this Place, and these People exemplary, would strike a Terror into all others for the future. So *David*, fell on with the Flower of his Army ; and, upon a general Assault, enter'd the *Lower-Town* : But the *Castle* still held-out. *David* finding it to be a strong Piece ; the Attempt likely to be hazardous, and his Honour at Stake upon the Carrying of it, he bethought himself how he might enflame the Courage of his Men by some extraordinary Proposal of Honour and Reward ; and by that Incentive to kindle an Emulation among his People, who should do best : *David* pass'd his Royal Word, that he that first mounted the Wall, and made good his Station, should have the Command of the Army. Hereupon the *Hebrews* joined in a fierce Attack, and a generous Contention who should go furthest. It fell to *Joab's* Lot to win the Prize ; so that from the Top of the Battlement, he call'd-out to *David*, to make good his Promise.

C H A P. III.

Jerusalem call'd the City of David; who takes the Town, fortifies, adorns it, and keeps his Court there. The King of Tyre seeks his Friendship, and Alliance. David's Wives and Children.

When they had clear'd the Castle, of the *Jebusites*, and repair'd the Town, the King gave to *Jerusalem* the Name of *The City of David*; and made it his Place of Residence, during his Reign. This was after he had ruled seven Years and six Months over the Tribe of *Judah* in *Hebron*. Upon the Establishment of his Court at *Jerusalem*, Matters went every Day better and better with him: For God in his Providence designing it for a Seat of Glory, had a peculiar Kindness for the Place.

About this Time, *Hiram* the King of *Tyre* sent an Embassy to *David*, upon a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance; and Presents likewise along with it, of *Cedar-Wood*; Builders, and Master-Workmen, toward the Erecting of a Palace for him at *Jerusalem*. *David* fortify'd the upper Town, and laid that and the Cittadel both in one, with a Wall about them; and gave the Command of it to *Joab*. *David* was the first that chang'd the Name of it, and it was after the casting out of the *Jebusites*; for in the Days of our Father *Abraham*, it was call'd *Solyma*; and some will have it that *Homer* pointed at this City, when he speaks of the People of *Solyma*: For the Word (*a*) *Hieron*, or *Temple*, signifies in the *Hebrew*, *Security*, or a *Fortress*. Now the whole Time of the War with the *Philistines*, from the *Hebrews* dividing their Lands, under the Command of *Joshua*, to the Day here spoken of, was reckon'd to be five Hundred and fifteen Years: But the *Barbarians* kept the Possession of *Jerusalem* all along, till they were beaten out by *David*.

Now there was among the *Jebusites* a very rich Man; one *Orphan*, that had done many good Offices for the *Hebrews*, and deserved singularly well from *David* himself; as will be seen hereafter in its proper Place. This Man, upon the Sacking of the Town, was preserved by the King, in all the Heat and Fury of the Soldiers, and his Name must not be pass'd over in Silence.

F f 4

David

(a) The Absurdity of this is fully laid open by *Masius* upon *Joshua*, cap. 10. Yet *J. Vossius* defends *Josephus*. See his Epistle to *Colvius*, p. 395, 396.

David took several *Wives* (beside *Concubines*) more than he had before : By whom he had eleven Children ; as *Amnon*, *Ellus*, *Ebas*, *Nathan*, *Solomon*, *Jebar*, *Eliel*, *Phalna*, *Ennaphen*, *Jenas*, *Eliphal* ; and a Daughter, *Thamar*, that was the Sister of *Abfalom*. Nine of the Sons were lawfully begotten ; but the two last by *Concubines*.

C H A P. IV.

David's signal Victories over the Philistines, and their Allies. The Ark brought to Jerusalem. Uzzah struck dead for touching it. David sings, and dances before it ; and his Wife Michal ridicules him for it.

W H E N the *Philistines* understood that *David* was made King of all *Israel*, they drew-out their Army, and encamped in a Place call'd *The Valley of the Giants*, not far from *Jerusalem*. Upon this Occasion, *David*, that would do nothing without Counsel and Direction from above, appointed the High-Priest to inform himself in the Way that God had prescrib'd, what might be the Event of this Battle. He received a comfortable, and an encouraging Answer, and so drew-out, and march'd immediately to fight the Enemy. *David* so order'd the Matter, that upon the very Instant he fell by Surprize upon the *Philistines*, Front and Rear, and put them to a total Rout ; killing Multitudes upon the Place, and giving Chace to the rest.

This was a signal Victory, easily obtain'd, and without much Opposition ; but it must not be therefore inferr'd, that the Army of the *Philistines* was inconsiderable, for either Numbers, or Soldiers ; for *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and several other Warlike Nations, were all engaged in the Confederacy : It had been otherwise impossible, after so many Defeats, and the Loss of so many Thousands, they should ever have brought an Army into the Field again. As for Example, upon this very Overthrow, they follow'd it with an Invasion of thrice the Number they had before, and had the Confidence to post themselves in the very same Place again.

David, upon this Juncture, consulted the Oracle as formerly, and receiv'd Order to lie still with his Army in a certain

certain Wood, call'd *The Grove of Mourning*, not far from the Enemy; and from thence not to move, or to make any Attempt, upon what Occasion soever, till he found the Branches of the Trees in an Agitation, as of their own Accord, and without one Breath of Air stirring to cause that Motion. *David* kept punctually to his Order; and so soon as ever the Providential Sign was given him, he march'd out that very Moment, as to a certain, and a predetermin'd Victory. The *Philistines* shrunk upon the first Push; but when they came to Handy-Strokes, they ran outright, with the *Hebrews* at the Heels of them, and their Swords in their Reins; following the Chace, and doing terrible Execution till they came to *Gazer*, a Town upon the Borders. Their next Work was to pillage the Camp, where they made themselves Masters of a prodigious Booty, with little Trouble, or Hazard; seizing their Idols, among other Things, and breaking them to pieces.

* The Danger of this War being speedily, and happily over, the King was pleas'd, by the Advice and Assent of his great Council of Elders and Officers, to draw together the whole Force he was able to make, out of all the Tribes under his Jurisdiction: Together with the *Priests* and *Levites*; and so to march with this great Body directly to *Kiriath-Jearim*, and bring the *Ark* of God from thence to *Jerusalem*, being the Place designed for his holy Worship, and for the Celebration of all *Sacrifices*, Ceremonies, and religious Rites for the Time to come. If this Care had been taken in the Reign of *Saul*, it would have been much better both for King and People.

The Tribes being met according to Appointment, and all Things in Readiness for the Removal of the *Ark*; *David* himself also assisting at the Solemnity, the *Priests* took it out of the House of *Aminadab*; and laying it upon a new Waggon with Oxen to draw it, left the *Ark* in Charge with their Children and Relations, to take care of it. The King himself went foremost; and after him, follow'd a Multitude of People, glorifying God with sacred Hymns, and Psalms, and other delightful Ayres, after the Fashion of the Country; and dancing all along as they went, to the Sound of Harps, Cymbals, and other Musical Instruments: Conducting, after this Manner, the *Ark* toward *Jerusalem*. As they were upon the Way at a certain Place, call'd *The Thrashing-Floor*

Floor of Chidon, or Nachon; the Oxen staggering with the *Ark*, *Uzzah* put forth his Hand to keep it from overturning, and was immediately struck dead by a Divine Vengeance, not being in holy Orders, for presuming to touch it. This exemplary Death of *Uzzah* was a great Affliction to *David* himself, and to all his People; and they called the Place *Perez-Uzzah*, or the *Breach of Uzzah*; which Name it beareth unto this Day. *David* was so struck with the Dread of this Judgment, that, for fear *Uzzah's* Case might come to be his own, if he should receive the *Ark* into the City (his Fault being only the Temerity of Touching it) he suspended the carrying of it to *Jerusalem*, and turned-off with it upon the Way, into the House of a certain good Man and a *Levite*, whose Name was *Obed-Edom*. There it lay deposited for three whole Months; in which Time it was observ'd, that every Thing prosper'd in the Family, and that the Master of it grew rich to Admiration. It was in every Body's Mouth, in fine, how strangely *Obed-Edom* was improv'd in his Fortune since he had the *Ark* under his Roof; and that of a very poor Man before, he was now all on a sudden look'd upon as a Man well to pass; and in so good a Condition, that he was the Wonder, as well as the Envy of his Neighbours. The Rumour of this Change coming to the King's Ear, set *David's* Heart at rest, as to any Danger from the *Ark*; so that he resumed his former Purpose of Transporting it to *Jerusalem*; which was done after this Manner.

The Priests had the Charge of carrying it, and seven Quires of Singing-Men, according to the King's Appointment, marching before it; *David* himself bearing his Part in the Confort, with dancing and singing to his Harp; which his Wife *Michal* (the Daughter of the late King *Saul*) utterly disliked, as an Action of too much Levity, and below the Dignity of *David's* Character. The *Ark* being brought to the City, it was disposed of into the *Tabernacle*, which *David* had made on Purpose for it. Upon the Occasion of this Festival-Meeting, there were *Sacrifices*, and Peace-Offerings in Abundance, and sufficient for the whole Multitude; for there was not a Man, Woman, or Child, there, that had not a Cake, and a Dole of Flesh given them: And when they had eaten their Full, *David* returned to his Palace:

His Wife *Michal* met him upon the Way, with a Thousand good Wishes and Blessings; but still reproving him for dancing

dancing and jumping about, so unlike a *King*, and for uncovering himself in the Eyes of his Hand-maids, and his Servants. *David* told her, that he was not ashamed of doing any Thing that he knew was acceptable to that God who advanced him to the Throne of *Israel*, in Preference to her Father, and all other Pretenders; and that he would sing and dance again and again, without mattering it at all, how either she, or her Hand-maids took it. This *Michal* had no Children by *David*; but by her other Husband, to whom *Saul* had given her in Marriage, upon taking her away from *David*, she had five Sons, of whom hereafter.

* *David* was so sensible of God's Goodness towards him upon the daily Successes of whatever he took in Hand, that he began to make it Matter of Conscience to live in a *Palace* of *Cedar* himself, that was as stately and as beautiful, as Art and Ornament could make it; and at the same Time to lodge the *Ark* in a *Tabernacle*; so that he resolved to erect and dedicate a Temple to God's Honour and Worship; and according to the Prediction of *Moses*. He communicated the Design to the Prophet *Nathan*; who upon Counsel and Advice, encourag'd him to proceed upon the Work; for he might be sure of God's special Favour and Providence along with him. These Words served more and more to animate and confirm *David* in his Purpose and Design.

In the Night following, the Word of the Lord came unto *Nathan*, saying, "Go and tell *David* that I accept of his
" Good-will in being the first Proposer of Erecting a Temple
" unto my Service. Yet in regard that the Necessity of his
" Wars hath made him a Man of Blood, I cannot permit
" the Doing of this Work in his Days; but let him know,
" that after a long, and a happy Life of his own, he shall
" commit the Care of the Undertaking to his Son and Successor *Solomon*; whom I shall be as tender of, as a Father
" can be of his own Child, and continue the Government
" in the Line of his Family: Or in case of his committing
" Iniquity, I will only punish the Transgression with bodily Sickness, or Famine; not with a total Rejection,
" as I did *Saul*." The Prophet, without any Delay, acquitted himself of his Commission; and it was so welcome a Message to *David*, to see the Succession secur'd to his Posterity; and the Honour of his Family so graciously provided for,

* 2 Sam. 7.

for, that he betook himself immediately to the *Ark* of God ; fell down upon his Face, and worshipped. “ Lord, (*says he*) Thy holy Name be prais’d for all thy Benefits and “ Mercies ! Thou that hast taken thy Servant from the “ Sheepfold, and advanced him to this Height of Dignity “ and Power ! Lord, *says he*, I blest thee for all this ; for “ thy continu’d Providences to myself, and thy Promises to “ my Posterity : And for thy multiply’d Deliverances and “ Protections to thine own People.” With this Benediction, and a *Hymn*, he finish’d his Prayer, and departed.

C H A P. V.

Several mighty Victories obtain’d by David against the Philistines, the Moabites, and the King of the Sophe-nians.

† **D**avid, that did not love to lie idle, meditated a War not long after this, against the *Philistines* ; being much animated to this Interprize by a Prediction, that he should overcome all his Enemies, and leave his Kingdom in Peace to his Successor. In Order to this War, he appointed a Day and Place for a *Rendezvous* ; summon’d his Troops together ; and when he was in Condition to march, made an Incurſion into the Enemy’s Country ; took Poſſeſſion of a good Part of their Lands, and annex’d them to the Jurisdiction of the *Hebrews*. He made War then upon the *Moabites* ; destroy’d two Thirds of their Army ; took the rest, and made them Tributaries. After which, he overthrew *Adrazar*, the Son of *Arach*, King of the *Sophenians* ; whom he encounter’d not far from *Euphrates*, and kill’d him twenty Thousand Foot, and five Thousand Horſe ; taking alſo a matter of a Thousand Chariots, of which he reſerved only a Hundred, and burnt the reſt.

C H A P.

† 2 Sam. 8.

C H A P. VI.

David overthrows Adad; subdues the Idumæans; provides for Mephibosheth the Son of Jonathan, and makes War upon the King of the Ammonites.

A *Adad*, in the mean time, the King of *Syria* and *Damascus*, hearing that *David* had made War upon *Adrazar*, his singular good Friend, and Ally; dispatch'd away a considerable Army to his Succour, in hope to remove the Seat of the War; and after several Skirmishes, he came to a Battle with *David* near *Euphrates*; where he lost the greater Part of his Army; Twenty Thousand cut off, and the rest fled. *Nicholaus* makes mention of this same *Adad*, in the Fourth Book of his History, as follows. "A long Time after, says he, One *Adad*, a valiant Man, and a Native of the Place, had the Command of *Damascus*, and *Syria*; *Phœnicia* only excepted. There happen'd to be a War betwixt this same *Adad* and *David*, the King of the *Jews*, and several Encounters between them; but in the End, *Adad* was overcome at *Euphrates*, behaving himself with the Resolution of a brave Prince and a great Captain." And the same Author, treating further of his Posterity, says, "That the Government was handed down from Father to Son, to the Tenth Generation; the Successor still receiving the Father's Name with the Empire, as the *Ptolemies* among the *Egyptians*. The Third, in Order from this *Adad*, and the greatest Man of the Family, out of a generous Zeal, to repair the Honour that his Grandfather lost by this Defeat, pour'd in an Army upon the *Jews*, and laid waste *Samaria*." And our Historian was not mistaken, in this Part of his Relation; for this is the *Adad* that invaded *Samaria* in the Reign of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, of whom we shall say somewhat further in due Time and Place.

With this victorious Army, *David* over-ran *Damascus*, and the rest of *Syria*; left Garrisons behind him where he saw convenient; laid the Country under Contribution, and so went his way home again; carrying with him to *Jerusalem* the *Golden Quivers*, and other rich Equipage that was taken from *Adad's* Guards; and dedicating the Spoil and Trophies to God, in Acknowledgment of the Victory he had obtain'd through his Favour and Protection. All this precious Stuff, and a great deal more, was afterwards taken
away

away by *Sysack* the King of *Ægypt*, upon the Sacking of *Jerusalem*, in his War with *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*. But we shall have Occasion to be more particular upon this Subject elsewhere.

While *David* was in the Course of his Successes, and God's special Direction and Assistance manifestly along with him, he made an Attack upon two of the most considerable Cities that *Adrazar* had in his Dominions; *Bettea*, that is, and *Machon*; which he took by Assault, with Gold and Silver in them to an inestimable Value; beside a great Quantity of a sort of Brasses, which was more esteem'd of, even then Gold itself. This was the Metal that *Solomon* afterward made use of for his fair and beautiful *Basins*, and a huge Vessel call'd the *Sea*, upon the Finishing and Adorning the Temple.

When [*Toi*] the King of *Hamath* came to understand that *Adrazar* had left his whole Army, and was utterly undone, he could not do better, he thought, (for fear his own Turn might be next) then to court *David* by a voluntary Proposal, into a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. So he sent his Son *Joram* to him, with a Complement of Congratulation for the Victory he had gain'd over their common Enemy; (for so was *Adrazar* reputed) and with Instructions also to pray a League of Amity, and fair Understanding betwixt them: Not forgetting several magnificent Presents neither, in Vessels of Gold, Silver, and Brasses, antick, and curious, to the highest Degree of Excellency and Perfection. *David* accepted both of the Proposals, and the Presents, receiving and dismissing the Ambassador, to the Honour and Satisfaction of both Parties: But still dedicating to God, all the Spoils of Gold and Silver, and Things precious, that were taken from the Enemy, as to the Author of the Victory. Neither was *David* successful only in his own Personal Adventures, and Undertakings; but God prosper'd him in all his Commissions also, though executed by Deputies and Lieutenants: As in the Case of *Abishai*, *Joab's* Brother, who was sent out with an Army against the *Idumæans*; and by God's Assistance, not only subdu'd them, but after eighteen Thousand of them kill'd upon the Spot, he kept them in Awe with Garrisons, as a Check upon them; charged the Land with a Contribution, and taxed the People by the Head.

David was naturally a Lover of Justice, and had no other Regard in all his Judgments, then to the Equity and Righteousness of the Cause before him. He made *Joab*, the Son of *Zerviah*, his General, and *Jehosaphat*, the Son of *Ahilud*, the

the Keeper of his Records. He chose out of the House of *Phinehas*, *Abiathar*, and *Zadock*, who were his Friends, to be his Priests; and *Seraiah* for Secretary. *Benaiah* the Son of *Jehoiada* commanded the Guards of his Person, and the King's elder Sons were still incorporated into that Body.

* So soon as ever the King had put his Family Affairs into some sort of Order, he cast his Thoughts upon his old, and dear Friend and Associate, *Jonathan*, and upon the Solemn League of Mutual Amity that had pass'd betwixt them: For he had this Virtue in Perfection, with many others, that he never forgot an Obligation to a Friend; but look'd upon an *Arrier* for past Benefits as the most sacred of all Debts. Upon this Consideration, he now laid out to inform himself, what Sons, Friends, or Relations, *Jonathan* had left behind him, that he might find Matter for his Gratitude to work upon. In pursuance of this Enquiry, there was brought to him one [*Ziba*] formerly a Servant, and a Freeman of *Saul's*, as the most likely Person to resolve that Question. So the King ask'd him if he knew of any of *Jonathan's* Family yet living, and where to find them; for he was answerable for an old Debt there, which he would gladly repay. *Ziba* made Answer, "That he had a Son yet alive, whose Name was *Mephibosheth*; who by a Mischance, happen'd to be lame of a Leg. For upon the News of that bloody Battle, wherein his Grandfather, and his Father were slain, the Nurse took him up in a Fright to run away with him; and stumbling for haste, let him fall out of her Arms, and hurt him." Upon further Examination, the King had Notice that he was brought up with one *Machir*, in the City of (a) *Lodeba*, and that there he was at present: Whereupon he was immediately brought up, and presented to *David*; prostrating himself at the King's Feet, and doing him Reverence. The King bad him be of good Cheer, and hope for better Days; assuring him of all the Comfort he could wish for from the Favour of his Prince. So he appointed him presently to be put in Possession of his Father's and his Grandfather's House and Estate, and of all that belonged to them; took him Home to him as his particular Guest, and order'd that he should eat every Day at his own Table. The Young Man was highly sensible of this excessive Grace and Bounty; and when he had made a dutiful Acknowledgment of it, in such Manner as became him: *David* then called for *Ziba*; and telling him how he had bestow'd upon *Mephibosheth*, his Father's

* 2 Sam. 9.(a) *Labatha*. Jos.

Father's, and Grandfather's Estate, gave him in Charge to look after, and take care of the Grounds, and from time to time to receive the Profits, and bring them to *Jerusalem*. *Mephibosheth*, after this, lived in the King's House, sat constantly at the same Table with him, and *David* gave him *Ziba*, and fifteen Sons that he had, with twenty others belonging to him, for his Servants. *Ziba*, having received his Commission, did his Duty, and went his way; promising to govern himself in all Things according to his Orders, and Instructions. But the Son of *Jonathan* continu'd still at *Jerusalem* with *David*, and was treated in all Respects as a Child of the Family; so great a Tendernefs had *David* for any thing that had a Relation to *Jonathan*. Thus it was with *Mephibosheth*, to whom was born a Son, whose Name was *Micha*.

About this Time dy'd *Nabash*, the King of the *Ammonites*; a Friend, and Ally of *David's*; and *Hanun*, his Son, succeeded him. *David* upon this Revolution, sent him a condoling Civility to comfort him in his Affliction, and to assure him of the same Friendship and Respect to himself that had been formerly paid to his Father. The Heads of the *Ammonites* made a malicious Construction of this Embassy, which the good Faith and Candour of *David* did not deserve at their Hands. * They did all they could, in fine, to irritate their King, with Calumnies against *David*; and to put Jealousies in his Head, that these Messengers of *David's* were not in Truth *Embassadors*, but Spies; that under the Pretext of a Complément of State, were sent to explore the Strength, and Condition of the Country; and that therefore, without giving any Heed to fair Words, he should do well to look about him betimes, before Things were gone beyond Recovery. *Hanun* was over-rul'd by his Counsel, how contrary soever to the true Reason of the Case; and so sent the *Embassadors* back again with all the Indignities of Scorn and course Usage imaginable. They cut off one half of their Beards, and one half of their Vests, and so dismiss'd them in that Dress, with a Contumely of Action, instead of Words at length, for an Answer. *David* took it so heinously to be thus treated, and to see his Ambassadors so barbarously affronted, contrary to the Laws of Nations, Honour, Hospitality, and good Manners, that immediately he declar'd his Resolution publickly to right himself upon the *Ammonites* by an open War, and to call their King to an Account for what he

* 2 Sam. 10.

he had done. The Principals, and Allies of the *Ammonites*, were so conscious to themselves, that their Perfidy, and Breach of Faith, together with the scandalous Manner of it, was wholly unpardonable; that upon the first News of *David's* Determination to vindicate himself by Arms, they found themselves necessitated, in their own Defence, to encounter Force with Force, and so prepar'd for a War. They sent their Embassadors to *Syrus* the King of *Mesopotamia*, with a Thousand Talents, to bring him into the Alliance; which he accepted of, and engaged also the King of *Zoba*. These two Kings had betwixt them some twenty Thousand Foot. They likewise purchased the Assistance of the King of *Maacah*, and of *Ishtob*, who had two and twenty Thousand Men in Arms.

C H A P. VII.

Joab overthrows Hanun, and his Confederates. David gives a terrible Defeat to the King of Syria. The Story of David and Bath-sheba. Amnon ravishes Thamar, and her Brother Absalom lays a Plot to take away his Life.

THIS Preparation of the *Ammonites*, in Conjunction with so many Confederate Princes made no Impression at all upon the Courage of *David*: He knew he had a gracious God to trust to; his Cause was good; and the Injury he had received intolerable. Wherefore he was resolved to cast himself upon God's Providence, and the Justice of his Arms, for Satisfaction: So that he committed the Menage of the War to *Joab*, and sent him away with the choicest of his Troops against the Enemy. He marched directly towards their Capital City, [called *Rabbah*] and encamped before it. The Enemy marched forth out of the Town, and divided into two Bodies; the one consisting of Auxiliaries, which they drew up in the open Field; the other being composed only of *Ammonites*, ranged themselves before the Port that look'd toward the *Hebrews*. *Joab* considering this Disposition of the Enemy's Army, disposed of his Troops likewise in the same Order; and in the Head of the best Men he had, he himself preparing to charge *Syrus*, and the Confe-

derate Kings, with one Division, gave his Brother *Abishai* the Command of the other, with Orders to attack the *Ammonites*; having agreed upon it beforehand betwixt themselves, that in case *Syrus* should get the better of *Joab*, *Abishai* should come in to his Relief; and *Joab* to second *Abishai*, if he should be press'd by the *Ammonites*. *Joab* hereupon dismiss'd his Brother, encouraging him to behave himself like a Man of Honour, and to make good the Reputation both of the Cause, and of the Action. *Joab* made the Onset upon *Syrus*, who stood very bravely at first; but so many of his Men falling, the rest fled; and the *Ammonites* upon the very Sight of their Disorder, betook themselves likewise to their Heels, after the Example of their Fellows, without staying for the coming up of *Abishai*, and ran away into the Town. So that *Joab* after a dreadful Execution done upon the Enemy, returned to *Jerusalem* with his victorious Army.

This Rout, and Confusion of the *Ammonites*, how unequal a Match soever they were found to be to the *Hebrews*, was not enough yet to keep them quiet for the future; but they sent to (a) *Balama*, a King of the *Syrians* beyond *Euphrates*, and agreed with him for an Auxiliary Army at such a Price. *Shobach* was his Lieutenant General, over an Army of eighty Thousand Foot, and ten Thousand Horse. *David* being given to understand the mighty Strength of the *Ammonites*, did not find it convenient to make War any longer by his Deputies: So that he himself pass'd the River *Jordan* with the whole Army, and joining Battle with the Enemy, kill'd them forty Thousand Foot and seven Thousand Horse, and came off a Conqueror; *Shobach* himself, the General of *Chalama*, receiving a Wound in this Battle, of which he died. The People of *Mesopotamia*, upon the miserable Event of this Overthrow, sent forthwith their Embassadors, with Presents and Addresses, to *David*, and deliver'd up themselves: And the Action being over, *David* returned again safe to *Jerusalem*.

The Winter drawing on, *Joab* was again dispatched away to prosecute the War against the *Ammonites*, where he laid their Country waste; drove the People into *Rabbah*, their Metropolis, and laid Siege to the Place. *David* was undoubtedly a just, and a pious Man, and one that had a scrupulous Reverence for the Laws of his Country; but yet at this Time, and

(a) *Rufinus* Adrazar. in *Sam.* 11. Hadarezer.

and upon this Occasion, he fell into a grievous Sin, (to shew us the Frailty of Flesh and Blood, when we are left to ourselves.)

* As he was refreshing himself one Day toward the cool of the Evening upon his *Terrace*, he had the Hap to discover a Woman bathing herself in her own House within Ken of the Place; a Person of a most exquisite Shape and Beauty, and her Name was *Bath-sheba*. He fell in love with her at Sight; and under the Impotence of a passionate Appetite, had her brought to his Bed. Soon after this, she found herself with Child: And desired the King to consider of some way for the Concealment of it; for otherwise she must suffer Death by the Laws of the Country. *Uriah*, the Husband of this Woman, and *Joab's Armour-bearer*, was here-upon call'd away from the Camp, and *David* ask'd him several Questions about the State of the Army; how the Siege went forward, and the like. He told the King, That Things went as well as he could wish. So *David* gave him Part of his own Supper, and bad him go home for the present to his Wife; but finding afterwards that he had pass'd away that Night in the Palace, and among his Guards, "Ask'd him "how it came to pass, that having been so long away from "his Wife, he should not rather go home, then trifle away "his Time elsewhere, so contrary to the Practice of all other "Men under his Circumstances." Sir (*says he*) I did not "think it fair and honourable to indulge myself in the "Arms of my Wife, at the same Time when my General, "and my Fellow Soldiers lie in an Enemy's Country upon "the Ground." So the King told him: "He should now stay "there one Night more, and the next Day he would send "him back again to the Army." When the King went to Supper *Uriah* was call'd in, and he ply'd him with so many Healths one after another, that though he hardly knew what he did, he never thought of his Wife all this while yet; but spent that Night again, in the Court, as he had done the former. This put *David* in Wrath: Insomuch that he wrote to *Joab*, that he was much dissatisfy'd with *Uriah*, and he would have him punish'd according to his Desert: And so put him in a Way how to bring it about, without giving any Suspicion that it was done by his Order; and the Contrivance was this. *David* appointed *Joab* to command him upon the first dangerous Attack, where his Companions might

G g 2

leave

leave him in the lurch to be certainly cut off. This Letter he gave to *Uriah* under his own Hand and Seal, to be deliver'd to *Joab* : who, upon the Receipt, follow'd the King's Direction, and put *Uriah* upon a desperate *Forlorn*, with several brave Men to back him, for the Countenance of the Design ; *Joab* promising to second him with the whole Army, upon the least Breach, or Possibility of Entrance into the Town : *Joab* recommending it earnestly to him, to maintain the Reputation he had already acquir'd with the King, and with the Army, by acquitting himself frankly and bravely upon this Occasion. *Uriah*, with great Chearfulness, and Assurance, undertook the Post, while *Joab* gave his Companions private Orders to withdraw, and leave him, so soon as they found themselves in any Danger. The *Hebrews* pressing hard upon the Wall, put the *Ammonites* in a dreadful Apprehension that they would force the Town : Whereupon they threw open their Gates, and made a desperate Sally ; which was as good as a Signal to those with *Uriah*, according to their Orders from *Joab*, to abandon their Leader : Which they did as with one Consent, upon that critical Point of Time, and left *Uriah* to be cut to pieces. He did all the Execution that was possible to be done by a single Man against Numbers ; and after several Wounds receiv'd, fell like a Man of Honour, with his Face to the Enemy : Some few of his Friends, that were not made privy to the Plot, innocently falling with him.

The Action being now over, *Joab* dispatch'd away an Express forthwith to *David*, giving an Account, that to make short Work of a Siege that was otherwise likely to be tedious, he had given an Assault to the Town ; lost Men in the Attempt ; and was at last beaten off, and forced back again to the Camp. Now says *Joab* to the Messenger ; " If you find *David* troubled at the News you carry him ; tell withal, " that poor *Uriah* fell in the Attack." *David*, upon the hearing of this Story was mightily unsatisfy'd. " What ! says " he, For Men with their naked Bodies to think of storming " Stone-Walls ? Why did they not rather make use of Mines, " or Engines ? One would think they might have taken the " domestick Example of *Abimelech* the Son of *Gideon* for a " Warning ; that was slain at *Thebes*, by a Piece of a Millstone, thrown down upon his Head by an Old Woman " from the Battlements. The Man was otherwise very brave ; " but his Temerity brought him to a scandalous End : For in " all these Cases, Caution is as necessary as Courage ; and the " safest

“safest Counfels are the beſt. All People, in the Buſneſs of War, ſhould do well to conſult Hiſtory and Experience ; what has generally ſucceeded well, and what otherwiſe, and to conſider upon what Point the Streſs lies, either of the one, or of the other, and to act accordingly.” When the King had fretted a-while, and was come afterwards to pauſe upon it, the Meſſenger took an Occaſion to tell him of the Death of *Uriah*, as a Thing by the By. Well ! ſays *David*, “Theſe are common Accidents ; the Chance of War is various, and Soldiers muſt content themſelves to take the beſt and the worſt by Turns. Do you tell *Joab* what I ſay ; but tell him moreover, that for the future, I would rather have him do the Buſneſs by caſting-up Works, or by Machines, then by open Force. But let him know upon the main, that I would have the City raz’d, and levell’d with the Ground, and the Inhabitants put all to the Sword, without ſparing a Man of them.” With theſe Inſtructions, the Meſſenger went preſently away to *Joab*.

Upon the News of *Uriah*’s Death, *Bathſheba*, for ſeveral Days, made herſelf a kind of a Reclufe, in the Condition of a cloſe Mourner ; but ſo ſoon as the Ceremony of the Sorrow was over, *David* took her to Wife, and had by her a Male-Child not long after. This Match was ſo far from being agreeable to God, that he was highly offended at it, and gave the Prophet *Nathan* to underſtand as much in a Dream ; blaming *David* exceedingly for what he had done. Now *Nathan*, that was a Man of a diverting Humour and Addreſs ; well conſidering how little Regard Princes commonly have in the Carreer of their Paſſions, to the Right or Wrong of Things, rather apply’d himſelf to *David*’s Conſcience by a Side-wind, then in a Point-blank Narration of what God had ſaid to him in the Viſion, bringing-in what he had to deliver, after this Manner.

* “There were two Men, ſays he, that lived in the ſame City ; the one had an Abundance of Flocks and Herds of all Sorts of Cattle ; Oxen, Sheep, and the like ; and was, in fine, a very rich Man : The other a poor Wretch, that had but one only Lamb. He brought it up, and fed it with his Children, and lov’d it as his Daughter. The rich Man had a Stranger came to his Houſe, whom he was bound in Hoſpitality and in Honour to entertain ; but rather then treat him out of his own Store, he ſent and forced away the poor Man’s only Lamb for the Stranger’s

G g 3

“Supper.

* 2 Sam. 12.

“ Supper. *A Villain*, says the King in a Passion, *to do so*
 “ *base, and so unjust a Thing. I would have him make four-*
 “ *fold Satisfaction, and die for it besides.* Why then, says
 “ *Nathan immediately*, Thou thyself art the Man, and out of
 “ thy own Mouth hast pronounc’d Judgment upon thyself.
 “ The *Prophet*, after this, gave him an Account of his Vi-
 “ sion, and of God’s high Displeasure against him; mind-
 “ ing him of his Ingratitude to that Providence that had
 “ made him King of *Israel*, and given him the Command
 “ of all the Neighbouring Nations thereabouts: Deliver’d
 “ him several Times out of *Saul’s* Hands, &c. and for him,
 “ now that had so many lawful Wives allow’d him, to take
 “ away another’s Man’s Wife, in Defiance of God and Man,
 “ and to betray her Husband to the Enemy, and to Death;
 “ What could he expect after all this but to be overtaken
 “ with a Divine Vengeance! The *Prophet* then predicting
 “ to him, that he should live to see his Women ravish’d by
 “ one of his own Sons, and that Son to enter into a Practice
 “ upon the Life of his Father: And in a Word, that for
 “ this secret Sin of his, he should be brought to open Shame
 “ and Punishment; concluding with this Prefage, that the
 “ Son of his unlawful Love should be very short-liv’d.” This
 Denouncing of the *Prophet*, put *David* into a quaking Ter-
 ror and Confusion, and drew from him a penitential Con-
 fession with Tears, that he had sinned against God. Now
David being a righteous Man, and beyond all Exception,
 saving only in the Bus’ness of *Uriah*, God was pleased to ac-
 cept of his true Repentance, and took him into his Favour
 again, and promis’d to secure him in the Enjoyment both
 of his Kingdom, and of his Life.

When *Nathan* had given *David* this Prospect of Things
 to come, he return’d to his Habitation; and was no sooner
 gone, but the Lord struck the Child that *Uriah’s* Wife bare
 unto *David*, with a grievous Sicknes, which went so near
 the Heart of the Father, that he took his Chamber upon it,
 and for seven Days together lay groveling upon the Ground
 in Sackcloth, and Mourning, without receiving any Suste-
 nance; beseeching Almighty God to spare the Life of the Child,
 having the greatest Tenderness for the Mother imaginable. Up-
 on the seventh Day the Child dy’d; but the People of the Fa-
 mily durst not speak a Word of it to the King; for he, they
 thought, that was so given-up to Sorrow, as to deny himself
 the most necessary Comforts and Refreshments of Life, when
 the Child was only sick, would be transported out of the
 Government

Government of himself, if he should know it to be dead. *David* observed such a Disorder in the Countenances of his Family, that he took it for certain there was something extraordinary in the Case, that they durst not tell him; which he concluded could be nothing else but the Death of the Child; and upon sifting one of his Servants about it, he found it so to be. *David*, upon this, presently got up; wash'd himself; chang'd his Clothes, and so went his way directly to the *Tabernacle* to Worship; commanding his Servants, after this, to set his Supper upon the Table. His Kindred, and Domesticks were all in Admiration and Astonishment at a Change of Humour so unexpected: For while the Child was but dangerously ill, there was nothing but Passion and Extravagance; and now it was taken to be irrecoverably dead, the Father came to himself again. This was their Descant; but they had yet a Curiosity to know what might be the true Reason of it: Wherein *David* was very free with them upon a decent Intimation of the Desire they had to be better inform'd. "While the Child was yet living, says he, and not quite out of Hope of Recovery, I omitted no Opportunity of Application to God for the Life of the poor Creature; but when I saw it was dead, it would have been a foolish Thing to torment myself any further to no Manner of Purpose." The Prudence of this Resolution was highly commended by all that heard him. *Bath-sheba*, after this, in her due Time, according to the Course of Nature, brought *David* a Son; who by the Direction of the Prophet *Nathan*, gave him the Name of *Solomon*.

Joab, by this Time, had press'd so hard upon the *Ammonites*, by cutting-off their Water, and all other Provisions from them, that they were now well nigh reduced to the last Extremity of Hunger and Thirst; for they had only one little Spring left them, which they were fain to husband by short Allowances, for fear of drawing it dry, and losing that too. *Joab* sent *David* a particular Account of the State of the Siege; desiring the Honour of his Presence there in Person, to put the last Hand himself to the Destruction of the City, as an Action worthy to be found upon the Roll in the History of his other heroical Exploits. *David* was so fully satisfy'd with the Wisdom, Faith, and Zeal of his General, that he put himself presently in the Head of his Army, and marched to the Assault of *Rabbah*; took it by Storm, and gave the Pillage of it to the Soldiers;

taking only for himself a Golden Crown of the Kings, of a Talent-Weight, and a rich *Sardonix* upon it; which *David* wore constantly upon his Head afterward for an Ornament. To say nothing of an infinite Variety of other rich Booty that was found in that City. The Men were put to Death by exquisite Torments; and all the rest of the *Ammonite* Cities that stood-out, as this did, were served after the same Manner.

* The Glory of this Victory was follow'd soon after with a Mortification that took-off much of the Relish of it. *David* had a Daughter that was as yet a Virgin, and incomparably the most agreeable, lovely Beauty of the Age she liv'd in. Her Name was *Thamar*; and she, and *Abshalom* had one Mother. *Amnon*, the eldest Son of *David*, fell desperately in Love with her; and finding that, betwixt her own Modesty, and the Watch she had upon her, there was no Hope of Succeeding, he pin'd away into a kind of languishing Consumption. One *Jonathan*, his Friend and Kinsman, and a Person withal of very good Sense and Judgment, taking notice of this Change in *Amnon*, and that he grew every Day worse and worse, went to him, and ask'd him what he ail'd; and in short, if he was not in Love: For he had a Suspicion of it. *Amnon*, without any Difficulty, own'd himself to have a violent Passion for his own Sister; the other putting a Fancy in his Head how he might compass his End. "Do but you, says *Jonathan*, counterfeit yourself sick; and the first Visit your Father gives you, make it your Request, that he would send your Sister to you; upon an Opinion, you may say, that her Care and Assistance would much contribute toward your Recovery." *Amnon* follow'd his Counsel; desiring his Father, accordingly, upon his first Visit, to send his Sister to him; which he did immediately; and nothing would serve *Amnon* then, but he must have some Cakes of his Sister's making: For he could not eat any Thing else. So she took the Flour, kneaded it; rais'd, and bak'd it, all in her Brother's Sight; and in Conclusion, offer'd him some to eat; which he would not so much as taste of; but call'd out to his Servants immediately to withdraw, and let no Body come-in to trouble him, for he would lay himself to Rest. So soon as the Room was clear'd of the Waiters, he desir'd his Sister to carry the Curiosities she had made him, into an inner

inner Chamber there; which she did, and her Brother taking Advantage of that Privacy, laid hold of her; and by the uttermost Importunity of a violent Passion, press'd and courted her to the gratifying of his brutal Lust: The innocent Virgin crying-out, and exclaiming all the while to him, *for Shame, for Shame*, not to offer at so impious, and so scandalous a Baseness, as it would be to sacrifice the Honour of himself, and his whole Family, to the Outrage of a beastly Appetite. "Let me go, says she, for the Love of God, and keep your exorbitant Desires within the Compass of Law, Honesty, and Religion: Or, if you cannot master them, try if you can get your Father's Good-will, and never think of extorting a Kindness from me by Violence." But there was no Reasoning, she found, with an impetuous raging Passion. She thought however to put him off at present; but it would not do: For in Despite of all she could say or do, either to hinder, or to divert him, he gain'd his End upon her by Force.

No sooner had he committed the Villany, and laid the Fury of his burning Lust, but in the same Instant, his extravagant Love was degenerated into the contrary Extreme, of an implacable Hatred: Insomuch that he call'd out fiercely to her to quit his Lodgings, and be gone. "What, says she, Now you have whor'd me, am I to be expos'd too?" and sent away by Day-light with all this Confusion and Horror upon me, to tell the World how barbarously you have used me? Nay, says she, this Treatment in cold Blood is yet worse, if worse can be, even then the accursed Act itself, under the Impotency of an ungovernable Passion to alleviate the Crime." But Reasoning and Struggling was all in vain, for go she must; and Amnon, without any more ado, commanded his Servants to turn her out of the House. Away she goes upon this into the Street, with Ashes on her Head, and her Vest (such as was then in Fashion for Persons of her Quality) disorder'd and torn; and so thorough the City, crying-out and complaining how she had been abus'd and ravish'd. Her Brother Absalom had the Fortune to meet her in this Distraction and Dress; and asking her what was the Matter? she told him the whole Story of her Brother, and the brutal Indignity that he had put upon her. Absalom told her, to pacify her, that the Dishonour however was not so great, considering it was the Act of her own Brother; which for the present put some Respite to her Clamour. After this, she liv'd a pretty

*pretty while single in the House of her Brother *Absalom*. Upon the carrying of this Story to *David*, he was infinitely troubled at it; but *Amnon* being his eldest, and his beloved Son, he was yet loth to put him to Extremities. *Absalom*, all this while, bare him a mortal Grudge, and waited only a fair Opportunity for a Revenge. At the End of two Years after the Rape of *Thamar*, *Absalom* having appointed a Sheep-shearing at (a) *Baal-Hazor*, a City in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, invited his Father, and his Brothers to the Meeting. His Father excus'd himself, upon the Trouble and Expence it would be to him: So that *Absalom* desir'd Leave only for his Brothers; which being obtain'd, he gave his Domesticks this Order, That upon his giving them the Sign, when *Amnon* should be in his Cups, they should fall upon him, and kill him.

C H A P. VIII.

The Death of Amnon frights the Brothers. Absalom flies to Geshur. Joab gets Leave for him to return. He goes to Hebron, upon a pretended Vow, and entiegles the People to declare him King. Achitophel joins with him. David quits Jerusalem. Absalom commits a horrible Wickedness at the Instance of Achitophel.

A *Bsalom's* People took their Time, and put their Master's Order in Execution. This Violence upon *Amnon* struck such a Dread and Confusion into the rest of the Brothers, that they immediately took Horse upon it, and posted away to their Father, taking for granted that there was a Plot upon the whole Company. In this Nick of Time comes a Fore-runner to *David*, with News, that *Absalom* had put all his Brothers to Death. This was so terrible a Surprize to *David*, to hear of the Loss of so many of his Sons, and by the Hand of their own Brother too, that he abandon'd himself (as well as he might) to an insolable Desperation: And without any further Enquiry into the Matter, or waiting for a Confirmation of the Report, (though a Wickedness almost incredible)

(a) *Belzephoon*, *Jos.*

dible) he gave himself-up to an insupportable Anguish of Thought ; tearing his Garments, and casting himself prostrate upon the Ground, lamenting not only the Murder'd, but the Murderer himself. But *Jonadab* the Son of *Shimei*, *David's* Brother, desir'd *David* only to ruminate upon the Matter a little with Temper and Moderation. I cannot believe, says he, that your Sons are all kill'd, because I see no Colour of a Reason for it. But for *Amnon's* Part, it is not unlikely, says *Jonadab*, that *Abshalom* may have taken his Revenge upon him for the Affront he put upon his Sister. While they were in Discourse, they heard the Trampling of Horses, and the Hurry of People running up and down : And what was all this, but the King's Sons that had made their Escape from the Meeting at the House of their Brother.

The Greeting of the Father and his Sons was not without Tears on both Sides : The Father surpriz'd at the Sight of them living, whom he took to be dead ; the Sons lamenting the Loss of their Brother, and the Father deploring the barbarous Murder of a Son : So that there was Subject abundantly every way for Grief and Lamentation in all Respects. *Abshalom*, in the mean time, retir'd to *Geshur*, where he was a matter of three Years in the House of his Mother's Father, a Person of eminent Authority in that Country.

* *David* had by this Time, a good mind to recall *Abshalom*, not to punish him. but to have him home again ; for the Severity of his Displeasure was now well nigh over : And these charitable Inclinations were dext'rously enough managed to *Abshalom's* Advantage, by the Friendship of *Joab*, who was still at *David's* Elbow. In Order to this End, he dealt with an ancient Woman that was to put herself in Mourning, as a Person in great Distress, and as an humble Suppliant, to present the King with her Case to this Effect : *i. e.* “ That two of her Sons in the Country had had
 “ an unhappy Quarrel ; which grew to that Animosity, that
 “ they fought upon it, and one of them was kill'd. Some
 “ of his Friends that was slain, demanded Justice upon him
 “ that kill'd him. So she was to beg of his Majesty the Life
 “ of her Son, as the only Hope and Stay of her Old Age.
 “ She had no Prospect of Relief, but in his Majesty's Clemency ; for her Sons Enemies were so malicious, that nothing less could satisfy them then the Interposition of the
 “ King's

“ King’s Authority.” She performed her Part, and the King granted her Request : Whereupon, with a dutiful Acknowledgment of the King’s Grace and Favour to an ancient Woman, and the Mother of one only Child ; “ She pray’d
 “ one further Instance, and Assurance, that she might enjoy the Fruit of his Royal Goodness. Her Suit was, that
 “ the King would, in the first Place, be pleased to pardon
 “ his own Son *Abfalom* : For in beginning with a Compassion to him, it would be effectually the Ratifying of her
 “ Son’s Case, in his own Family. It would be very hard,
 “ *she said*, for a Father to lose one Son by Misadventure,
 “ and to kill another himself.”

The King had it presently in the Wind, that this was a Fancy and Project of *Joab*’s ; and upon discoursing the Woman, it was found so to be : Upon which Discovery, *David* call’d for *Joab*, and told him that he had gain’d his Point, and was now at Liberty to bring *Abfalom* back again, when he thought fit ; for his Anger was over, and he had freely forgiven him. *Joab* was very glad to hear it ; did his Reverence to the King, and so hasten’d away to *Geshur*, and brought *Abfalom* back with him to *Jerusalem*. The King being told of his coming, sent him Word, that Matters were not as yet in so good a Disposition, as that it would be proper for him to appear in his Presence. So that *Abfalom* kept himself out of the King’s Sight, within his own Walls, and with his private Family. He had gone thorough a great deal of Care, and Trouble ; and his Entertainment of late had been rather coarse than delicate ; and, in short, not suitable to the State and Curiosity of a Prince of the Blood. But he still kept up the Beauty yet, and the Gracefulness of his Person to the highest Degree of humane Perfection. He cut his Hair every eight Months ; in the Compass of which Time, it grew-up to the Weight of two Hundred Shekels ; that is to say, to five Pound Weight.

He pass’d away some two Years in *Jerusalem*, in this private Way of Living, and had Children ; three Sons, and one Daughter which prov’d to be a Miracle of a Beauty. She was married afterward to *Rehoboam*, the Son of *Solomon* ; and had a Son by him, whose Name was *Abia*. *Abfalom* finding himself uneasy under his present Circumstances, sent to *Joab* to speak a good Word for him to his Father : That he might only be admitted to the Honour of seeing him ; and in short, to the Comfort of a thorough Reconciliation. He waited a-while for an Answer ; but receiving
 no

no Satisfaction upon this Message, he sent some of his People to a Neighbouring Field of *Joab's* to burn his Corn as it stood there upon the Ground. *Joab* came to him about it; told him he took it ill at his Hands, and ask'd him the Meaning of it: "Why, says *Abfalom*, I had no way of getting you to me but that. I wrote to you about interceding for me to my Father, and you have done nothing in it I perceive. Pray will you try if you can pacifie him; for at this rate, if he goes on still to be inexorable, I am in a worse Condition at home, then I was in my Banishment." *Joab* took Pity of him upon this Discourse, and ply'd the King so artificially, and so luckily, on his Behalf, that his Heart relented, and *Abfalom* was immediately sent for to attend his Father. † He cast himself at the King's Feet upon his first Entrance into the Room, and begg'd Pardon for all his Mis-doings: Whereupon *David* with his Right-hand took him up again, with the Assurance of a Solemn Promise, that all ill Things gone and past, should be for ever bury'd, and forgotten.

Abfalom came in a short Time to be so well establish'd in the good Opinion, and Esteem of his Father, that he struck up all on a sudden into a splendid Equipage, with his Chariots, and his Horses; a numerous Train, and a Retinue of Servants and Followers, and no less then fifty Men to attend him as the Guard of his Body. He was the first Man still at the King's *Levee*; not forgetting on the other hand, to take all Occasions also to cajole the Multitude, and to keep fair with the People. If any Man had a Cause to be heard, and came for Justice, he would be asking him in a familiar, affable way: "Friend (*says he*) What's thy Name; What Country-Man, What Bus'ness? Can I do thee any Good, and the like? When he found People out of Humour, and Malecontent, for a cross Verdict, or a hard Judgment, (as they pretended:) "Why this 'tis, *says he again*, The King has very ill Men about him. Yes, yes, and God help him, mistakes the Point himself sometimes, as well as another. "Well! And so God speed ye my Friends: If I had been in some Body's place, Things should never have gone at this rate." This was his Method of way-laying the Affections of the People, and moulding them for his Design; and the Humour ripen'd apace too.

When he found himself pretty well assur'd of the Strength and

† 2 Sam. 15.

and Interest of his Party, he went and address'd himself to *David* in the fourth Year after his Reconciliation, for Leave to go to *Hebron* to perform a Vow which he had made in the Time of his Banishment: Which Leave he easily obtain'd, and took a prodigious Multitude; some that he invited, and others that came trooping in Throngs, along with him. Among the rest was *Achitophel*, the *Gilonite*, *David's Prime Minister*, with two Hundred Men of *Jerusalem*, that came thither to sacrifice, without the least Imagination of a Conspiracy. But to make short of the Matter, the Plot took; and *Absalom*, by the common Voice of the People was proclaimed *King*.

David was so surpriz'd at the News of a rebellious Usurpation, that he so little dreamt of, that he stood confounded, as if he had been Planet-struck, upon the very Thought of the Impudence and Ingratitude of a perfidious Son: A Wretch, that could so soon forget his own late Guilt, and his Father's Mercy, as to revolt into a second *Apostacy*, so much more flagitious then the former: For he was first to lay violent Hands upon his Father's Kingdom, though he himself knew it to be the special Gift of God: And after that, to practise upon his very Life too. Now *David* being in this strait, be-thought himself of passing the River *Jordan* into some Place of more Security; and so, with the Advice of some of his intimate Friends, what Course to take in this seditious Juncture, he resolv'd to leave the Care of his Palace to Ten of his Concubines; quit *Jerusalem*, and commit the Issue to God. He accordingly departed with great Multitudes of People that chearfully stuck to him, and list'd themselves in his Train; especially his old six Hundred Friends, that kept so close to him when he was hunted up and down by *Saul*, from one Hiding-place to another. The High-Priests, *Abiathar*, and *Zadock*, and all the *Levites* there, were for going with him too, and taking the *Ark* along with them; but upon very good Reasons he prevail'd with them to stay; telling them that God's Providence was sufficient for his Preservation, without any Necessity of the Holy *Ark* being upon the Place. The last Thing he said to them was, that they should make sure of some private way of Intelligence to let him understand from time to time of whatever pass'd that might concern him to know; and they acquitted themselves of that Commission with great Faith and Industry: That is to say; *Abimaaz* the Son of *Zadock*, and *Jonathan* the Son of *Abiathar*. *Ittai* the *Gittite*, had so great a Zeal for his own

own Personal Duty, and the Service of his Master, that he forced himself along with him, though he press'd him earnestly against it.

As *David* was going barefoot up *Mount-Olivet*, and all the People in Tears round about him, there came to him a Messenger with the Tidings that *Achitophel* was gone over to the Faction of *Absalom*, which was one of the most sensible Disappointments had as yet befall'n him. Wherefore *David* pray'd to God to infatuate him, and to turn his Wisdom into Foolishness. He was a crafty, and a clear-sighted Man in Bus'ness, and there was nothing *David* so much dreaded, as the Policy of his Advice. When he was up the Mountain, he look'd back upon the City, all in Tears, with Ejaculations, as one that was now taking his last Leave of his Government: And whom should he meet there, but his try'd Friend, and faithful Subject, *Hushai*, with his Garments torn, and Ashes upon his Head, lamenting the Transitory State, and Fortune of all Things below the Sun. * *David* bad him be of good Cheer, and bear the Present with Resignation and Patience; and urged him finally with great Earnestness to go back again to *Jerusalem*, where he might behave himself like one of *Absalom's* Party; pry into his Counsels, and Designs, and by thwarting *Achitophel's* Sense of Things, do his Master infinitely better Service, then by staying with him. *Hushai* suffer'd himself to be over-rul'd; and so taking his Leave of *David*, returned to *Jerusalem*; *Absalom* himself coming thither not long after. *David* in the mean while passing forward, met with *Ziba*, the Servant of *Mephibosheth*, to whom he had committed the Menage of the Estate he had bestow'd upon the Son of his dear Friend *Jonathan*. He was driving two Asses before him, and offer'd *David*, and his Men to take what they pleas'd of what he had, if there were any thing they lik'd. The Question was put to *Ziba* upon this Occasion, *What was become of his Master?* "He left him at *Jerusalem*, he said, in hope that upon the present Broils, the People, in Honour to the Memory of *Saul* might be prevail'd upon to chuse him King." *David* had such an Indignation for this Ingratitude, that he took away the Lands back again from *Mephibosheth*, and gave them to *Ziba*, as the more deserving Person of the Two. This was an Expression, and a Bounty, that were both very acceptable to *Ziba*.

David

* 2 Sam. 16.

David was still advancing, and as he pass'd near *Bahurim*, there came out a Kinsman of *Saul's*, whose Name was *Shimei*, the Son of *Gera*, and assaulted him with Curses, and with Stones ; and the more *David's* Friends took his part on the one side ; the more foul and scandalous was the Ribaldry on the other. *Shimei* call'd *David* a Blood-sucker ; the Cause of all their Miseries, and bad him be gone out of the Country like an insolent Wretch as he was : Giving God Thanks for that Retaliation upon him, by his Son, for the Indignities that he had formerly put upon his Lord and Father. These rude and barbarous Outrages stirr'd the Blood of every Body that heard them ; and *Abishai* had certainly kill'd him for it, if *David* had not interposed, and prevented it. " Pray hold
 " your Hand, says *David*, and do not add Mischief to Mischief. Things are bad enough already, and do not you make
 " them worse. I look upon all the Clamours of this Clown,
 " as I do upon the bawling of a mad Dog, that God had let
 " loose upon me ; and his holy Will be done. Why should
 " you wonder at the unmannerly Revilings of a Scoundrel ?
 " When at the same Time, I am worse treated by my own
 " ungracious Son. But there is a merciful God above, that
 " in the End will deliver the Innocent out of the Hands of
 " their Oppressors, and give us Victory over all our Enemies.
 " Wherefore in the Name, and under the Protection of that
 " God, let us go forward in our Journey : " And so as *David* advanced temperately on one Side of the Mountain, *Shimei* ran railing and cursing over against him on the other. They came at last, after a long, and a wearisome March, to the Bank of the River where *David* muster'd, and refreshed his Troops.

Absalom, and his great Counsellor *Achitophel*, were by this Time come to *Jerusalem*, where they were received with Shouts and Acclamations by a vast Concourse of People, and among the rest, *David's* Friend *Hushai*, with a *God save the King*, and the Wishes to him of a long, and a happy Reign. *Absalom*, upon this Encounter, ask'd *Hushai*, " How it came to
 " pass that he that was look'd upon to be so eminent, and
 " faithful a Servant to his Father, should now desert his former Master, and come over to him ? " *Hushai* answer'd him discreetly enough, " That there was no contending with the
 " Will of God, and the Consent of the People ; and so long
 " as you have them on your Side, you may be sure of my Fidelity. It is from God that you have receiv'd your Kingdom ; and if you can think me worthy of a Place in the
 " Number

“ Number of those you will vouchsafe to own, you shall find me as true to yourself, as ever I was to your Father. “ No Man is to account the present State of Things uneasy, “ so long as the Government continues in the same Line, “ and a Son of the same Family succeeds to the Throne.” These Words of *Hushai* to *Absalom*, put an end to all Jealousies.

The Thing they had now before them was, to resolve what should be done next, and *Achitophel* was presently call'd in, to advise about it. The Counsel he gave them was, “ For “ *Absalom* to go in and lie with all his Father's Concubines ; “ for this, *says he*, will fix the People, and make them so “ much the bolder, and firmer to the present State, when they “ shall see the Breach advanced beyond all Possibility of Re- “ conciliation ; for as Matters now stand, People will be apt “ to say, Why the Father and the Son may come to an A- “ greement yet for ought we know ; and if they should chance “ to clap up a Peace in the Conclusion, where are we ! So “ that it will be dangerous to declare, under such an Uncer- “ tainty.” *Absalom*, in short, took *Achitophel's* Counsel, and commanded his Servants to erect him a Tent in the Palace, where he lay with his Father's Concubines in the Sight of the People. This was no more, in fine, then what the Prophet *Nathan* foretold would befall *David*.

C H A P. IX.

Achitophel's Counsel for the destroying of David. Hushai opposes it, and carries it against him. Achitophel hangs himself upon the Disappointment. Absalom makes Amaia his General ; fights a Battle with his Father, and loses the Day. A Bough takes up Absalom by the Hair of his Head in his Flight, and Joab runs him through with his Javelin.

* **A**FTER the Execution of this Counsel of *Achitophel's*, the next Question was, What they were first to do in Prosecution of the War ? His Answer was this. “ Give me the “ Command of ten Thousand choice Men ; and let me an-
H h “ swer

“swer for’t with my own Head, if I do not bring you the
“Head of *David*: And the taking away of his Life will se-
“cure the publick Peace to the People, and the Government
“to *Absalom*, both in one.” *Absalom* was much of *Achitophel*’s Opinion; but willing however to have *Hushai*’s yet,
over and above; and so put it to him, What *he* thought
on’t? *Hushai* (that was *David*’s true Friend, and ever so re-
puted) finding the Advice to be shrewd and dangerous, did
what he could to divert *Absalom* from it by giving his Judg-
ment another Way, after this Fashion. “Sir, says *he*, I need
“not tell you that your Father is a valiant Man, and that
“he hath a great many brave Men about him; with whom
“in all Encounters he hath ever come off Victorious. You
“know him to be a Soldier too, and a Man of *Stratagem*,
“as well as of Courage. He will most infallibly have Ad-
“vice of our Approach; and in some Valley, Wood, or be-
“hind some Rock perhaps, lie ready upon the Catch for us
“with an *Ambush*: Or suppose we should attempt to engage
“them, they will order the Matter so as to manage their Re-
“treat by little and little till they have drawn us into the
“Snare, and *David*’s whole Body to fall in upon us before
“we know where we are. Now I submit myself to your
“Judgment, betwixt the Consternation it will cause on the
“one Hand, and the Encouragement it will give on the
“other, what a Confusion this Way of Proceeding will cre-
“ate among us: And now you have heard both Opinions,
“you may follow either *Achitophel*’s, or mine, which is
“most to your liking. But having given you my Thoughts
“thus far now, what we are not to do; I must crave leave
“to tell you what I think adviseable under our Circumstan-
“ces to be done. Let the whole Nation of the *Hebrews* be
“summon’d to appear with all their Troops at some certain
“Time and Place, to make War against *David*: And when
“they are met, do you yourself (says *he* to *Absalom*) take
“the Command of the whole into your own Hand, with-
“out trusting to Deputies. When this is done, *David* must
“either expose himself in the plain Field, or otherwise fly to
“Fastnesses, strong Holds, wall’d Towns, and the like. If
“he keeps the Plains, you will have enow to eat him up;
“and I do not speak of your Numbers only, but of a World
“of publick-spirited Patriots too, that value themselves upon
“the Zeal and Ambition to serve their Prince, and their
“Country: So that this way you have him sure. Or if he shall
“go the other way to Work, of hiding and skulking up and
“down, to keep upon the Defensive, there are twenty Ways,
“by

“ by Mining, Battering, Starving, and the like, that will certainly reduce him.” They were all so unanimously for his Advice, that *Abfalom* himself gave his Voice for him, even in reference to the Counsel of *Achitophel*. But it is to be noted, that the Hand of God was in all this.

Hushai, upon this Result, made all possible haste to the High-Priests, *Zadock*, and *Abiathar*, with the Story of what had pass'd at the Counsel betwixt *Achitophel* and himself, and how Things were carry'd ; desiring them to dispatch an Express immediately away with it to *David*, with a Caution, by all means to pass the River *Jordan* that very Night ; for if they should either get Intelligence where he was, or change their Minds, they might fall in upon him before he could get over.

The High-Priests had provided Lodgings for their Sons out of the Town, and a faithful Maid-Servant at hand to carry them the Intelligence, which they were to transmit forthwith to *David*. Upon the Receipt of this Information, they speeded away with it as became dutiful and faithful Servants in the Execution of their Master's Command. But by the Time they were advanced some two Furlongs upon their Way, they were discover'd by certain Horse-Men ; and *Abfalom* having notice of it, gave order presently for the taking of them up. The Messengers were quickly aware of their Danger, and so turn'd out of the Way towards *Bahurim*, a small Village near *Jerusalem* ; where they met with a Woman who was so charitable as to conceal them, by letting them down into a Well, and throwing some Skins of Beasts over the Mouth of it. This Matter was no sooner ordered, but into the Yard comes a *Hue and Cry* after them, that examined the Woman, very strictly if she had seen any such Men or not. “ She could not deny, *she said*, that two “ such Men drank at the Gate just now, and so went their “ way ; but, *says she*, if you make haste after them, they “ may easily be overtaken.” When they had hunted up and down a long Time after them to no manner of Purpose, they returned to their Quarters with their Labour for their Pains. So soon as the Woman saw that all was safe, and the Coast clear, she drew the Young Men out of the Well ; and they prosecuted their Journey time enough to give *David*, a seasonable Account what *Abfalom* was a doing. It was late before they got thither, but *David* however got his People over the Water the same Night.

It stuck in *Achitophel's* Stomach, that *Abfalom* should reject his Counsel, and at the same Time entertain *Hushai's* : So

that "He mounted his As, and went home to *Galmon*,
 " where he called his Family together, and told them the
 " Advice he had given *Abfalom*; but that he would not fol-
 " low it; and that in a short Time, that Refusal would be his
 " Ruin; for *David* would certainly baffle him, and soon af-
 " ter recover his Kingdom. Now it is more honourable for
 " me, *says he*, to die asserting my Liberty like a Man, then to
 " wait sneaking till *David* comes in again, and to be slay'd
 " at last for the Services I have done the Son against the Fa-
 " ther." With these Words he withdrew into a private Ap-
 partment in his House, and hang'd himself, in the Conscience of a Self-Condernation: His Relations afterward taking care for his Funeral.

David, being now over the River *Jordan*, as aforesaid, came to (a) *Mahanaim*, the fairest, and the strongest City in that Tract of Land: Where he was treated by the principal Persons of the whole Country, with the highest Instances of Generosity and Good-will imaginable; partly out of Humanity, with regard to the Necessities of his present Condition; and partly out of a Reverence to the Memory of his former State. There was *Sipbar*, a Prince of *Ammon*: *Barzillai*, and *Marchir*, two principal Men of *Gilead*, &c. These generous Persons took such Care of *David*, and his People, that they wanted neither Beds, Bread, Wine, Flesh, nor any thing else that might be needful, either for their Sustenance, or for their Refreshment.

* *Abfalom*, in the mean time, was gotten over the River with a mighty Army against his Father, and encamped not far from *Mahanaim*, a Town of *Gilead*, having made his Kinsman *Amasa* General, in the Place of *Joab*: *Amasa* being the Son of *Joab* by *Abigail*. Now *Abigail*, and *Zerviah*, the Mother of *Joab*, were *David's* Sisters.

The King took a Review of his Men, and found himself upon the Muster to be only four Thousand strong; but yet with this Pittance of an Army, he chose rather to act the Part of an Aggressor, then to lie still upon his Guard till *Abfalom* should give the Attack. So that he presently constituted his Officers, and divided the little Body of his Army into three Parts: *Joab* had the first Division; *Abishai*, the second; and his Old Friend *Ittai* the *Gittite*, the third. *David* would needs have gone himself in Person; but his Friends, for very good Reasons, opposed it; for, said they, "If we
 " should be beaten, and you yourself in the Field, the
 " whole

(a) *Eis parembolas*. *Jos.*

* 2 Sam. 18.

“ whole Cause would be lost without any Hope of Resource :
“ But otherwise, if one Division should have the ill Hap to
“ be worsted, the rest (*they told David*) might repair to
“ himself, and probably find some Means of Recruit : Be-
“ side, that the King’s not being upon the Spot, would pos-
“ sels the Enemy with an Apprehension, that he had ano-
“ ther fresh Army in Reserve.” This Motive carry’d it,
and the King was prevail’d upon to stay at *Mahanaim*. *Da-
vid* then adjur’d his Friends, by all the Ties of Honour,
Gratitude, and Conscience, to acquit themselves of their Du-
ty ; and in case God should give them a Victory, to spare
the Life of the Young Man ; for he durst not trust himself
with his own Life after the Death of *Absalom*. This was
follow’d with a Thousand Blessings, and good Wishes ; and
so he dispatch’d them to the Army.

When *Absalom* saw that *Joab* had drawn up his Division
upon a Plain, with a Wood at his Back, he dispos’d of his
own Troops likewise into the same Form, over against the
other. When the two Bodies came to shock, there was
great Bravery shew’d on both Sides. The one contending for
the Recovery of what *David* had lost ; and the other for the
Defence and Maintenance of what *Absalom* had got ; and
there was nothing that *David*’s Men were not resolv’d either
to do, or suffer ; so they might but avenge the Father upon
the Apostacy of a rebellious Son. *Absalom*’s Men fought a
good while upon a Point of Honour, and to avoid the Infamy
of being worsted by so inconsiderable a Party. *David*’s
Men, on the other hand, for the Glory of routing so many
Thousands of the Enemy upon such a Disproportion. In
the Conclusion, *David*’s Veterans did bravely, and like them-
selves ; for they brake the Enemy’s Order, and put them to
a total Rout, getting the Chace of them, over Woods, Moun-
tains and Craggs, which Way soever they fled : Some they
kill’d ; some they took ; and more lost in the Pursuit, then
in the Battle. They reckon’d upon some twenty Thousand
Men slain in that Day’s Action. Now *Absalom* was so sin-
gular, both for his Beauty and his Stature, that he was eve-
ry Body’s Mark. So that for fear of being taken alive, he
ran away upon the fleetest Mule he could lay Hands of, as
fast as her Heels could carry him. But in her Course, upon
the whiffing of the Air, a snagged Bough of a Tree took
hold of his Hair ; and the Mule running forward from under
him, left him dangling in the Air, and continu’d her Speed,
as if she had had her Rider still upon her Back. One of
David’s Soldiers saw this, and carry’d the Tidings off to

Joab, who bad him go quickly, and dispatch him, and he should have fifty Shekels of Silver for his Pains. No, says the Soldier, I would not do such a Thing to the Son of my Lord and Master for two Thousand : Especially considering the Charge the King gave in your Hearing, not to touch the Life of the Young Man. Why then, says *Joab*, where was it that you saw him ? In short, he found him out at last, and gave him his Death's-Wound through the Heart with his Javelin. His Armour-bearers, that were then present, took down the Body from the Tree, and cast it into a dark deep Hole, piling a great Heap of Stones upon it, in the Form of a Sepulchre. This being done *Joab* founded a Retreat to take his Men off from the Chace, and save the Effusion of more Blood in a civil War. *Absalom* had already erected a Marble Column, with an Inscription upon it, in a Place call'd the *King's Valley*, some two Furlongs from *Jerusalem* ; which he call'd by the Name of *The Hand of Absalom*, to perpetuate his Memory, as he said, even if he should leave no Children behind him. He had three Sons, and one Daughter, which was marry'd to *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*, by whom he had *Abia*, his next immediate Successor ; but of this we shall say more hereafter.

C H A P. X.

David's Grief for Absalom : And Joab's Plain-dealing with him. Shimei pardon'd. The Tribe of Judah goes out to receive David ; and the rest fall-off at the Instigation of Sheba. David sends Amasa after Sheba. Joab meets him, and treacherously kills him ; and then follows Sheba, and brings his Head to David himself. The Israelites punish'd with a Famine for Saul's Breach of Faith with the Gibeonites ; and then punish'd again with a Pestilence for David's numb'ring the People.

A *Bsalom* being now dead, his People slipt away by Stealth, every Man to his own Home : *Ahimaaz*, the Son of *Zadock* the High-Priest, making it his Suit to *Joab*, that he might be the Man to carry *David* the first News of the Victory, as being the Work of God's Power and Providence. *Joab* gave him this Answer, That it would not look well, for

for him that had been always heretofore the Messenger of good News to the King, to be now the first Man to tell him of his Son's Death. So *Joab* call'd to *Cushi*, and sent him on the Errand, and that he should tell the King what he himself had seen. *Ahimaaz* was at *Joab* a second Time, to let him carry the Tidings; for, says he, the King's Thoughts will be so intent upon the Main, that he'll never trouble his Head about the Death of *Absalom*. *Joab*, upon this Importunity, gave him Leave, and he knowing the nearest Way better then the other, got thither before him. *David* was at this Time sitting at the Gate in a longing Expectation to know the Event of the Battle, when a Scout brought him Word, that he saw one come running that Way, but he was too far off to discern who it was. The King look'd upon it as a good *Omen*; and the Scout immediately upon this, told the King that he discover'd another, which gave him still more Hope then before. The Messenger being now come within Distance, was found to be *Ahimaaz* the Son of *Zadock* the High-Priest, who came posting away in a Chariot. "Well! says *David*, This is the Man that most certainly "brings me good Tidings." The Words were hardly past his Lips, when *Ahimaaz* cast himself at *David*'s Feet to do him Reverence; who asking him what News from the Army? *Great Success*, he said, and *Victory*. *David* ask'd him then, what was become of *Absalom*? *Ahimaaz* answer'd him, that so soon as ever he saw the Enemy routed, he came away immediately with the Intelligence; but that he heard a mighty Clamour and Shouting all the while, upon the Pursuit of *Absalom*; and *Joab* sent him away in such Haste, that his Orders were only to carry the News of the Victory, without any Mention of *Absalom*. By this Time, *Cushi* was at the King's Feet, with the Tidings of a Victory; and the King putting the same Question to him as to the other, *i. e.* *What was become of Absalom*? "May it be, says *Cushi*, with all "the Enemies of my Lord the King, as it is with *Absalom*." These Words turn'd a Day of Joy and Triumph into a Day of Mourning. It prov'd so to the King, for the Loss of *Absalom*; and to the People, [to see their Sovereign so transported, notwithstanding such a Victory and Deliverance, when his Life and Crown were at Stake, for the Death of a Rebel.] But so it was, that he withdrew himself upon it, out of Sight and Hearing, to the Top of one of the highest Turrets about the City, beating his Breast, and tearing his Hair, with Cries and Exclamations, *Ah, my Son Absalom, my Son Absalom; Ah, that I myself could have but dy'd with*

thee, my Son! * Now *David* was in his Nature soft and tender, and his Love for *Abfalom* was the weak Side of that Inclination. This put *Joab*, and the Army quite out of Countenance; for them to come into the Town triumphant, and the King to appear drown'd in Sorrow for the Success: So that they look'd rather like Fugitives than Conquerors, and Men that had lost the Battle rather than won it. *David*, in short, went on so far in this Way of an abandon'd Dejection, that *Joab*, without any more ado, brake-in upon him in the very Agony of his Passion, to reason and expostulate the Matter with him.

" Sir, *says he*, Do you know what you do? Are you aware of the Dishonour you bring upon yourself by this wilful and effeminate Way of impotent Lamentations? Why, it makes you look as if you had a Hatred for your Friends, that have sav'd your Life at the Hazard of their own; nay, for yourself, and your Family too: And at the same time, as great a Kindness even for those of your Enemies, which Divine Justice hath taken away in your Favour, by the Stroke of a most righteous Vengeance. If *Abfalom* had carry'd the Day, and settled himself in his Usurpation, Who do you think, Sir, would have bemoan'd either your Fate, or ours, in such a Case? For we should most certainly have been cut to pieces, every Creature of us. Nay you yourself, and your Children should have led the Dance. No, no, Sir, your Enemies would have rejoic'd and glory'd in your Ruin, and it would have been Death for any Man to have but so much as pity'd us. Pray, Sir, does not your Conscience, as well as your Honour, check you for this intemperate Tenderness, for the Memory of so implacable an Enemy. He was your Son, 'tis true, but a most ungracious one; and you cannot be just to God's Providence, without acknowledging the Blessing of his being taken away. Pray shew yourself chearfully to your People, and tell them, that it is to their Loyalty and Bravery, next under God, that you are indebted for the Honour of this Day. For if you go on as you have begun, your Kingdom and your Army will most infallibly be put into other Hands; and you will then find something else to cry for."

This bold and blunt Liberty of *Joab* brought *David* in some Measure to himself again; and to take Care of his Government, and People. So that he shew'd himself at the Gate,

Gate, in a more popular Way of Address, and with more of Satisfaction in his Countenance. This Change of Humour wrought so effectually upon the Multitude, that they came flocking-in to him from all Parts to pay him their Reverence.

While Matters were in this Disposition, *Abjalom's* Men that fled from the late Battle, and were got home again, sent Messengers up and down, from Place to Place, to mind their Friends of the infinite Obligations they had to *David* upon all Accounts, and particularly for the Toils and Hazards he had undergone in his own Person, for the Vindication of their Liberty; how ungratefully they had behav'd themselves in their Revolt, &c. and what had they more to do now, then to lay themselves at his Feet; beg his Pardon, and beseech him once again to receive them into his Care and Protection, as formerly: Especially the Person being now gone, whom they had most injuriously set up in his Stead. The King had Addresses of this kind sent him in Abundance, which he still communicated by Letters to the High-Priests, *Zadock* and *Abiathar*, with certain Hints, how they were to menage the Heads of the Tribe of *Judah* toward his Restoration. And they insinuated accordingly, how great a Shame it would be for them to stand looking-on, and let others go before them, in doing a common Right to a Prince so generous, and of their own Tribe and Extraction. This Way of Proceeding created an Emulation among them, who should be foremost. They were likewise to expostulate the Matter with *Amasa*, the Enemy's General, how it came to pass that he himself, the Nephew of *David* by his own Sister, should not dispose the Army to a Sense of their Duty, and the Restoring of the Government to the right Owner. They told *Amasa*, that for what was past, he might be sure of his Pardon; and they doubted not but he might have the same Command under *David* that he had under *Abjalom*.

The High-Priests dealt after this Manner with the Principals of the Tribe, and upon the aforesaid Assurance brought *Amasa* over to *David*. The Tribe of *Judah* were the first (and they did it easily too) that sent their Commissioners to invite the King back to the Exercise of his Government: And betwixt the Influence of this Example, and the Credit of *Amasa*, they were all to attend, and receive the King at *Jerusalem*. The Tribe of *Judah* were remarkably the forwardest of the whole Body, and the most officious in their Respects; for they went to the very Bank of the River *Jordan* to meet him. There was *Shimei* the Son of *Gera*, for one,
at

at the Head of a Thousand *Benjamites*; and there was *Ziba* also, *Saul's* Freeman, with his fifteen Children, and twenty Servants; who, together with the Tribe of *Judah*, laid a Bridge over the River, for the more commodious Passage of *David* and his Troops.

Upon his coming to the River, the Tribe of *Judah* were the first that saluted him; and *Shimei* then advancing to the Bridge, threw himself at *David's* Feet, begging his Pardon for the Indignities he had put upon him: Beseeching him to pass it all over, and that it might never rise in Judgment against him when he should come into his Kingdom: Desiring moreover, that his early Repentance, and Return to his Allegiance, might atone for his past Faults. "Well!" says *Abishai*, *Joab's* Brother, (who was then within Distance of hearing and seeing all that pass'd) "and do you think
"to come off so easily, that could have the Face to blaspheme the King that God hath set over you, at so unpardonable a Rate? Be quiet, you Sons of *Zeruviah*; pray
"be quiet, says *David*, without blowing the Coal, and stirring up new Broils. For I would have you look upon
"this as the first Day of my Reign, and to take notice of
"what I do now declare upon my Oath: I do freely forgive all the World, and I do promise that no Creature
"shall suffer for any Thing done against me, or against any Body else for my Sake, of what Kind or Quality soever: So that you may set your Heart at Rest, *Shimei*,
"your Life is in no Danger." Upon which Assurance, he made his Reverence, and went his Way.

After him came *Mephibosheth*, *Saul's* Nephew, in as Forlorn, and uncouth an Appearance, as one could well imagine; for upon the King's being forc'd away from his Palace, this good Man, reckoning the King's Calamity as his own, bound himself by a Vow, upon *David's* being driven away, never to cut his Hair, or change his Clothes, till it might please God to restore him. *Ziba* took this Opportunity of traducing his Master to the King; for upon *David's* asking him how he came to leave him when he was under Persecution; he laid the Fault upon *Ziba*, for not obeying his Orders; but, on the contrary, treating him like a Slave, notwithstanding the express Charge he had given him to have all Necessaries in Readiness for his Journey. "But, Sir, says
"he, If I had had the Use of my Legs, as other People have,
"this should not have hinder'd me neither. Nay, Sir, says
"he, and which is more, he has not only disappointed me
"in the Exercise of my Duty; but I perceive he has done
"me

“ me spiteful Offices to yourself also : But, Sir, you are so
 “ just, and so great a Lover of God and of Truth, that I am
 “ sure your Generosity and your Wisdom will never enter-
 “ tain a Calumny to my Prejudice. Our Family have had
 “ the Experience of your Piety, Modesty and Goodness, to
 “ a Degree never to be forgotten, in passing over, and par-
 “ doning the innumerable Hazards and Persecutions that
 “ you were exposed unto, in the Days, and by the Con-
 “ trivance of my Grandfather ; when all our Lives were
 “ forfeited, and in your Power, and at Mercy : But then,
 “ after all this gracious Tenderneſs, your superadding the
 “ Honour of taking me to your Table as a Friend, and as a
 “ Guest, and a Person likewise so obnoxious, in regard of
 “ my Relations, nothing could be either greater, or more obli-
 “ ging.” *David* heard all this without either animadverting
 upon *Mephibosheth*, or putting *Ziba*’s Credit to the Test :
 But he told him, that having given the whole Estate to *Zi-
 ba*, he would order him the one Half of it back again : “ Nay,
 “ Sir, says *Mephibosheth*, so long as I have the Satisfaction
 “ of seeing my Lord the King upon his Throne again, e-
 “ ven let *Ziba* take the Whole and welcome.”

King *David*, in the Time of the War, had been much be-
 holden for several good Offices to *Barzillai*, the *Gileadite* :
 a great Man to all good and honourable Purposes : And this
Barzillai would needs bring the King onward of his Way
 to the River *Jordan*. The King press’d him with great Ear-
 nestness to go through with him to *Jerusalem*, promising
 that he should be as good as a Father to him, and that he
 should want nothing that might be a Relief, and a Refresh-
 ment to his Old Age. But he excus’d himself, “ that he
 “ should be more at Ease in a private Way of Life, then in
 “ the Splendour and Luxury of a Palace. He was now
 “ eighty Years of Age, he said, and past the Relish of Court-
 “ Pleasures ; having no other Bus’ness in the World then
 “ to prepare for Death, and to give Orders for his Funeral.
 “ Wherefore he begg’d his Majesty’s Leave to retire Home
 “ again, where he might more conveniently govern himself
 “ after his own Fashion. His Taste was now gone, as to
 “ the Satisfaction of delicious Meat and Drink ; and so for
 “ the Delights of Singing, Dancing, Revels, harmonious
 “ Consorts of Instruments, or Voices, and the like. His
 “ Hearing was deaded and lost, (he said) and he had no
 “ longer any Sense of these Entertainments.” The King,
 in fine, was prevail’d upon at length, to part with him, but
 upon

upon Condition, *says he*, that your Son (a) *Chimham* shall go along with me, and take his Part in the best Offices I can do him. *Barzillai*, with all dutiful Acknowledgments, left his Son with the King; and taking his Leave, with the most passionate Wishes of a long and a prosperous Reign to him, he went back to his own Home.

When *David* came to *Gilgal*, he had one Half of the whole Nation with him, and the Tribe of *Judah* entire. There came to him several of the prime Men of the Country with a vast Multitude of People at their Heels, and charg'd the Tribe of *Judah* with taking too much upon them in going to the King, without consulting their Brethren; whereas they ought unanimously to have gone together. The Heads of the Tribe of *Judah* desired the rest not to take any thing amiss in their going before; for they look'd upon it as a Duty incumbent on them for Kindred-sake; which made them the more earnest, and officious, upon that Consideration. They did not propose any Advantage to themselves (they said) by being so forward; neither had they given any Cause of Offence by their Earliness, to those that came after them. The Heads of the other Tribes were not at all pleas'd with this Way of Reasoning. "Pray how come you, *they cry'd*, to engross the King to yourselves, as if he were not our King as well as yours? For he is by God's Providence indifferently the Governour of us all: So that if we are eleven Parts of the whole, and you but one, and consequently valuable in Comparison according to that Proportion, you have certainly done very ill in stealing away to the King by yourselves, without acquainting us." While the great Men were at hard Words upon this Controversy, up stood † *Sheba*, the Son of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, (a Man of a factious and turbulent Spirit) and call'd-out with a loud Voice in the Middle of the Crowd; "What do they talk to us for, of a Part in *David*; or what have we to do with the Son of *Jesse*?" So he caused the Trumpet to be sounded, with a kind of a Proclamation for the People to depart to their Tents, and thereupon a War was denounced against *David*. The Multitude fell-off into the Party and Interest of *Sheba*, saving only the Tribe of *Judah*, who stood by the King, and conducted him to *Jerusalem*. The first Thing he did there, was to clear his Palace of his Concubines, which his Son *Absalom* had prostituted in the Sight of the People; but he had them provided for elsewhere, with all Fairness of Respect,

as

(a) *Achimanes*, *Jos.*

† 2 Sam. 20.

as before ; though he himself had never more to do with them. He made *Amasa* his General, in the Place of *Joab*, giving him Orders to draw what Troops he could get together out of the Tribe of *Judah*, and bring them to him in three Days, that he might be ready to march out with them against the Son of *Bichri*. *Amasa* went about his Business ; but finding more Work to do than he expected, and out-staying his Time, *David*, upon the third Day discours'd the Matter to *Joab*. " This Business of *Sheba*, says he, is a Thing " not to be trifled with ; wherefore do you immediately take " what Forces you have at hand, with the six Hundred Veterans, and so without any Delay, take your Brother *Abishai* along with you, and march directly away after the Son " of *Bichri* : Fight him, wheresoever you find him, before " he draws his Party into a Body ; for if we let him alone, " he will gather like a Snow-ball ; strengthen himself, and " when he has gotten into some strong Hold, or fortify'd " Town, he will give us more Trouble perhaps than *Abshalom* " did, before we get him out again." *Joab*, in the same Instant posted forward with his Brother, and the Troops that were assigned him to search for *Sheba*. At his coming to *Gibeon*, a Village some forty Furlongs from *Jerusalem*, he met *Amasa* upon his March in the Head of a Gallant Army. *Amasa* advancing toward him to embrace him, *Joab*, with a Breast-Plate upon his Body, and his Sword girt to him, dropt his Sword out of the Scabbard, going to meet him, and presently catcht it up again, with one Hand, while he took *Amasa* by the Beard with the other, as if it had been to have kiss'd him ; but stabb'd him into the Guts, and he dy'd upon the Place. Now what was the Provocation all this while to so impious and execrable an Outrage upon so good a Youth ; nay, and his Kinsman too ; but a diabolical Envy of his Preferment, and a Jealousie of his being too great in the King's Favour. It was much upon the same Ground that he had already murder'd *Abner* ; and much after the same treacherous Manner, that he did it too. 'Tis true, that in the former Case, he might appear to have some specious Colour for it in the Revenge of his Brother *Hazael* : But for this second Assassinate he had not a Word to say.

Upon the Death of *Amasa*, *Joab* prosecuted his March to look out *Sheba* ; leaving only one Man with the General's Body, with Order to make Proclamation thorough the Army, that he was an ill Man, and but serv'd according to his Desert, desiring all those, that were for the King to follow *Joab*,
and

and his Brother *Abisbai*. While the Body lay exposed in the Way, there were Multitudes gather'd together, as is usual in such Cases, staring at it : So that he that had it in Charge, got it out of the Way to a Village, where he hous'd it, with a Coat thrown over it ; and so soon as the Wonderment was removed, the Soldiers march'd forward after their Commanders. *Joab* had by this Time almost quite run thorough the Land of *Israel* ; and getting Intelligence at last, that *Sheba* had shelter'd himself in a strong Town call'd *Abel-Maacha*, *Joab* order'd the Place to be presently besieg'd, and a Trench cast up about it ; and at the same Time to have it ply'd with Mines and Batteries ; being resolv'd to destroy it, even for the Affront of shutting their Gates against him.

While these Preparations were a-Foot for the gaining of the Town, a good and a prudent Woman, out of a Zeal for the Service of her Country in that Extremity, mounted the Wall, and call'd out to *Joab* from the Battlements, to speak a Word with him out of the Hearing of the Soldiers. *Joab* did as she desired, and the Discourse she made him was to this Purpose. "Whereas God, *says she*, has given us Kings and "Governours to protect us against our Enemies, and to maintain and preserve us in Peace and Unity one with another, "here are you come, without any Injury, or Provocation, "to ruin one of the most eminent Cities in the whole Land "of *Israel*. "God help thy Head, poor Woman, *says Joab* ; "so far am I from the least Thought of any unnecessary Violence to this famous City, or of Harm to any one Creature in it, that your People have no more to do then to deliver up *Sheba*, that rebellious Son of *Bichri*, to Justice, "and in the same Moment to be quit of my Army." Upon this Promise and Declaration, the Woman call'd out to *Joab*, only "To have a little Patience, and *Sheba's* Head "should be thrown down to him over the Wall." She went back upon this, to the Citizens, to reason the Matter with them. "Are you then resolv'd, *says she*, like a Company of "wicked Men, and for the Sake of a wicked Wretch, and a "meer Stranger to you, to sacrifice your Habitations, your "Wives, and your Children, and all in so wicked a Manner "too ? What has *Sheba* done for you, to ballance the Obligations you have to *David* ? Or setting aside all other Arguments, are you able, do you think, to defend your City "against this Army ?" The Reason of the Thing was so plain, and evident, that they cut off *Sheba's* Head by Consent, for a Composition, and cast it over the Wall : Whereupon, the

Siege

Siege was forthwith rais'd ; and the People returning to *Jerusalem*, *David* declar'd *Joab* General of all his Troops. *Benaiab* had the Command given him of all the *Guards of the Body*, and the six Hundred *Veterans*. *Adoram* was the Treasurer. *Sabathes* and *Achilaus* were the Recorders ; *Susa* the Secretary ; *Zadock* and *Abiathar* continuing in the Priesthood.

* Some time after this, there was a Famine in the Land, and *David* earnestly besought God to reveal unto him in Mercy, both the provoking Cause of that grievous Judgment, and how it might be remov'd. Answer was returned by the Prophets, that the Blood of the *Gibeonites*, which *Saul* had most perfidiously caused to be shed, cry'd to Heaven for Vengeance ; as an Action not only contrary to the Oath and Promise of *Joshua*, and ratify'd also by the *Elders* ; but against Conscience, and common Justice : Wherefore, said they, " Let the King give such Satisfaction to the *Gibeonites* as they " shall require for the Loss of their slaughter'd Citizens, and " the *Israelites* may expect that God will be gracious to them, " in a Deliverance from their present Calamity." When *David* came to understand this from the Prophets themselves, he sent to the *Gibeonites*, and ask'd them what Satisfaction would content them. So they demanded that seven of *Saul's* Sons, or of his Race, might be deliver'd up to Justice. The King order'd to have seven of them found out, and put into the Hands of the *Gibeonites*, to do with them as they pleased : But still excepting *Mephibosheth* out of the Number, for the Sake of *Jonathan* his Father. The *Gibeonites* accepted of this as a Composition, and punish'd them, as they thought fit themselves : In which Instant God sent them Rain, and so kindly a Continuance of it, that the Earth in due Time came to itself again, fresh and flourishing as formerly, and bringing forth Fruits in their Season.

It was not long after this, that *David* marched out with his Army against the *Philistines* ; fought and routed them ; but following the Chace too eagerly, and too far, *Achmon* the Son of *Araph*, one of the Race of the *Giants*, (whose Arming was a Coat of Mail, a Lance weighing three Hundred Shekels, and his Sword by his Side) seeing *David* alone, and quite spent, turned short upon him, and struck him down, and had certainly slain him, if *Abishai*, *Joab's* Brother, had not in that precise Moment come to his Relief ; be-
striding

striding *David*, and not only protecting the King, but killing his Enemy. The whole Army was so sensible of the Danger the King's Life was in, and of the Providence of his Deliverance, that the Commanders bound him by an Oath never to hazard his Royal Person any more in a Battle; for being naturally brave, and forward, he laid himself too open to the common Chances of War; and if he should miscarry, it would be an irreparable Loss to the Nation, to be depriv'd of the Blessings they enjoy'd under his Administration.

This Battle had not been long over, before the *Philistines*, rally'd again, and came to a *Rendezvous* at *Gaza*. *David* having Notice of it, dispatch'd away an Army immediately against them. In this Expedition *Sobach* the *Hittite* (one of the bravest Men in the whole Body) got himself great Reputation by cutting off several of the Race of the *Giants*, and Men of a prodigious Bulk and Strength too, with his own Hand. He had, in short, the Honour of a great Share in that Day's Success. The *Philistines*, after this, brought yet another Army into the Field, and the King sent out his Troops to encounter them. *Nephan*, *David's* Kinsman did Wonders, for he slew Hand to Hand, in a single Combat, one of the boldest Men the *Philistines* had in their Party: The rest turned their Backs upon it, and lost great Numbers in that Action. But the *Philistines* in a short Time recruited yet once again, after all their Loss, and encamped at a certain Town not far from the Borders of the *Hebrews*. The *Philistines* had in their Camp a Man six Cubits high; six Fingers on a Hand, and six Toes on each Foot, and one that valu'd himself upon his Descent from the Stock of the *Giants*. *Jonathan* the Son of *Shimei* had the Honour to kill this over-grown Monster in a single Combat, and at the Head of his Troops, which was a great Stroke in the Victory of the Day; beside the glorious Character he acquir'd by it, of a valiant Man. This was the last Battle the *Israelites* had with the *Philistines*; for from that Time forward, they never had the Heart to look them any more in the Face.

† *David* having now made his way thorough all the Toils and Dangers of War, into the Quiet of a profound Peace, gave himself wholly up to the Composing of Divine Hymns, and Psalms, to the Glory of God; in Variety of Measures; as, *Trimeters*, *Pentameters*, and the like. These Airs he order'd to be sung by the *Levites* upon the *Sabbaths*, and other Festivals,

Festivals, in Company with musical Instruments provided for that Purpose : As they had an Instrument with ten Strings, to be touch'd with a Quill ; the *Psaltery* with twelve Strings, to be play'd upon with the Fingers ; and large Cymbals of Brass. But this is enough said as to the general Understanding of the Nature of these Instruments. * The King had about him, Men of Honour and Valour in Abundance ; but for *Worthies of the first Rate*, he reckon'd only eight and thirty who had made themselves Signal for their Exploits ; and Men of such Force and Resolution, as if they had been made for great Enterprizes, and the carrying of the World before them. Of these eight and thirty, I shall only name five, as a Measure to judge of the rest by.

The First was (a) *Iffem*, the Son of (b) *Achem*, that brake several Times into the Body of the Enemy, and kill'd nine Hundred of them upon one Encounter, with his own Hand.

After him comes *Eleazar*, the (c) Son of *Dodo*, that was with the King in (d) *Arasam*. It was his Fortune to be in a Battle, where the *Israelites* finding themselves mightily overpower'd with Numbers, gave way and fled, leaving him alone in his own Person to make good his Ground ; which he did so effectually, that he gave a Stand to the whole Army, killing and wounding great Numbers of them ; so that his Sword was in a manner glew'd to his Right-hand with the Blood. The Example of this Bravery put Courage into the Fugitives, and brought them on again ; pressing so hard upon the Adversaries Troops, that they recover'd the Day, and crown'd it with a wonderful, and a most illustrious Victory : *Eleazar* running them down all this while, and the common Soldiers stripping them.

The Third was (e) *Sebas*, the Son of *Ilus* ; who at a Place called the *Jaw*, upon another Engagement with the *Philistines*, finding the *Israelites* shrinking, and giving way, opposed his single Body to the whole Force of the Enemy ; did great Execution upon them ; brake their Order ; put them to Flight, and gave them Chace with a great Overthrow. In these three Instances we read the Bravery of these three heroicall Adventures, in the plain Field, and in the Face of an Enemy.

I i

At

* 2 Sam. 23.

(a) Jos. *Iffaimos*.(b) Jos. *Achemaios*.(c) Jos. *Uios Dodeia*.(d) Jos. *Arasamos*.(e) *Al. Semas* the Son of *Igus*. See *Bochart's**Hieroicoicon*, l. 2. c. 15. Part 1.

At another Time, when the King was at *Jerusalem*, and the *Philistines* encamped before it, in the great Valley that stretches out as far as *Bethlem*, a matter of twenty Furlongs from the Town; *David* went up to a high Tower to ask Counsel and Direction of God, about the Government, and Event of the War: And speaking among his Friends of the delicious Water that was in his Country, and especially of the Well at *Bethlem* that was next the Gate, "What would I give, *says he*, for a Soup of that Water!" These three Men over-hearing him, went their way immediately, brake through the Camp of the *Philistines*, and fetch'd of the Water from the Well itself, and came back with it the same Way they went: The *Barbarians* standing at Gaze all the while, at the Hardiness of the Undertaking; and not daring, though so few of them, to give them any Interruption in their Return. Upon their presenting of this Water to the King, he gave God Thanks for the Safety of them that brought it; "But it would not become him, *he said*, to drink it, for it was the Price of Blood;" And so he poured it upon the Ground as an Offering to the Lord.

In the *fourth* Place may be reckon'd *Abishai*, the Brother of *Joab*, that in one Day slew five Hundred of the Enemy.

The *fifth*, and the last of these worthy Champions, shall be *Benaiah*, a Man of a Sacerdotal Family; who fought, upon a Challenge, with two Brothers, Men of eminent Fame for Feats of Arms among the *Moabites*, and kill'd them both. He fought again with an *Egyptian*, of a monstrous Force and Size; and closing with him, though himself naked, and his Adversary arm'd at all Points; he forced his Spear out of his Hands, and dispatch'd him with his own Weapon. And for his greater Honour still, he disarm'd him while he was yet living. He did another Thing too, that for the Stoutness and the Stomach of it, may be accounted equal, if not superiour to all the rest. There was a *Lion* dropt into a *Pit-fall*: The Snow drove into the Hole, and cover'd the Mouth of it: So that the Beast finding no way to get out again, set up a roaring. It was *Benaiah's* Hap to pass by that Way, within hearing of this Outcry. He went to the Place, and so into the Pit, and with a Cudgel stagger'd and kill'd the Lion. These were five great Men; and the other three and thirty not inferiour to them.

* *David* had now a Fancy come into his Head of taking
an

* 2 Sam. 24.

an Account how many Thousand Men he could muster out of the People of *Israel*, forgetting the old Precept of *Moses*, that so oft as there should be Occasion to number the People, there should be an Oblation of half a Shekel by the Head to the Lord: But he sent to *Joab* however to take the Account. He excus'd himself upon it, as a Thing that was needless; but *David* would not be said *Nay*, and therefore positively commanded him to go about it, and let it be the first Thing he did. *Joab* upon this, summoned the Scribes, and the Heads of the Tribes to advise withal, and so went through the whole Land of the *Israelites* to make up this Computation. After nine Months and twenty Days, *Joab* returned to *Jerusalem*, and told the King upon the whole Matter, that besides the Tribes of *Benjamin* and of *Levi*, which he had not as yet taken an Account of, he found the Number of the rest of the *Israelites* to amount to nine Hundred Thousand Men that were able to draw the Sword. In the Tribe of *Judah* alone he reckon'd upon four Hundred Thousand.

David, while this was in Hand, repented himself of what he had done, and was told by the Prophets also, that God was highly offended at him; whereupon he betook himself to a true Repentance, begging Pardon of Almighty God, with Prayers and Supplications, and obtaining it. Presently after this, God sent the Prophet *Gad* to him with an Offer of three Things to his Choice: That is to say; either a *seven Years Famine*: Or to fly three Months before an Enemy, or a *three Days Pestilence*; and to demand a present Resolution from him, which of the *Three* he would take. *David* found himself in a great Strait, which to chuse: "If the *Famine*, says he to himself, it would look as if I had more Care of my Self, then of my People; for probably I can never want Bread. If to lie at the Mercy of an Enemy, it looks the same Way still; for I have strong Holds and Castles to repair to for my own Safety. But for the *Third*, it is a Calamity that threatens Governours in common with their Subjects." As he was turning his Thoughts upon this Deliberation, the Prophet press'd him to an immediate Answer; to which he made this Return, "That he would rather fall into the Hands of God, then of Man; and therefore submitting himself to God's Pleasure and Goodness, he chose the *Pestilence*." The Prophet had no sooner received, and reported *David's* Answer, but the *Israelites* were presently seized with a most unaccountable Distemper, that was still at-

tended with certain Death, and accompany'd with Accidents that baffled all the Doctors, either to find a Remedy, or Reason. But they dy'd, in fine, one upon the Neck of another, and no Body knew how. Some went off with Gripes and Torments that dispatch'd them in a Trice; some with incurable Faintnesses and Languors, in despite of the Physicians. Others with *Vertigoes*; *Dimness of Sight*, *Suffocations*, &c. Some again expir'd, themselves, in the very Office of Mourning for the Death of others. The Mortality was so great, in fine, that betwixt Break of Day, and Dinner-time, there were swept away by this Pestilence seventy Thousand Persons. The destroying Angel was now going to *Jerusalem* upon the same Commission; but the King putting on Sackcloth, and humbly supplicating God with Prayers and Tears, to remove this dreadful Judgment; in the middle of his Ejaculations, he lifted up his Eyes, and discover'd an Angel, with a drawn Sword, moving toward *Jerusalem*. Upon this Apparition, he brake out into fresh and more passionate Exclamations. "Lord, *says he*, punish the Shepherd; but alas! What have these Sheep done? Pour down thy Wrath rather upon me, and my Family; but spare the innocent People I beseech thee."

David's Prayers were heard, and God immediately put a stop to the Pestilence; ordering the King, by the Mouth of the Prophet *Gad*, to go up without delay to the *Thrashing-floor* of *Araunah*, and there to erect an Altar, and offer Sacrifice upon it. *David* went away to the Place according to his Direction, where he found *Araunah* thrashing his Corn; who no sooner saw *David*, and his Sons, coming towards him, but he ran out with infinite Reverence to receive them. Now this *Araunah* was a *Jebusite*, and so particular a Friend of *David's*, that he protected, and secured him from all Damage upon the very taking of the City, as has been formerly observ'd.

"Well, *says Araunah*, is there any Thing now that my Lord will be pleas'd to Command of his Servant?" *I come*, *says David*, *to buy your Thrashing-floor, and to raise an Altar to God upon it, and to offer Sacrifice.* "Nay, *says Araunah*, not only my Thrashing-floor, but my Ploughs, my Oxen, and Burnt-Offerings, are all at my Lord's Service *gratis*: And I beseech God to look graciously down upon your Worship and Sacrifice." The King was exceedingly pleas'd with the Candour and Greatness of this good Man's Mind; but told him, that it must be a Purchase, not a Gift; for it would

would not be fair to offer a Sacrifice that should cost him nothing. So *Araunah* remitted himself to *David*, who gave him fifty Shekels of Silver for the Floor; offer'd Sacrifices, and Burnt-Offerings, and Peace-Offerings likewise upon it. After this Solemnity, *David* was reinstated in God's Grace and Favour. This was the Place that *Abraham* brought his Son *Isaac* to, when he should have been offer'd-up himself for a Sacrifice, if a *Ram* had not been presented in his Stead, when the Knife was ready for the Execution. But we have spoken of this in another Place.

When *David* found that his Prayers were granted, and his Sacrifice accepted, he resolv'd to call the whole Place by the Name of *The Peoples Altar*, or *The Israelites Altar*; and to build a *Temple* there, which Purpose of his was afterward ratify'd by God himself, who soon after sent his Prophet to him with a Prediction, that his Successor should there build a *Temple*. *David* employ'd People upon this, to take an account how many Strangers he had in his Dominions, which were reckon'd to amount to about one Hundred and eighty Thousand Persons. Out of these he chose eighty Thousand to work in Stone: The rest to be employ'd in carrying all Sorts of Materials; out of which he appointed thirty five Thousand to oversee the Workmen. There was gotten together a mighty Mass of *Iron* and *Brass*; a prodigious Quantity of *Cedar*, which he had from *Tyre* and *Sidon*; the largest and fairest Trees that were to be got. *David* would be telling his familiar Friends all this while, that these Materials were only to lie ready for Use, when his Son should have Occasion for them; which would save Time, and Trouble, and expedite the Work: But that as yet, his Son was too young and unexperienc'd, to menage such a Province.

C H A P. XI.

David gives Solomon Orders and Instructions for the Building of a Temple. Adonijah sets up for King; but lets falls his Pretence upon the People's opposing him. David's Speech, and Charge to the Heads of the Nation, with Advice to his Son about the Civil Government.

THis was the Face of Things when *David* call'd his Son *Solomon* to him, and gave him in special Charge, that so soon as ever he came to the Throne, he should immediately enter upon the Building of a *Temple*, for the Honour and Worship of God. " I would have done it myself, *says he*, " but being frequently in War, and consequently a Man of " Blood, I was forbidden by an expresse Command from " Heaven, and the Work reserved by Providence for my young- " est Son ;" who, according to the Prediction, was to be call'd *Solomon*, who should be a *Prince of Peace* ; of whom it was foretold, that God would take him with a paternal Affection into his own Care, and that the whole People of *Israel* should be happy under his Administration ; and enjoy, not only a Peace (the greatest of all temporal Blessings) with Foreigners, but live free from any civil or intestine Divisions among themselves. " Now, *says David*, since you are " design'd to be a King, even before you were born, do " your Endeavour to behave yourself as a Man otherwise " worthy of that Providence. Govern yourself according " to the Measures of Piety, Justice, and true Fortitude : " Pay a Reverence to the Precepts, Laws and Traditions " of *Moses* : Observe them religiously yourself, and do not " suffer any Violation of them in others. As for the *Temple* that God hath appointed to be built in your Reign, " be sure to attend it as you ought to do, and let not the " Difficulty of the Work discourage you ; for it shall be my " Care to have all the Materials in Readiness for you to be- " gin withal, upon your first Entrance into the Government. " I have made a Provision of ten Thousand Talents of Gold ; " one Hundred Thousand of Silver ; Brasses and Iron to a " Quantity not to be imagin'd, beside Timber and Stone in " a vast Abundance. You shall have also many Thousands " of Carpenters, and Masons, and the Means of Supplying " your-

“ yourself with what you want. Attend your Bus’ness with
“ Care and Dispatch ; for upon the Finishing of this Un-
“ dertaking, you may assure yourself of the perpetual Fa-
“ vour, and Protection of Almighty God.”

After this, he recommended it to the Princes of the People to assist his Son in this Fabrick ; and without being solicitous upon any other Account, to attend the Bus’ness of Religion in the first Place ; for that alone would be sufficient to secure the Peace and Welfare of the Common-wealth, which are the never-failing Rewards of Righteousness and Justice. He appointed also that, upon the Finishing of the *Temple*, the *Ark* should be placed in it, with all the holy Vessels and Utensils thereunto belonging, which he told them should have been there deposited long since ; if their Forefathers had minded the Injunction God laid upon them, of raising a *Temple* to him immediately upon their coming into the *Land of Promise*. These Counsels and Exhortations of *David* were address’d indifferently, both to his Son, and to the Princes.

* *David* was now but seventy Years of Age, and yet so worn-out, and spent with the Infirmities of Old Age ; and his Blood so chill’d, that all the Coverings and Blankets they could throw over him would hardly keep Life and Soul together : So that a Council of Physicians was call’d upon it ; who gave their Opinion, one and all, that the best Thing in the World for a Man under those Decays, was a fair, young Bed-fellow ; for the Warmth being gentle and kindly, would relieve Nature without Force. They found-out upon this, a delicate sweet Creature there in the Town, that came up to the Nicety of the Prescription, and put her to Bed to him. Her Name was *Abishag*, and her Bus’ness only to lie by him, hug him, and comfort him ; which she might safely and innocently do, the King being now past the Temptations of all irregular Dispositions : But of this Virgin, we shall have Occasion to speak further hereafter.

David had a fourth Son, whose Name was *Adonijah* ; born to him by *Haggith*, and the next after *Abshalom*. As to his Beauty, Stature, and the Graciousness of his Person ; nay, and in his Ambition too, he was not much unlike his elder Brother. This *Adonijah*, *Abshalom* being dead, puts up a Claim to the Government, as the next in Succession :

I i 4

setting

* 1 Kings 1.

setting all his Friends at Work, by Interest and Popularity, to assist him toward the Gaining of his Point. He puts himself into a pompous Equipage of Chariots, Horses, Guards, and the like; while the good Man his Father innocently lets him go on, without the least Check, or Caution; nay, or so much as a Question of Curiosity, what all this Splendour and Parade tended to. His chief Complices were *Joab* the General, and the High-Priest *Abiathar*; but *Zadock* the High-Priest, and the Prophet *Nathan*, *Benaiah* the Captain of the Guards, *Shimei* the King's Friend, and the Generality of the Sword-Men, were all for *David*.

Adonijah prepared a mighty Treat in the Suburbs of *Jerusalem* near the Fountain in the King's Gardens. To this Entertainment, he invited all his Brothers, save only *Solomon*; and there was *Joab* also, and *Abiathar*; and the Chiefs of the Tribe of *Judah*: But for *Zadock*, *Nathan*, and *Benaiah*, and others of that Interest, there was not a Man of them sent to. The Prophet *Nathan* took notice of this, and told the Story of it to *Bath-sheba*, the Mother of *Solomon*. "Look ye, says he, here's *Adonijah* kinging of it already, and *David* knows nothing of what's done: Wherefore let it be your Care, as well for your Son's Sake, as for your own, to look after this Affair. Go you to *David*, says the Prophet, and when you have him alone, mind him of his Oath, that *Solomon* should reign after him; and yet here's *Adonijah* (you may tell him) as good as upon the Throne already. While you are discoursing this Matter with the King, I may come into the Chamber to you, and second your Information." *Bath-sheba* follow'd the Prophet's Advice, and went in to the King, where she made her Reverence; and after Leave given her to deliver somewhat she had to say, she gave *David* an Account of the Affair in the very Words the Prophet had put into her Mouth: "Telling him the Circumstances of *Adonijah*'s Entertainment; whom he invited, and whom he left out: Adding withal, that the People were in a Suspence what to do till he should declare his Successor, and that her own Life and her Sons were both at stake upon the Issue." While this Discourse was a-foot, the Servants brought *David* Word, that the Prophet *Nathan* was at the Door to wait upon him. He was immediately call'd in, and upon the very Instant of entering the Presence, he ask'd *David*, in some Confusion, "Whether or no he had that Day transferr'd his Government to *Adonijah*, and declared him his Successor; for he has made,"

" says

“ *says he*, a mighty Feast yonder ; invited such and such
“ to’t ; left out such and such others ; and there are they
“ eating, drinking, and making merry, with Healths and
“ Acclamations to the Honour of their new King *Adonijah* :
“ But for *myself*, *Zadock* the High-Priest, and *Benaiah* the
“ Captain of the Guards ; we are all Strangers to the Mat-
“ ter. Now it would be well, *said he*, to let the World
“ understand, whether this be done with your Privity and
“ Approbation, or not.” *Bath-sheba* withdrew when the
Prophet came in, and was now by the King’s Order call’d
for back again. She was accordingly brought to *David*, and
he spake to her after this Manner. “ Well ! *says he* to
“ *Bath-sheba*, The Thing that I have sworn formerly, I
“ do now swear over again, in the Presence of the Great
“ God. Your Son *Solomon* shall reign after me, and sit up-
“ on my Throne ; and you shall see it done this very Day.”
Upon which Declaration and Assurance, she submissively
took her Leave, wishing the King a long Life.

David, upon this Resolution, sent for *Zadock* and *Benaiah*,
and bad them take the Prophet *Nathan*, and the Royal
Guards along with them ; Mount *Solomon* upon the King’s
Mule, and carry him out of the City to the Fountain that
is called *Gihon*, there to anoint him with holy Oil, and pro-
claim him King. This Office being assigned to the High-
Priest, and the Prophet, Command was further given, that
they should conduct him thorough the Heart of the City,
with Trumpets sounding before him, and Multitudes of
Troops following with Shouts and Rejoicings, crying, [*Long
live King Solomon* :] To the End, that the whole Nation
might take notice of it, that his Father had declared him
his Successor. *David*, for a Conclusion, gave *Solomon* in
Charge to be sure to govern, not only the Tribe of *Judah*,
but the whole Nation of the *Hebrews*, according to the
strictest Rules and Measures of Piety and Justice.

Benaiah, after this, with an affectionate Ejaculation for
God’s Blessing upon *Solomon*, and the whole Proceeding, went
instantly away with the rest of the Company, according to
their Order, and about their Bus’ness. They mounted *So-
lomon* upon the King’s Mule ; conducted him out of the City
to the Fountain ; anointed him with *Holy Oil*, and then
brought him back again, attended with Acclamations, and
the unanimous Wishes of a long and a happy Reign.
They brought him afterward to the Palace, and placed him
upon his Father’s Throne. This Solemnity being over, the
People

People gave up themselves to Jollity, and Feasting, Musick, Dancing, and all other chearful Diversions, to such a Degree of Transport and Shouting, that Heaven and Earth rang of it. The Clamour of this extravagant Joy coming to the Ears of *Adonijah* and his Guests, did not a little surprise them; *Joab* himself declaring, that the Noise he heard of Shouts and Trumpets, did not at all please him. In one Word, they forsook their Meat upon it; and as they lay thoughtful, and musing what should be the Matter, in comes running to them *Jonathan* the Son of *Abiathar* the High-Priest, whom *Adonijah* was very glad to see, upon a mistaken Opinion that he brought good News with him. So *Jonathan* gave them the whole Relation of the King's Orders, and the Proceeding concerning *Solomon*; which they had no sooner heard, but every Man slipt away from the Banquet to his own Home. Only *Adonijah* being conscious to himself of an Indignity too great to be forgiven, he fled for Sanctuary to the Horns of the Altar, and there begg'd for Pardon. When *Solomon* came to understand how it was with *Adonijah*; and that he insisted upon some Security to be given him for an Indemnity and Oblivion, *Solomon* with as much Prudence as Clemency, granted him a Pardon for what was past; but with a Precaution, to have a Care how he behav'd himself for the Future; for if he should ever be found in any such Practice again for the Time to come, his Destruction should lie at his own Door. So *Solomon* order'd him to be brought to him from his Place of Refuge, and when he had paid his Duty and Reverence to the new King, he bad him go to his own House again in Peace, and to behave himself thenceforward like a good Man, which it was highly his own Interest to do.

It was *David's* Intention to have *Solomon* declared, and recognized the King of the whole Nation of *Israel*: In Order to which End, he summon'd all the *Princes* to *Jerusalem*, together with the *Priests*, and *Levites*; and he found upon the Roll thirty eight Thousand Men among them, that were above thirty Years of Age; out of which Number there were twenty three Thousand to attend the Building of the Temple: Judges and their Clerks six Thousand; four Thousand Porters belonging to the House of God, and as many Singers, and Musicians, or Players upon Instruments; of which we have said somewhat already. These he divided into Families; and upon separating the *Priests* from the rest of the Tribe, he found four and twenty of them: That is

to say, sixteen descended from *Eleazar*, and eight from *Ithamar*: Appointing every Family to officiate eight Days, or from *Sabbaoth* to *Sabbaoth*, and so to do Duty one after another. The Lots of the whole were all cast into the Presence of *David*, and of the High-Priests, *Zadock* and *Abiathar*, together with the Heads of the Tribes. The Lot that came out first being enter'd upon the Roll [*The first Family*] and so the *second*, and the *third*, &c. to the *four* and *twentieth*, in Order as it happen'd, which Way of Distribution continues in Use to this Day. He divided the Tribe of *Levi* also into twenty four Parts, to succeed one after another, according to the Chance of the Lot, in the same Manner with the *Priests*. But the Preference was still given to the Posterity of *Moses*; to whom was committed the Trust and Custody of the holy Treasure, and the Bounties and Donations of Princes and Royal Benefactors. He likewise order'd the whole Tribe of *Levi*, and the *Priests*, to attend the Service of God, Day and Night, in their Turns, according to the primitive Prescription and Institution of *Moses*.

In the next Place he made a Distribution of the whole Army into twelve Divisions, with their Commanders in Chief, Tribunes, Centurions, and their Subordinates. Every Division to consist of twenty four Thousand Men, and each of those Divisions to do a Month's Duty in their respective Courses, upon the Guard of *Solomon's* Palace, together with their Tribunes, and Centurions: Every Part to have its distinct Officer, or Judge; and he to be a Person of a try'd Integrity and Justice. He appointed also Overseers of the King's Income, Vineyards, Lands, Husbandry, Flocks, and Herds, &c. whom it would be needless to name in this Place. When *David* had order'd Matters as above, he call'd a General Assembly of the *Hebrew* Magistrates, the Princes of the Tribes, the Officers of the Army, and the Menagers of the Revenue; and then raising himself upon an Eminence, spake to the People from his Throne to the following Effect.

“ I am now to give you to understand, *says he*, my Countrymen and Brethren, that I have had it a long Time in my Thought to erect a *Temple* to the Lord, and I treasur'd up a mighty Mass of Gold, and a Hundred Thousand Talents of Silver toward the Charge of the Undertaking; but it hath pleas'd God in his Providence, by the Mouth of the Prophet *Nathan* to put a stop to my Design; upon this
Confide-

“ Consideration, that he would not have the Foundation
 “ of his holy House laid by Hands that had been dipt in
 “ Blood, which mine have inevitably been, though in the
 “ Blood of your Enemies, by reason of the Wars I have been
 “ forced upon, in the righteous and necessary Defence and
 “ Vindication of your Liberties. But the Prophet told me
 “ further, that God would transmit the Care of it to my Son
 “ and Successor, both to begin, and finish the Work. You
 “ know very well, *says David*, that our Father *Jacob* had
 “ Twelve Sons; and that *Judah* was yet chosen by common
 “ Consent to be Ruler of all the rest. You know likewise
 “ that I myself, though there were six Brothers of us, was
 “ advanced by God to the Government, and that none of
 “ the rest thought themselves injur’d; wherefore I must now
 “ require in like Manner of you, and of all my Sons, that
 “ you submit chearfully, and dutifully, to my Son *Solomon*;
 “ and that you do it without any Grumbling, Faction, or
 “ civil Dissention; for it is from God’s immediate Com-
 “ mand and Commission that he derives his Authority. Make
 “ it the Case now, that God should have set a Strang over
 “ you, how great a Folly and Wickedness would it have been
 “ for you to murmur at it: But how thankful ought you
 “ now to be for the Choice of so near a Relation, when you
 “ yourselves are Partakers of the Honour that is done to
 “ your Brother. There is nothing I so much long for, as to
 “ see God’s gracious Promises take a speedy Effect; and the
 “ whole People, without any more delay, put into a full
 “ and lasting Possession of the Blessings they are to enjoy
 “ under the Reign of *Solomon*. All this, my dear Son, will
 “ be made good, *says David*, and every Thing succeed to your
 “ Wish, so long as you govern according to Piety and Justice,
 “ with a respect to your Duty both to God and Man, up-
 “ holding a Reverence to the Laws, and treading in the Steps
 “ of your Forefathers: But whenever you pass these Bounds,
 “ there is nothing but Misery and Ruin to be expected.”

Upon the Finishing of this Discourse and Charge, *David*
 gave his Son, in the Sight of all his People, a Draught of the
 Form, and Model of the *Temple*, from Top to Bottom; the
 Foundation, and the Superstructure; the Height, and Breadth
 of the Fabrick; their private Cells, their Number, and Di-
 mensions; what Vessels of Gold and Silver were to be pro-
 vided, with Directions for their precise Weight: “ *David* pref-
 “ sing his Son also, with all Diligence and Application, to

“ go

“ go in hand with the Building, calling in the Princes, and
“ the Tribe of *Levi* to his Assistance ; not only in regard of
“ his Youth, and want of Experience, but out of a Re-
“ rence also to his Divine Commission, which both entitled
“ him to the Government, and likewise authoriz’d, and pre-
“ determin’d him to his Province. And, *says David*, it will
“ not be a Work of any great Difficulty neither ; for the
“ Materials are provided to your Hand : So many Talents of
“ Gold ; more of Silver ; Stone, and Timber ; Carpenters,
“ Stone-cutters, and other Workmen ; a great Treasure in
“ Emeralds, and other precious Stones over and above : Be-
“ side a further Supply of three Thousand Talents of the
“ purest Gold out of my own Store, for the Adorning of
“ the holy Place, and the Chariot of God, and the *Cheru-*
“ *bims* that are to cover the *Ark*.”

This Speech of *David*’s was entertain’d with great Chear-fulness, both by *Princes*, *Priests*, and *Levites*, who were all zealous for the forwarding of the Work, every one in his Proportion. They offer’d, among them, to bring in five Thousand Talents of Gold, a Hundred Thousand of Silver, ten Thousand Shekels, and a Mass of Iron not to be imagin’d. They that had precious Stones brought them into the Treasury, where they were deposited in the Custody of one *Jalus*, of the Race of *Moses*. The People were infinitely pleas’d upon the whole Matter, and *David* above all the rest, to see so unanimous an Agreement in a common Satisfaction, at the Frankness, and good Faith of the whole Proceeding ; Blessing God all the while with a loud Voice, in the Style of
“ The Father, and Creator of Heaven and Earth ; The Go-
“ vernour and Protector of the *Hebrews*, and the blessed
“ Fountain of Happiness to the People committed to his
“ Charge ;” concluding his Devotions with a fervent Prayer for the Comfort and Happiness of the Nation ; and with particular Wishes of Peace of Conscience, and the Blessing of an unspotted Innocence and Integrity, to his Son. He called then upon the People to join with him in their Thanks to Almighty God for all his Mercies, who fell upon their Faces and worshipped ; and coming after this, to *David*, made their Acknowledgments for all the Benefits and Advantages they had enjoy’d under his Reign. The Day following was a great Day of Sacrifices ; a Thousand Calves, a Thousand Rams, and a Thousand Lambs, for a Burnt-Offering, and afterward, several *Victims* more for Peace-Offerings. It was a Day, in fine, dedicated to Feasting and Jollity, both by
King

King and People. *Solomon* was now a second Time anointed, and declared, and owned by the People, for their Lawful King; and *Zadock*, by the Voice of the whole Multitude, designed for their High-Priest. *Solomon* was now conducted to the Palace, and placed upon his Father's Throne; from which Day forward, the People paid him their true Allegiance.

C H A P. XII.

David's last Charge, Prayer, and Farewel to his Son Solomon. His Death and Burial.

† *D*avid was now sinking apace, under the double Weight, of Age, and Sickness; and finding himself near his End, he called for his Son *Solomon* to give him his Counsel, and his Blessing, and so take his last Leave of him. "Son, " *says he*, I am now going to my Fathers; and you that I " leave behind me, are in due Time to come to me: Which " is no more then the paying of a common Debt to Nature. " There's no returning from the Grave; and when we are " once gone, we have done with this World for ever: Where- " fore, while I am yet among the Living, and before it be " too late, pray let me mind you of the same Things once " again, that I have so often inculcated over and over to " you heretofore: Govern your Subjects according to Justice. " Worship that God, from whom you have receiv'd your " Dignity as well as your Being, as you are bound to do: " Observe his Precepts, and keep his Laws, as they have " been handed down to you from *Moses*; and have a Care " that you never forsake them, either for Fear, Flattery, or " any other Passion or Interest whatsoever: For otherwise, " you can never pretend to hope for the Blessings of God's " Favour and Providence: But if you behave yourself with " Reverence and Submission towards God, as you ought to do, " and as I wish you may do, your Kingdom will be esta- " blish'd to yourself, and the Succession of it continu'd to " your Family, from Generation to Generation.

" Let me now mind you of the Iniquity of *Joab*, in the " *Affassinate* of *Abner* the Son of *Ner*, and of *Amasa* the Son " of

† 1 Kings 2.

“ of *Ithra* ; two great Captains, and worthy good Men ;
“ and all this purely out of a malicious Spite and Envy.
“ You may do by him as you think fit. The Truth of it is,
“ I had punish’d him myself, but that he was so popular,
“ I durst not meddle with him. As for the Sons of *Barzillai*
“ the *Gileadite*, I must desire you for my Sake to be very kind
“ to them, and to do them all the good Offices you can :
“ Not as an Obligation, but in Requital of the generous
“ Friendships I received from their Father in the Time of my
“ Banishment ; which I reckon as a Debt incumbent upon
“ our whole Family. For the Son of *Gera*, *Shimei* the *Benja-*
“ *mite*, that hunted me with such Bitterness of Cursing and
“ Reviling in the Days of my Persecution, at *Bahurim* ; and
“ afterward meeting me at the River *Jordan*, obtain’d my
“ Pardon for it, you may take some warrantable Occasion
“ to reckon yet with him for that Affront.”

So soon as *David* had finish’d this Discourse to his Son about his Government, the Requiting of his Friends, and the Punishing of his Enemies, he gave up the Ghost ; in the Seventieth Year of his Age, after he had reign’d seven Years and six Months over the Tribe of *Judah* at *Hebron* ; and thirty three Years more over all *Israel*, at *Jerusalem*. He was a Man of wonderful Goodness, and endued with all the Royal Excellencies that might qualifie a Prince for the Discharge of so great a Trust. He was valiant, no Man more ; and himself Personally in the Head of all Dangers, for the Protection, and Defence of his People. He did more with his Soldiers by his Example, then by any Imperiousness of Command. He was a judicious Prince in the Choice of his Counsels ; of a singular Presence of Mind, to make the best of what he had before him ; and of as sharp a Foresight for the improving of all Advantages, and the obviating of Difficulties to come. To all this, he was temperate and sober ; affable to all ; tender toward People in Distress ; righteous, and humane ; which are all Princely Virtues. He was a Prince, in short, that never made an ill Use of his Power, saving only in the Case of the Wife of *Uriah*. He left a Treasure to his Successor greater then ever any other Prince whatsoever left before him : And he was bury’d at *Jerusalem*, with a Solemnity of Royal Pomp and Magnificence, that was glorious to the highest Degree : And over and above the Splendour of the Ceremony, his Son *Solomon* deposited in his Monument an inestimable Treasure, which a Body may give some tolerable Guess at from that which I have further to say.

A mat-

A matter of thirteen Hundred Years after this Revolution, *Hyrchanus* the High-Priest was besieged in *Jerusalem*, by *Antiochus*, surnamed *The Pious*, and the Son of *Demetrius*. They came to a Treaty, and *Antiochus* offer'd for a certain Sum of Money, to raise the Siege, and draw off his Army. *Hyrchanus* had no way to raise it, but by the opening of *David's* Monument, and thence he took three Thousand Talents; out of which he paid *Antiochus* the Sum agreed upon for a Composition, and so set the Town at Liberty, as we have shew'd elsewhere. It was King *Herod's* Fortune, many Years after this, to discover another Cell of hidden Treasure, which he took away, to a prodigious Value, but neither of them were come yet to the secret Place where the King's Ashes lay; That Privacy being so artificially contriv'd, and so far under-ground, that there was hardly any coming at it; but here's as much said already as needs, upon this Point.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the EIGHTH.

[From the Year of the World 2931, to 3048.]

CHAP. I.

Solomon comes to the Throne with an universal Joy ; only Adonijah tampers underhand with Bath-sheba. Solomon causes Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei, to be put to Death ; and deposes Abiathar from the High-Priest-hood.

WE have treated in the last foregoing Book, of the Life and Character of *David* ; his Piety, and his Conversation ; the great Services, and the many good Offices he render'd to his Country ; the terrible Wars and Combats that he underwent, with the History of his Victories and Successes ; and we have brought him to his End at last, full of Years, and Honour, to sleep with his Fathers. *Solomon*, his Son and Successor, came Young to the Government ; but by the over-ruling Will and Appointment of God however, and not without the solemn and declaratory Consent and Approbation also of his Father. When he was once advanced to the Throne, the People came all running in to him, as is usual upon such Changes, with congratulatory Acclamations, and multiply'd Wishes of long Life, and a happy Reign.

K k

Only

Only *Adonijah*, who had formerly made an Attempt upon the Government in the Life-time of his Father, apply'd himself in a fawning Way of Address to *Bath-sheba*, the King's Mother. She received him with great Courtesy, and with large Assurances of her Assistance, if there were any thing in her Power that she could serve him in. Upon this Encouragement he came presently to his Point, *Great Princess*, (says he) *I shall not need to tell you, that if I were dispos'd to be troublesome upon this Turn of Government, the Right of Priority, and the Good-will of the People would be on my Side. But* (says he) *since it has pleas'd God to devolve it upon your Son Solomon, I am the King's most humble Servant, and shall very well content myself within the Bounds of my present Condition. I have only one Boon to beg of you; which is, that you will be pleas'd to use your Interest with your Son, on my behalf, that I may be permitted, with his good Leave, to take Abishag to Wife. She lay by David's Side only to keep him warm in his extreme Decay of Heat, and undoubtedly he left her as good a Virgin as he found her. Bath-sheba* promis'd him the uttermost of what she could do in the Matter, and encourag'd him to hope well of the Issue; for *Solomon*, she doubted not, would most readily agree to gratify the Joint-requell of his Brother and his Mother, in a greater Matter than this appear'd to be. This was a Word of Comfort to *Adonijah*, and so away went *Bath-sheba*, directly to her Son, upon this Errand. *Solomon* went out to meet his Mother; and receiving her in his Arms, conducted her to his Bed-Chamber, where he plac'd her on his Right-hand upon a Chair of State next to his own. *Bath-sheba* was no sooner seated, but she enter'd presently upon her Bus'ness. Son, says she, *I have an humble Suit to you, and it would go to the very Heart of me if you should refuse it. Pray what is it?* says *Solomon*, not without some Uneasiness at such a Preface, as if there were any thing for her to ask, which a dutiful Child could deny to his own Mother. So *Solomon* entreated her to go on, and to depend upon his Readiness to comply with her in any thing he could do. *Well Son!* says *Bath-sheba*, I make it my Request then, that you will give *Abishag* in Marriage to your Brother *Adonijah*. The King started up at that Proposal, in a Surprise, and dismiss'd his Mother. No no, says *Solomon*, *Adonijah has another Freak in his Head beside the Marrying of Abishag. Why does he not speak Plain rather, and put in his Claim to the Kingdom, as elder Brother; which he might every jot as honestly do, and as good Cheap. First, he desires Abishag in Marriage; and then he has fortify'd himself with great Friends and Interests to back his Pretensions: as Joab, the*

General

General for one ; Abiathar the High-Priest, for another, and the like. Solomon at this rate deliberating and computing upon the present State of Things, sent Benaiah, the Captain of his Guards, forthwith to make away his Brother ; and then calling for Abiathar, the High-Priest, he told him, that though he had deserv'd to die, yet in regard of the Services he had done his Father, and of the Hand he had in bringing back the Ark, his Punishment should be this. Go your ways (says he) immediately from this Place, and let my Eyes never see you more. Get you gone to your own Home ; take up your Habitation in the Country, and there continue till the Day of your Death. You have been false to me in joining with Adonijah, and for that Fault, this is your Sentence. You have made yourself unworthy of the Honour of the Priesthood, and from this Time forward you shall exercise the Function no more.

This was the Cause of Translating the Sacerdotal Dignity from the House of Ithamar (as God had foretold to Eli, the Grandfather of Abiathar) into the Family of Phinehas, to Zadock. During the Continuance of the Pontificate in the House of Ithamar, reckoning from Eli, the first that executed that Office, there were of the Family of Phinehas, that led private Lives, Boccias, the Son of Joseph ; Jonathan, of Boccias ; Maræoth, of Jonathan ; Aropha, of Maræoth ; Achitob, of Aropha ; and Zadock, the Son of Achitob, who was the first High-Priest that was erected under David.

When Joab heard of the Death of Adonijah, being conscious to himself of a Conspiracy with him against his Master, and that he himself deserv'd to die every jot as well as his Principal, he took up a very reasonable Apprehension that his own Turn would be next, and so fled for Sanctuary to the Altar ; not doubting but that the Veneration the King had for God, and for holy Things, would be a Protection to him. When Solomon came to understand that Joab had taken Sanctuary ; he sent Benaiah to cite him to a Court of Justice to answer for what he had done ; but Joab would not be got out of the Chapel, declaring, that *if perish he must, he would rather die there then in another Place.* Benaiah gave the King an Account of Joab's Behaviour, in what he both said and did ; who presently order'd him to cut off his Head where he was, as a just Punishment upon him for the detestable Murders of Abner and Amasa, against all the Measures of Honour, Humanity, and Justice : But the King gave it in Charge to Benaiah, to see his Body bury'd, for a Memorial to Posterity of so execrable a Wickedness, and likewise to acquit both himself and his Father, of any Rigour in the Death of

Joab. *Benaiah*, upon the Execution of this Commission, was made *General* in *Joab's* Place ; and upon the Remove of *Abiathar* the *High-Priest*, the King assigned *Zadock* to succeed him.

Solomon, at the same time, appointed *Shimei* to build himself a House at *Jerusalem*, and not to stir out of it, or pass the River *Kedron*, upon the Peril of his Life : Neither was this Menace sufficient, without an *Oath*, over and above, to perform what he had promis'd. *Shimei* seem'd very well satisfy'd with the Conditions, and gave his *Oath* for the Observance of them. Hereupon, he quitted his own Country, and went his way, and dwelt at *Jerusalem*. It happen'd a matter of three Years after this, that two of *Shimei's* Servants ran away from him ; and the Master hearing that they were at *Gath*, made a Step over to fetch them back again. Upon his Return with his Servants, the King it seems got Notice of it, and took the double Contempt so heinously, first of the Command, and then of the *Oath*, that he call'd *Shimei* to a severe Account for the Misdemeanour. *Didst not thou swear to me*, says *Solomon*, *That thou wouldst never stir out of this Town into any other, to the Day of thy Death ? And like a false Wretch, as thou art, thou hast now broken that sacred Oath, and for that Perjury thou shalt die. Take this for thy Instruction too, that Divine Vengeance, sooner or later, finds out the Delinquent ; and that Forbearance is so far from an Acquittal, that it enflames the Reckoning. The Hand of God is in this Judgment upon thee, not only for thy late Perjury, but for thy Sins of ancient Date : I mean thy Ribaldry and Insolences against my dear Father of blessed Memory, in the Depth of his Distresses. Think of it*, says *Solomon*, *for God is just : and so Benaiah put Shimei to Death by the King's Order.*

CHAP. II.

Solomon marries the Daughter of the King of Ægypt, and repairs the Walls of Jerusalem. He's endu'd with the Gift of Wisdom. The Names of his great Officers. He builds a Temple ; places the Ark in it ; erects a stately Palace ; fortifies Jerusalem ; subdues the Canaanites. His prodigious Wealth. The Love of Women

Women brings him to Idolatry. Adad stirs-up a Sedition against him. Jeroboam foretold that Ten Tribes of the Twelve shall fall, under his Allegiance.

SOLOMON had by this time all his Enemies at his Feet; his Throne establish'd; the Minds of the People settled, and his Government consequently made easy to him. In this Interval of a profound Peace, both at Home and Abroad, he took to Wife the Daughter of the King of *Ægypt*; fell to Work upon rebuilding the Walls of *Jerusalem*, which he made much larger, and stronger then they were before, and so apply'd himself to the Office of his publick Administration. He was very young, 'tis true; but Want of Years was never any Hindrance, or Excuse to him in the Doing of Justice, or in the Execution of the Laws, or in the paying of a religious Reverence to the Authority and Doctrine of his dying Father's Precepts: For, in one Word, such was the Pregnancy, even of his early Youth, that he rul'd, and menag'd every thing with a Judgment that might have become the Gravity of a most consummated Experience.

Now finding himself in this State of Quiet and Freedom, he thought he could not do better then to address himself to God by Prayer and Sacrifice in Acknowledgment of these Mercies: And upon that Motion, he went to *Hebron*, where he offer'd upon *Moses's Brazen Altar*, long since erected there, a Thousand Victims for a Burnt-Offering. This Piety and Zeal was so acceptable to God, that the very Night following he appear'd unto him in a Dream; and to shew him that the Services of his Heart and Good-will should not go unrewarded, he bad him ask what he would, and it should be granted him. *Solomon* pitch'd upon the greatest, and the most valuable Thing he could think of, and that, which he concluded would be most agreeable to the Liking of the Giver, and at the same time most advantageous to the Receiver. It was not Silver, nor Gold, nor any of those vulgar Satisfaction, that Young Men, and the mistaken Part of the World commonly set their Hearts upon, as the only Things worth asking: This, I say, was not *Solomon's* Wish; But *Lord*, says he, *Grant me a right Apprehension of Matters, and a sound Judgment, that may enable me to govern this People according to Truth and Justice.* This Choice of *Solomon's* was so acceptable to God, that he not only promis'd him what he desir'd, but

Riches, and Glory, over and above: And in the first Place, such a Degree of Understanding, and of practical Wisdom, as no Man, either publick or private, could ever pretend to before him; with a further Promise that, upon Condition of his continuing just to the World, obedient in all Things to God, and treading in the Steps, and imitating the eminent Virtues of his Father, the Government should remain in his Family for many Ages. Upon these Words, *Solomon* awak'd, leap'd out of his Bed, worship'd, and gave Thanks, and so returned to *Jerusalem*, where he sacrificed to God before the Tabernacle, and feasted all his People.

About this Time there was a difficult Case brought before him, which I shall give the Reader a particular Account of, partly for the Nicety of it, and partly for the Use it may be of to others, in exciting the like Industry of Search and Scrutiny, upon the like Occasion. There came to the King two common mercenary Prostitutes, for Justice. The Plaintiff told her Tale first, and it was to this Effect. *This Woman*, says she, *and I liv'd both in a Lodging, and it was our Fortune to be deliver'd each of us of a Male-Child on the same Day and Hour. Within a matter of three Days, this Woman having overlaid her own Child. and smother'd it, took mine softly out of my Arms as I was asleep, and laid her's in the Place of it. Early next Morning, when I was thinking to suckle my own poor Infant, the Child was not to be found, but a dead one laid in the Place; for I know my own Child by most infallible Marks. I have press'd her for my Child; but she keeps it from me, and bears me down that it is her Child still, and I have no Witness to prove the Contrary. Now Sir*, says the Woman, *I humbly beseech your Majesty to see Right done betwixt us.* Well! says the King to the other Woman, and what have you now to say for yourself? *She laid no such Child there*, she said, *but the living Child was her own, and so stood upon her Justification.* People were all in the Dark what Judgment to make of it, for want of competent Proofs; till *Solomon* bethought himself of this Expedient. He order'd the two Children, one living, and the other dead, to be brought, and one of his Gaurds to take his Sword, and cut them both in Halves, just in the Middle, and so divide them betwixt the two pretended Mothers, half of the one, and half of the other to either of them. This was look'd upon to be a kind of a Childish Sentence at first; but one of the Women crying-out earnestly, and begging that her Companion might rather have the Child, and pass for the Mother of it, provided only that the Life of it might be spar'd; and she herself have the Comfort of seeing it yet amongst the Living.

This

This was all she had to ask, she said : The other Woman all this while quietly submitting to the Judgment, and not without some seeming Satisfaction at the Calamity of her Neighbour ; a cruel, certainly, and a hard-hearted Pleasure ! The King, in fine, adjudg'd the Child to the right Woman, upon the Evidence of her Tenderneſs, and natural Affection ; highly condemning the Wickedneſs of the other, that, after ſhe had kill'd her own Child, did what ſhe could to deſtroy that of her Friend's too. This was ſo ſignal an Inſtance of the King's Wiſdom, Sagacity and Conduct, that from that Day forward, the People honour'd, and obey'd him, as a Prince that acted by the Guidance and Direction of a Divine Impulſe.

He had his Governours and great Officers in all his Provinces. There was *Uri* the Son of *Hur* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, including *Bethlehem*. The Son of *Aminadab*, Son-in-Law to *Solomon*, had the Command of *Dora*, and the *Sea-Coaſt*. The great Plain was under *Baana*, the Son of *Achil*, and ſo as far as to the River of *Jordan*. The Son of *Geber* had the Government of the *Gileadites*, and the *Gaulonites*, as far as *Mount Libanus* ; within which Command there were ſixty large and well fortify'd Cities. *Abinadab* that marry'd *Baſima*, another of *Solomon's* Daughters, had the Government of all *Gallilee* up to *Sydon*. Under *Baanah*, was the Government of the *Sea-Coaſt* about *Aſher*. *Jehoſaphat* commanded the Mountains *Ittabyr*, and *Carmel*, and all the Lower-*Gallilee*, to the further Side of *Jordan*. The whole Country of the *Benjamites* was under the Government of (a) *Shimei* : And the Land beyond *Jordan* was under (b) *Tabar*. Theſe were *Solomon's* Governours, and he had one Lieutenant General to ſuperintend them all.

So ſoon as the People found themſelves ſettled in a State of Peace and Plenty, and out of Fear of any Diſtractions by War or Tumult, they gave themſelves up to Huſbandry, and Emprovements, and in a ſhort Time advanc'd their Fortunes and Poſſeſſions (the Tribe of *Judah* eſpecially) to a Miracle. The King had likewiſe other Officers, beſide thoſe before-mentioned, over the *Syrians*, and other barbarous Nations, between *Ægypt* and *Euphrates*, to whom he committed the Care of his Receipts ; thoſe People being his *Tributaries*. The daily Proportion of Proviſions that theſe People furniſh'd every Day for the King's own Table and Entertainment, was thirty Meaſures of fine Flour, threeſcore Meaſures of Meal ;

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ten

(a) *Subees. Joſ.*(b) *Tabares. Joſ.*

ten fat Oxen ; twenty Oxen out of the Pastures, and a Hundred fat Lambs, beside Deer, Birds, Fishes, and other contingent Curiosities of the Chace. He had so prodigious a Number of Chariots, that there were forty Thousand Stalls provided for the Horses that belonged to them, over and above twelve Thousand Horsemen that were of his Guards ; the one Half being quarter'd in *Jerusalem*, near his Person, and the other Half distributed into Out-Villages near the City. And the same Officer that was Commissary for the Expence of the King's Table, was appointed also to provide Necessaries for the King's Horse, which Way soever he mov'd.

The Wisdom, in fine, and Knowledge of *Solomon*, being a Divine Infusion, was so far beyond the Philosophy and Understanding of the Ancients, that the *Ægyptians* themselves, though reputed the wisest of Men, fell infinitely short of him: And so did the great Men of his Age among the *Hebrews*, how highly soever celebrated and esteem'd ; As for Example, there was *Athan*, and *Heman*, and *Calcol*, and *Dodan*, the Sons of *Hemahon*. This wonderful Prince compos'd fifteen Hundred Books of *Odes*, and *Poems* ; three Thousand Books of *Parables*, and *Similes*. He wrote the History of Plants, from the *Cedar* to the *Hyssop* ; and so of Cattle, and Beasts of the Earth ; Water-Fowl, and the Birds of the Air : For he understood the Nature of all these Creatures ; study'd, and philosophiz'd upon it, and upon their respective Proprieties and Dispositions. And he did not only know, and understand ; (by a Gift from above) but likewise improve his Knowledge and Understanding of these Things, for the Help and Benefit of Mankind, even to the Confusion of the Devils themselves ; for he compos'd *Charms* and Incantations, for Cure of Diseases, and left behind him *Forms of Conjuraton*, in Writing, so effectual against evil Spirits, that they fly before them, without ever daring to return ; which Way of Remedy is much in Request with our People to this Day. *I saw one* (c) *Eleazar, a Countryman of mine, dipossessing of People in the Presence of Vespasian, and his Sons, Officers, and Soldiers; and his Way was this ; he apply'd a Ring to the Nōstrils of the Person possess'd, with a Piece of a Root convey'd under the Seal of it, being a Secret of Solomon's. The Demoniack did but smell to't, and the Devil was drawn out by the Nose. The Spirit threw the Man down; but Eleazar adjur'd it never to trouble him any more; making frequent Mention of Solomon's Name in the Time of the Operation, and reciting Charms and Incantations of his Invention.*

Eleazar,

(c) See Cunnæus de Rep. Heb. l. 1. c. 12.

Eleazar, *after this*, was willing to shew the Company a Master-piece: So he set a Cup, or a Basin of Water, at a little Distance from a Man that was posses'd, and adjur'd the Devil to overturn this Basin at his leaving the Man, as a Token to the Company that he had quitted him. This being done, no Body doubted of the admirable Knowledge and Wisdom of Solomon. I have thought fit to insert this Narration, for the Honour of this King's wonderful Talent, and to shew how much he was in God's Favour, and how eminent in all Manner of Excellencies.

Upon the Death of David, and the Succession of Solomon to the Throne, Hiram the King of Tyre, that ever had a great Affection for the Father, sent a Gratulatory Embassy to the Son, upon the News of his Accession to the Government, expressing great Joy to see it continu'd in the Family. Upon the Return of these Embassadors, Solomon laid hold of the Occasion, and wrote a Letter to Hiram in these Terms.

King Solomon to King Hiram, Greeting.

Be it known unto thee, O King, that my Father David had it a long Time in his Mind and Purpose to erect a Temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in War, in his Days, and under a Necessity of clearing his Hands of his Enemies, and making them all his Tributaries, before he could attend this great, and holy Work; he hath left it to me in a Time of Peace, both to begin and to finish it: according to the Direction, as well as the Prediction, of Almighty God. Blessed be his great Name for the present Tranquility of my Dominions! and by his gracious Assistance, I shall now dedicate the best Improvements of this Liberty and Leisure to his Honour and Worship. Wherefore I make it my Request, that you will let some of your own People go along with some Servants of mine to Mount Libanus, to assist them in cutting down Materials toward this Building; for the Sydonians understand it much better then we do. As for the Workmen's Reward, or Wages, whatever you think reasonable shall be punctually paid them.

Hiram was wonderfully pleas'd with this Letter of Solomon's, and return'd him this Answer.

King Hiram to King Solomon.

*Nothing could have been more welcome to me, then to understand that the Government of your blessed Father is devolved by God's Providence into the Hands of so excellent, so wise, and so virtuous a Successor: His Holy Name be praised for it. That which you write for, shall be done with all Care and Good-Will. For I will
give*

give Order, to cut down, and to export such Quantities of the fairest Cedars and Cypress-Trees, as you shall have Occasion for. My People shall bring them to the Sea-side for you, and from thence Ship them away to what Port you please, where they may lie ready for your own Men to transport them to Jerusalem. It would be a great Obligation, after all this, to allow us such a Provision of Corn in Exchange, as may stand with your Convenience; for that is the Commodity we Islanders want most.

The Duplicates of these Letters are extant to this Day, both in our own, and in the Tyrian Records; and they that have a mind to be better satisfy'd in the Truth of this, let them only consult the Keepers of these Registers, and they shall find the Matter of Fact in those Papers to be just as we deliver it. I write this to acquit myself to the Reader, by Way of Precaution, that I do not intermix any Inventions of my own, or Things curious, or but barely probable, for the Ornament of the Relation; but that I am willing to put every Thing that I deliver, to the Stress of the uttermost Scrutiny; and in Truth, there can be no prevaricating in a Subject of this Quality without extreme Impiety, and Scandal: and I shall not take it ill to be blasted for the worst of Falsaries, if there shall be any thing found in my Papers that will not abide the uttermost Test.

Upon the Receipt of *Hiram's* Letter, *Solomon* was wonderfully pleas'd with the Frankness, and Humanity of the Proceeding; so that in Return for his Goodness and Respect, he order'd him a yearly Present of two Thousand Measures of Wheat, and likewise of two Thousand Vessels of Oil, and as many of Wine, of seventy two Quarts a-piece. This was the first Earnest of a Friendship betwixt these two Kings; and it went-on encreasing to the last, every Day firmer, and greater then other.

The King order'd his People to provide him thirty Thousand Work-men, which he dispos'd of in such easy Ways and Methods of Distribution, that their Labour should not be grievous to them. The Number of them was thrice ten Thousand; and their Post was to do Duty for one Month by ten Thousand at a Time, in cutting down Wood upon *Mount-Libanus*, and to be reliev'd at the Month's End by the second ten Thousand; and the second, after another Month, by the third: So that they had two Months Liberty to be at their own Homes; and so thus in a Circle, every fourth Month, each ten Thousand to take their Turn over again. Their Inspector General, or Superintendent, was *Adoniram*. Beside these, there were seventy Thousand Foreigners,

reigners, formerly designed by *David*, for the carrying of Stones, and other Materials : Eighty Thousand Stone-Cutters and Masons ; and thirty two Thousand Overseers of the Work. Their Order was to make use of the largest Stones they could get for the Foundation, and to have them squar'd, and ready wrought upon the Mountains where they grew, and thence to be carry'd whole to *Jerusalem*. In which Injunction, *Hiram's* Men were concern'd as well as any of the rest.

Solomon was now in the fourth Year of his Reign, when he began this mighty Work ; and of that Year, the second Month, which the *Macedonians* call *Artemisius* ; and the *Hebrews*, *Jar* : five Hundred ninety two Years from the *Israelites* coming out of *Egypt* : A Thousand and twenty Years from *Abraham's* coming out of *Mesopotamia* into the Land of *Canaan* ; fourteen Hundred and forty from the Deluge ; and from the Creation of the World, three Thousand one Hundred and two. It was also in the eleventh Year of *Hiram*, the King of *Tyre* ; and two Hundred Year after the Building of that City.

The Foundation was laid prodigiously deep ; and the Stones not only of the largest Size, but hard, and firm enough to endure all Weathers ; and Proof against the Worm : Beside, that they were so mortissed one into another, and wedg'd into the Rock, that the Strength and Curiosity of the *Basis* was not less admirable then the Bulk and Ornament of the intended Superstructure ; and the one every way answerable to the Beauty and Magnificence of the other. The Walls were all of a white Stone from the Ground to the Cieling. The Height of the Building was sixty Cubits ; the Length as much ; and the Breadth, twenty ; over which there was another Stage of the same Dimensions : So that the whole Height of the Building, from Bottom to Top, was a Hundred and twenty Cubits, and it look'd toward the East. The Porch, or Court next the Entrance, was twenty Cubits in Length, to answer the Temple. Ten in Breadth, and a Hundred and twenty Cubits in Height. There was built round about it, and against the outward Walls, like so many Buttresses, to support it, thirty Cells, or little Houses in the Form of Galleries, opening one into another. The Length and Breadth of these Cells was five Cubits each ; and the Height, twenty ; and there were two other Floors over this, of the same Make, and Proportions ; amounting all together to the just Height of the lower Part of the Fabrick, which we have been speaking of ; for these Cells or Galleries,

went

went no higher then the Top of the first Story. They were all ciel'd with *Cedar*, and every Partition had it's Covering apart, independent one of another ; but they were all coupled and fasten'd together, by long and large Beams, in such a Fashion, that they look'd but like one Piece, and as if the very Walls were the stronger for them. Under these Beams were several curious Varieties of Carving, Fret-work, Guilding, &c. the Walls all Wainscotted with *Cedar*, and so illustrated with Works in Gold, that the dazzling Splendour made every thing about it look glorious. The whole Frame, in fine, was rais'd upon Stones, polish'd to the highest Degree of Perfection ; and so artificially put together, that there was no Joint to be discerned, nor the least Sign of a Hammer, or of any Working Tool that had ever come upon it : All Things being so adjusted and accommodated, one Piece to another beforehand, that upon the whole Matter it look'd liker the Work of Providence, and Nature, then the Product of Art, or humane Invention.

Now in regard that the second Story had not a large Door to it at the *East-End* of it, as the lower had ; but only some small Doors to go-in at, from the Sides above ; *Solomon* contriv'd a Pair of Winding-Stairs to be cut-out through the Thickness of the Wall, for a Passage to the Upper-part. The Inside of the Temple was all lin'd with *Cedar* ; and the Cramping of the Timbers together with strong Irons, was a great Strength, and Security to the Building. The King caused it to be laid in two Divisions ; that is to say, the Inner-part, or *Holy of Holies*, of twenty Cubits Square, which was inaccessible ; and the other of forty Cubits, which was assigned to the Use and Service of the Priest. In the Partition-Wall, betwixt the inner and the outward Part of the Temple, he built large *Cedar-Doors*, which were richly gilt, and delicately carved ; beside Choice-Curiosities of Fancy and History, embroider'd upon a hanging Veil before it, of rich Silks and fine Linnen, interwoven with beautiful Flowers ; some Purple, some Scarlet, and the Colours all in Perfection.

Solomon caused also to be made two *Cherubims* of massy Gold, which he dedicated to God in the Holy Place ; both of a Size ; being each of them five Cubits high, and two Wings, each of them of five Cubits Length ; which being stretched out, one touched the South-side, and the other the North ; and with their other two Wings, they met one another, over-spreading the Holy *Ark*, in the Middle. It is not for any Man to describe, or so much as to imagine a Description of these *Cherubims*. And then the very Floor of the Temple

was

was overlaid with beaten-Gold; the Doors very large, and proportion'd to the Height of the Walls, twenty Cubits broad, and still Gold upon Gold. To speak all in a Word, it was Gold all over, and nothing wanting, either within or without, that might contribute to the Glory and Magnificence of the Work. There was a curious Curtain, or Hanging, put up at this Gate, as at the other; but none at the Entrance into the Porch.

Solomon had heard of a famous Man in *Tyre* for working in Gold, Silver, and other Metals: His Name was *Hiram*. He was an eminent Architect, over and above. His Mother was of the Tribe of *Naphtali*; and his Father, by Extraction, an *Israelite*. He sent for this Man to *Tyre*, and employ'd him in his Business; and wheresoever *Solomon* had any thing to do that was difficult, or curious, *Hiram* was the Doer of it. He cast him two brazen hollow Pillars of Four-fingers-thick in the Metal, eighteen Cubits-high, and twelve in Circumference: Two Chapters of Brass on the Tops of the two Pillars, five Cubits each. These were cover'd with a kind of Brass Net-work; and below them, were Flowers, or Lilly-work of the same Contrivance, with two Rows of Pomgranates hanging down, a Hundred in each Row. These two Pillars he placed in the Entrance of the Porch; one on the Right-hand, which he called *Sachin*; and the other on the Left, which he called *Boaz*.

He made a Vessel also of Molten Brass; somewhat after the Figure of a Globe cut-off in the Middle; which for the Largeness of it he call'd his *Sea*. It was made Goblet-Fashion; the Diameter ten Cubits from side to side, Four-fingers-thick, with a twisted Pillar of one Cubit over, under the Middle of it for a Supporter. Around this Pillar were placed the Figures of twelve Bulls, or Oxen; facing, by three and three, the four principal Quarters of *East*, *West*, *North* and *South*. They stood in a Position lower behind than before; which was both an easing to the Weight, and kept it firm and steady. This *Sea*, or Vessel, held three Thousand *Baths*, reckoning every *Bath* at about ten *English Pottles*.

Hiram made also ten *Bases* of Brass of an oblong Square, and all of the same Form and Dimensions: That is to say, five Cubits in Length each of them, four in Breadth, and six in Height. The several Pieces were cast apart, and then put together after this Manner. There were four Pillars, or Undersetters; one to the Corner of every Base, which were so incorporated with the rest of the Work, that they served
not

not only to uphold the Weight, but to keep the Sides tight one to another. Upon the Squares, were the Figures of a Lion, a Bull, an Eagle, &c. and the like Images also upon the Pillars, and upon the Plates of the Borders. The whole Work was mounted upon four Wheels, a Cubit and a half over, all of Cast-Work; Nave, Spokes, and every Thing that belonged to it; and it was a wonderful Thing to see how true, and accurately every Inch of it was wrought. The Angles were made good with Embossed Work, of Shoulders, Hands, Paws of Lions, Talons of Eagles; with Rests, or Ledges of Rail upon them to receive the *Laver*; but so artificially fitted to the Figures of those Creatures, as they were there represented upon the Pannels, together with Branches of Palm-Trees intermixed upon the same Piece, that every Thing look'd as natural as if it had been to the Life.

This was the Structure of the *ten Bases*; and to these *Bases* he made ten *Lavers* of the same Metal, and of a roundish *conchous* Form, each containing forty Baths; the Height, four Cubits, and the *Diameter* as much. These ten *Lavers* were set upon as many *Bases*, which in their Language they called *Mechenoth*. They were all placed in the Temple: Five of them on the Left-hand, at the *North-side*; and the other five, at the *South-side*, on the Right, looking toward the East. In the same Place stood likewise the *Brazen-Sea*. They were all fill'd with Water: The Sea for the Use of the Priests to wash their Hands and Feet with, upon Entring the Sanctuary, before they went-up to the Altar; and the rest of the *Lavers* for Cleansing of the Inwards, and other Parts of the Burnt-Offerings.

He erected moreover a *Brazen Altar* of twenty Cubits in Length, as many over, and ten in Depth, for the Service of the *Holecausts*; providing all the Vessels thereunto belonging, of the same Stuff; as Boilers, Water-Pots, Flesh-Hooks, &c. He dedicated also a World of Tables, and one of Pure Gold for the *Shew-Bread*, larger then the rest. But there were a great many others yet of several Makes and Sizes, not much inferiour to that for the *Shew-Bread*, and sufficient to hold twenty Thousand Golden Cups and Vessels, and twice the Number of Silver ones. He made a Provision likewise of twelve Thousand *Candlesticks*, according to the Apointment of *Moses*; and one of them to be apply'd by a *peculiar* Dedication to the Service of the Temple, and there to be kept with Lights in them burning Day and Night, after the Direction of the Law. The Table for the *Shew-Bread* was placed on the *North-side*, over against the *Candlestick*, which stood

stood on the *South*. Betwixt these two was the *Golden Altar*. This was all in the Fore-part of the Temple of forty Cubits, and a Partition-Veil betwixt that and the *Holy of Holies*, where the *Ark of the Covenant* was to be kept.

The King caused to be made likewise, fourscore Thousand *Wine-Cups*; and ten Thousand Golden Vessels, and Goblets of other Sorts and Fashions, and twice as many Silver ones. Plates and Dishes of Gold to steep the Flour in, upon the Altar eighty Thousand; and of Silver, double the Number. Golden Measures; such as the *Mosaical Hin*, and *Afferon* twenty Thousand; and as many more of Silver. Golden Censers for Incense twenty Thousand, and fifty Thousand other Censers to carry Fire from the great Altar to the little one within the Temple.

This mighty Prince made a Provision also of a Thousand *Priests-Habits*; as *Robes*, *Ephods*, Suits of *Precious Stones*, &c. only there was but one Crown with *Moses's* Inscription of God upon it, which is yet to be seen to this very Day. There were also *Silken Vests*, and *Purple Girdles* for the Priests: Ten Thousand of each; two Hundred Thousand *Trumpets*, according to the Institution of *Moses*, and as many *Silken-Stoles* for the *Levites* that chanted the holy Hymns: Beside four Hundred Thousand *Musical Instruments*; as Harps, Psalteries, and the like, which were made of a mixt Metal betwixt Gold and Silver, to accompany the Voices.

There was nothing wanting, in fine, of Industry, Magnificence, or Expence toward the Advancing of this glorious Work, that might either express the Zeal of the Founder himself for the Honour of God, or stir-up the like Affections in others. When the Preparatory Part was over, the Church-stuff was deposited in the holy Treasury, and set apart for religious Uses. The Temple itself was fenced with an Enclosure of three Foot in Height (in *Hebrew*, *Gison*) to keep out the Laity from Entering into a Place where only the Priests were to be admitted. Beyond this Partition, was another Square-Court, or Building, with large *Portico's* or Galleries about it, and four stately Gates, that open'd *East*, *West*, *North* and *South*: The Doors all plated and inlaid with Gold. This Place was common to all People, provided they came thither with that Purity of Preparation, and legal Qualification, which the Law required.

The Erecting of this outward Building was so stupendious an Undertaking, that no Tongue can express the Difficulties of Raising it; and a Man would have much ado to believe his own very Eyes that saw it: Such Hollows, such
Depths

Depths to be fill'd up, as a Body could hardly have look'd upon, or but so much as fancy'd, without turning his Brain: Four Hundred Cubits to be brought up to a Level with the Top of the Mountain; only to make the Work regular, and the Ground even. This Port was encompass'd again with a kind of double Cloister, and two Rows of Pillars; to support it; every Pillar being cut whole out of the Rock. The Doors were all Silver-Work: The Roof Fret-Work, and the Wainscoting all of *Cedar*.

This admirable Structure was but seven Years in Hand, and it is hard to say, considering the Magnitude, the Curiosity, the Expence, and the Ornament, on the one hand; and the Dispatch of it on the other; whether was the more wonderful of the two. For it was effectually the Bus'ness of many Ages drawn into the Compass of a very few Years.

This mighty Undertaking being now brought to Perfection, *Solomon* wrote to all the *Elders of Israel*, and the Heads of the *Tribes* to summon the People up to *Jerusalem* to see the *Temple*, and to assist in Transporting thither the *Ark* of the Covenant. The Resolution was duly notify'd, and in the seventh Month, which we call *Thuri*, and the *Macedonians Hyperberetæus*, with much ado they got together. In this Month was the *Feast of Tabernacles*, which among the *Hebrews* was accounted the most sacred and solemn of their Festivals: So the Priests took up the *Ark*, and *Moses's Tabernacle*, with the holy Vessels belonging to the *Altar*, and carry'd them all into the *Temple*. The King, and the whole Congregation, with the *Levites*, marching before them, with their Sacrifices and Oblations, sprinkling the Ground, as they pass'd, with their Blood, and perfuming the Air with the Fragrancy of Incense, and sweet Odours; to such a Degree, that People were sensible of it at a distance; and reflected upon the Delicacy of the Breath they drew, as no less then a celestial Influence: Inferring from that agreeable Alteration, that God himself had descended from Heaven to consecrate the *Temple* that was newly built, and dedicated to himself, and therein to take up his Abode: For though the whole Congregation came singing, and dancing all the Way to the *Temple*, they went on fresh, and cheerfully to their Journey's End. This was the Manner of their Transporting the *Ark*.

When they were now come to the *Holy of Holies* where it was to be deposited, the People withdrew, and the Priests only that brought it, carry'd it in to the *Oracle*, and there plac'd it under the Figure of the two *Cherubims*, that were represented with the Points of their Wings touching one another;



The Brazen Sea where

the Preists used to Wash





another ; which look'd like a kind of Cover, and Protection to the *Ark* that was just under them. There was nothing more in it then the two *Stone-Tables* with the *Ten Commandments* engraven upon them, as God deliver'd them upon *Mount Sinai*. The *Candlestick*, *Table*, and *Golden Altar*, stood in the same Order now in the *Sanctuary*, as they did at first in the *Tabernacle*, when they offer'd their daily Sacrifices. The *Brazen Altar* was placed directly against the Door, for the better View of the Magnificence of the Worship on the other Side : And then for the rest of the *Holy Utenfils* and Vessels, they were all laid up together in the *Temple*.

The *Ark* being now dispos'd of into his proper Place, with all Decency and Reverence, and the Priests withdrawn, there descended a Cloud, which so fill'd and darken'd the Place, that they could hardly see one another thorough it : Not like an angry Winter's Cloud, big with foul Weather ; but only such a temperate, breathing Diffusion, as by the Benignity of the Appearance, and Operation, was look'd upon to be rather a Token of God's special Approbation, and Acceptance of the Work they were upon, and of his coming down to dwell among them in that Temple as in his own House, then the Effect of any natural Cause.

While the Peoples Heads were working upon this Thought, *Solomon* stood up ; and with a Grace and Majesty becoming the Dignity of the Subject, and Occasion, addressing himself in a short Prayer to Almighty God in Words to this Effect ;
“ Lord ! (*says he*) Thou that inhabitest Eternity, and hast
“ rais'd out of Nothing the mighty Fabrick of this Universe ;
“ the Heavens ; the Air ; the Earth, and the Sea : Thou that
“ fillest the whole, and every Thing that is in it ; and art
“ thyself unbounded, and incomprehensible, look down
“ graciously upon thy Servants that have presumed to erect
“ a Temple here to the Honour of thy Great Name. Lord !
“ hear our Prayers, and receive our Sacrifices : Thou that
“ art every where, vouchsafe also to be with us ; Thou that
“ seeest and hearest all Things, look down from thy Throne
“ in Heaven, and give ear to our Supplications in this Place.
“ Thou that never failest to assist those that call upon thee
“ Night and Day, and love and serve thee as they ought to
“ do, have Mercy upon us.”

Upon the Finishing of this Prayer, *Solomon* made a Discourse to the People upon the Subject of God's Power and Providence : Telling them, what wonderful Things had been revealed to his Father *David*, in Dreams and Visions ; some already past, and others as yet to come, concerning himself,

his Name, his Succession to the Throne, his Building of the Temple, the Establishment of the Family, and the Well-being, and Prosperity of the Nation. "Now, *says Solomon*, "a great Part of these Predictions being already verifys'd, "you are to thank God, not only for the Comforts you enjoy; but for the good Things also that are further promised, and to look upon the former, only as the Earnest of "greater Blessings."

After the speaking of these Words, the King turn'd his Eye again toward the Temple; and with his Hand advanced, "Lord! *says he*, What are the most glorious Works of "Man, in Ballance, even with the smallest of thy Benefits and Mercies? Or what can we that have nothing to give, "pretend to do for thee, that wantest nothing? When the "very least of thy Bounties are above, and beyond all Requital? We can only render thee Praise, Acknowledgment, and Thanksgiving; and that indeed is a Prerogative Faculty, that thou hast vouchsafed to Mankind above "all other Creatures: So that this I am not only allow'd, "but obliged to do, in the Name of myself, and my Family, and the whole People of *Israel*, for all thy multiply'd Favours, and infinite Goodness toward us. Now having no other way of expressing our Duty and Affections, "then by the Means of bare empty Words, that are only so much Air drawn in, and breath'd out again: Be pleased "to accept of our humble Gratitude in that humane Capacity; First, for thy gracious Goodness to my dear Father, "in raising him from a Shepherd's Crook to an imperial Sceptre: And in the second Place, for making good to thy "Servant *Solomon* all thy Promises, and Predictions in his Favour. Lord! continue thy Bounties to us, as to thy "chosen People; preserve, prosper, and perpetuate the Government to our Family, by a constant Train of Successions from Generation to Generation, according to thy Promises to my Father, living and dying. Lord! Grant us "all this; and to all mine, the Virtues and the Graces that may make them acceptable in thy Sight. I do further "most humbly beseech thee, to let thy Holy Spirit descend upon this Temple, in the Blessing of thy peculiar Presence. Heaven and Earth I know are too little for thy Majesty and "Glory; and much more, the Workmanship of Mens Hands, in a Fabrick of Wood and Stone: And yet I cannot but "presume to implore thy Providence, and Protection over it: Lord! preserve it from the Power and Rage of Enemies; "and be pleased to take care of it, as of thy own Propriety and

“ and Possession. And if at any Time hereafter thou shalt
“ be mov’d in thy just Displeasure to punish this People for
“ their Transgressions, with Famine, Pestilence, or any other
“ Judgment whatsoever, answerable to the Degree of the
“ Wickedness : Lord ! be pleas’d upon their humble Sup-
“ plications to thee in thine own House, with Prayers and
“ Tears, for Mercy and Forgiveness, to accept of their true
“ Repentance, and to remove thy Judgments. This, I be-
“ seech thee, not for the *Hebrews* alone ; but for the Relief
“ indifferently of all People whatsoever, that shall offer up
“ their Petitions to thee in this thy Holy Place. By this Means
“ it will appear to the whole World, that this is thy House,
“ and we thy People : And that the *Hebrews* are not so in-
“ humane, as to envy Strangers the common Dispensations
“ of the Author and Fountain of all our Happiness.”

With these Words, *Solomon* cast himself upon the Ground, and after a little Pause in that Act and Posture of Adoration, he rose and offer’d Sacrifices in Abundance ; having the Satisfaction also of an Assurance, by a Token effectually from God, that his Oblations were accepted ; for there fell a Flash of Fire from above, that shot through the Air directly down to the *Altar*, and consum’d the Offerings. This Prodigy being seen by the whole Multitude, they all look’d upon it as a certain Sign of God’s owning, both the Worship, and the Temple ; which put them into such an Extasie of Joy, that they all fell down together, and join’d in the Adoration. *Solomon* went-on upon the Point of Praises and Thanksgivings, persuading and encouraging the Multitude to do the like, in the Contemplation of so clear an Evidence of God’s special Favour toward them. The King charged the People to be instant with God in Prayer, for the Continuance of his Goodness and Graces to them, that they might live in Holiness and Righteousness, without any Spot or Blemish, and walk in the Steps, and according to the Divine Traditions of *Moses*, to their Live’s End : This being the sure and the only Way to render the *Hebrews* the happiest People of all Mortals. He minded them also, that their Felicity was no way to be secured, and augmented, but by the Means by which it was acquir’d ; as being not only the Effect, but the Reward of Piety and Justice. He told them further, that it was much easier to get what they wanted, then to keep what they had got ; and bad them have a Care, not to forfeit by any Misdemeanour, what they had gain’d by their Virtue.

The King made an End of speaking here, and discharg'd the Assembly; having first offer'd-up in Sacrifices for himself and his People, twelve Thousand Calves, and a hundred and twenty Thousand Lambs. This was the first Blood that was spilt in the Temple; and the *Israelites*, with their Wives and Children, were all feasted at it. There was celebrated at the same time before the Temple, beside this Solemnity, the *Feast of Tabernacles*, which lasted fourteen Days, at the King's Expence, with great Jollity, Magnificence, and Splendour.

The Noise and Pomp of Things was now over, and all imaginable Right done to the Honour and Piety of the Occasion: So that every Man was now returning to his own Habitation, but not without infinite Acknowledgments of the King's Wisdom, Care and Bounty in all Respects; and Prayers for the long Life of *Solomon*, and the long Continuance of the People under the Blessing of his Government. They went back, in fine, singing, rejoicing, and giving Glory to God; with all Things so much to their Heart's Content, that betwixt Joy and good Company, the Time pass'd away chearfully and easily, without any Sense of Tedioufness, or Trouble in the Journey.

* The *Ark* being now brought into, and deposited in the Temple; the Beauty and the Magnificence of that glorious Structure, with all due Ceremony and Solemnity expos'd; the Congregation dispers'd, and so went home again. "God
" appeared now a second Time to *Solomon*, in his Sleep;
" and a Voice told him, that God had accepted his Sacrifices,
" and heard his Prayers; that he would preserve his Temple,
" and make it the House of his Dwelling: That is to say,
" so long as he himself, and his Posterity and People should
" continue to walk before him, as *David* his Father did, in
" Pureness of Heart; promising him, upon that Condition,
" to advance him to the highest Degree of earthly Bliss; to
" perpetuate the Throne of *Israel* to his Family; so that there
" should never want a Prince of that Line, and of the Tribe
" of *Judah*, to wield that Sceptre. But on the other hand,
" if ever they should betray, and depart from, or forget the
" Worship they profess'd, and run after strange Gods, they
" should be quite rooted-out from off the Face of the Earth,
" and *Israel* be no longer a People; but after being torn to
" pieces, and broken with Wars, and other Calamities at
" home, be forced away to shift for themselves in the wide
" World,

* 1 Kings 9.

“ World, as *Vagabonds*, and *Exiles*.” *The Voice* told him further, “ That in case of such an *Apostacy*, his new erected Fabrick should, with Divine Permission, come to be sack’d and burnt by the Hands of *Barbarians*, and *Jerusalem* itself laid in Rubbish and Ashes, by a merciless Enemy: Infomuch that People should stand amazed at the very Report of so incredible a Misery and Distress, and be wondering one to another how it should come to pass, that a People that were but Yesterday the Envy of all Mankind, for Riches, external Glory and Reputation, should now all on a sudden be sunk and lost to the last Degree of Wretchedness and Contempt; and reduced to this despicable State too, by the same Hand that raised them: To which Question their own guilty Consciences shall make this Answer: We have forsaken our God; we have abandon’d the Religion of our Forefathers, and of our Country; and all this is justly befallen us for our Sins.” This was the Substance of *Solomon’s Dream*, or *Vision*, as we find it transmitted to us in Holy Writ.

* After the Finishing of this Temple; which, as we have said already, was seven Years in Hand, *Solomon* enter’d upon the building of a *Royal Palace* for himself, which was full thirteen Years more a-perfecting. He was not so solicitous and intent upon the latter, as the former, which in Truth was great and artificial to a Miracle; and without God’s peculiar Blessing and Assistance, could not have been compleated within that Compass of Years. *Solomon’s Court* indeed was in Appearance much inferiour to the Majesty of his Temple, not only for Want of Time to provide his Materials; but the one was design’d only for the Honour and Convenience of a temporal Prince, and the other dedicated to the King of Kings: So that the Thing was the longer a-doing. It was however sufficient to answer the End it was design’d for; being a Work that redounded much to the Glory, both of *Prince* and *People*. But it will be worth the while to say somewhat more particularly of the Model, and Disposition of this majestical Fabrick, for the Reader’s better Understanding of the Whole, as well as for his Curiosity and Satisfaction.

There was erected, upon several Rows of Pillars, a fair, spacious Pile of Building, in the Nature, and after the Manner of a *Common-Hall* for the Hearing of Causes. It was a hundred Cubits in Length, fifty in Breadth, and the Depth

L 1 3

thirty:

* 1 Sam. 7.

thirty: Nor could it well be less, to receive the vast Multitudes that came thronging thither from all Parts, for Justice. It was supported by *sixteen Square Columns*, cover'd with *Corinthian Work*, in *Cedar*, and fortify'd with Double-Doors curiously wrought, that served both for the Security, and the Ornament of the Place. In the Middle of this *Court*, or Hall, was another Edifice of thirty Cubits Square, and under-set with strong Pillars: In which Quarter was a Throne of State, where the King himself used to sit Personally in Judgment. Next adjoining to this Royal *Court of Justice*, was the Queen's House, and other Apartments thereabouts, for Diversion, and Retreat, after the Fatigue of Cares and Business: All fitted-up with *Cedar*, and raised upon huge Stones of ten Cubits Square, which were partly plain, and part over-laid with the most precious Marble, after the Fashion of the most magnificent of Palaces or Temples. The Rooms were hung with three Depths of rich Hangings, and beautify'd with Images, in Sculpture, of Trees, Plants, Branches, Leaves, &c. and all so miraculously wrought, that they appear'd to the Eye to be all in Motion. As to the Remainder of the Space up to the Cieling, it was all set-out with delicate Party-colour'd Figures, upon a Ground of White. And then, beside all these, there was a great Variety of other Chambers too, for Retirement, or Delight; long and large Galleries; vast Rooms of State, and others for Feasting and Entertainment, set-out as rich as rich could be, with costly Furniture, and Gildings: Beside that all the Services for the King's Table were of pure Gold. But it would be an endless Work to give a particular Survey of this mighty Mass of Buildings: So many Courts, and other Contrivances; such an infinite Diversity of Chambers, and Offices, great and little: Some under-ground, others above; as Vaults, Turrets, and the like. In a Word, the whole House was in a manner made-up from Top to Bottom, of white Marble, Cedar, Gold and Silver; with precious Stones here and there intermingled upon the Walls, or Cielings, after the Manner of the Adorning of the Temple. There was also erected a very fair, large, Ivory Throne,* with delicate carved Work, and engraving upon it, after the Fashion of a Tribunal. There were six Steps that led-up to it; the Figure of a Lion at each End of every Step, and two Lions more above: That is to say, one on either hand of the State. As the King rested upon his Throne, there were Arms put forth, as in a Readiness to take Care of him, and to receive

* 1 Kings 10.

ceive him; and the Figure of a Bullock placed in a proper Posture under him, for his Support: The whole Piece being cover'd all over with Gold.

† These two magnificent Structures were twenty Years a Finishing; and it was a huge Mass of Gold, and a greater of Silver; beside a mighty Provision of *Cedar* and *Cyprus*, that *Hiram* the King of *Tyre* contributed to the perfecting of the Work. And *Solomon* was not behind-hand with him neither, in his Acknowledgments and Presents: For he sent him every Year great Quantities of *Corn*, and *Wine*, and *Oil*, as a Supply, that *Hiram*, being an Islander, stood most in need of; as has been observ'd heretofore. He bestow'd upon him moreover, twenty Cities upon the Borders of *Galilee*, not far from *Tyre*; which, upon View and Consideration, (not being much to his Liking) he fairly declin'd, with a respectful Excuse to *Solomon*, that he had no Need of those Cities. From this Refusal, that Part of the Country was called (a) *Chabalon*; which with the *Phœnicians* is as much as to say, *It does not please me*.

Hiram had so great a Veneration for the Wisdom of *Solomon*, that still as he found himself gravell'd for the Understanding of any Difficulty, or mysterious Question, he apply'd himself to this wise Prince for the Solution of it; who never fail'd of answering him to his Satisfaction, according to the true Reason, and Nature of the Matter in hand. The Historian *Menander*, that turn'd the *Tyrian Annals* out of the *Philistine* Tongue into *Greek*, makes Mention of these two Princes, as follows. "*Hiram*, says he, the Son of *Abibale*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Tyre*. He liv'd three and fifty Years, and reign'd four and thirty. He annexed a Piece of forced Ground, call'd the *Great Field*, to the Island, and dedicated a Golden Pillar to *Jupiter* in his Temple. He cut down Materials also in Abundance upon the Mount *Libanus* for the Covering of Holy Places; and demolishing ancient Temples, he built new Ones to *Hercules* and *Astarte*. He erected a Statue for *Hercules*, in the Month of *Peritius*: And then in an Expedition against the *Eyceans*, for not paying the Duty of a Tribute, as they ought to have done, he overcame them, and went home again. In his Days, there was one *Abdemonus*, a Young Man that took upon him to give *Solomon*, the King of *Jerusalem*, a Resolution upon all dark and mysterious Questions that you should put to him."

L 1 4

Dius

† 1 Kings 11.

(a) *Bochart* reads *Chabalon* in his *Geog. Sacr.*

Dius writes also to this Effect. “ *Abibale* being now dead,
 “ *Hiram* his Son succeeded him; who, by filling-up void
 “ Places on the East-Quarter of the Town, enlarged the
 “ Borders, and brought the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*,
 “ that before stood apart, and at a Distance, into the Com-
 “ pass of the City; enriching and adorning it with Golden
 “ Offerings to a very great Value: After which, he order’d
 “ the cutting down of *Cedars* upon Mount *Libanus* for the
 “ Use of holy Places.” He tells further, “ That *Solomon*,
 “ the King of *Jerusalem*, would be often sending Problems
 “ and Riddles to *Hiram*, upon the Forfeiture of a great Sum
 “ of Money, if he fail’d of expounding them. Those dif-
 “ ficult Cases were afterward, not only unriddled by *Abde-*
 “ *monus*, a *Tyrian*, but new Propositions started by him;
 “ and *Solomon* himself too incurr’d a great Forfeiture, if he
 “ did not uncypher them.” Thus far goes *Dius*.

The Walls of *Jerusalem* were not at this time in a Con-
 dition, either for the Defence or Reputation of so famous a
 City: So that *Solomon* repair’d, and enlarg’d them, with
 the Addition of such Towers, and other Fortifications, as he
 found requisite for the Securing of the Place. He built se-
 veral Cities also of considerable Note, as *Aser*, *Magedon*,
 and *Gazara*, in the Land of the *Philistines*; which *Pharaoh*
 the King of *Ægypt* had formerly taken by Assault; and
 razing it to the Ground, put every Creature in it to the
 Sword; giving it afterward to his Daughter upon the Match
 with *Solomon*. This City the King rebuilt, for the Strength
 of its Situation, and the Use it might be of to the Govern-
 ment, as well in War as Peace. He built likewise, not far
 from thence, *Betachora* and *Baleth*, beside other Places of
 Pleasure, in respect of the Temperature of the Climate, the
 Delicacy of the Fruits, and the Conveniences of excellent
 Air and Water. He possess’d himself after this, of the En-
 trance into the Desert that lies toward *Syria*; where he
 built a very fair City, two Day’s Journey from the *Upper*
Syria, one from *Euphrates*, and six from *Babylon*. Now
 the Reason of Erecting a City here, at such a Distance from
 the habitable Parts of *Syria*, was this; that it might serve
 for a Watering-place, (there being several Springs and Foun-
 tains in it) to those that travell’d through that Desert. This
 Town being built, wall’d, and strongly fortify’d, was call’d
Thadamora, which Name it bears among the *Syrians* to this
 Day. The *Greeks* call it *Palmira*. And let this suffice for
 the History of *Solomon* thus far.

Now

Now in regard that I find many People inquisitive how it comes to pass that the Kings of *Ægypt*, from *Minæus* the first Founder of *Memphis* itself, which was long before our Father *Abraham*, to the Days of *Solomon*, being upward of thirteen Hundred Years, should be all call'd by the Name of *Pharaoh*; and from what Original they took their Denomination, I shall give this plain and short Account of it, for their Satisfaction. *Pharaoh*, in the *Ægyptian* Language, sounds as much as *King*. My Opinion is that they were brought-up by other Names; and that upon coming to the Exercise of a publick Character, they exchange'd the Distinction of the Family for the common Name of *Power*. It was the same thing with the Kings of *Alexandria*, that were educated by one Name, and govern'd by another; being all call'd *Ptolemy's*, from the first of their Kings: And so it is with the *Roman Emperors* too; who in case of such an Elevation, drop their private and hereditary Names, and are all call'd *Cæsars*, with respect to the Character of a *Sovereign Power*. This was it, perhaps, that made *Herodotus* of *Halycarnassus*, in his Account of the Successors to *Minæus*, the first King of *Memphis*, to reckon upon three Hundred and thirty Kings, referring to the Number without mentioning their Names, *Pharaoh* being one common Name to them all. Now upon the coming of a Woman afterwards to the Government, he speaketh of her by the particular Name of *Nicaulis*: The Apellation of *Pharaoh* being only proper to the other Sex. Neither do I find in the whole History of our Affairs, that after *Pharaoh*, the *Father-in-law* of *Solomon*, there was ever any other King of *Ægypt* known by that Name. I am also well assured, that this *Nicaulis* was the Queen of *Ægypt*, and *Æthiopia*, that came afterward to *Solomon*: But of this, more hereafter. I have been the larger upon these Particulars, to shew the Agreement betwixt our Memorials, and those of the *Ægyptians*.

There was still a stubborn Remainder of the *Canaanites*, betwixt Mount *Libanus*, and the City *Amathe*, that for some time disputed their Allegiance to the Kings of *Israel*, till *Solomon* at last made them his Tributaries; upon Condition of furnishing him Yearly with such a certain Number of Slaves, as was agreed upon, to be employ'd upon Tilling the Land, and other Sorts of Drudgery: For the *Hebrews* were not upon any Work that was coarse and servile; neither would it have been reasonable, when God had subdu'd so many Nations to his Power, for the Conquerors to descend to do the Business of their Captives. As to the *Israelites*, their *Genius*

nus lay more toward *Arms, Chariots, Horses, Exploits of War, and Military Exercises.* The *Canaanites* in the mean time, were held to their Labour, and six Hundred Officers of the King's put over them, to appoint them their Tasks, and keep them to their Work.

The King built a Fleet of Ships also in *Ezon-Geber*, an *Egyptian* Bay upon the *Red-Sea*. The Port is now call'd *Berenice*, not far from the City of *Elan*, which in those Days was reckon'd to be under the Jurisdiction of the *Hebrews*. In the building, fitting and rigging-out of this Navy, *Solomon* was highly obliged to King *Hiram* for his generous Assistance; for he sent him as many expert Pilots, and skilful Mariners, as he had Occasion for, that serv'd the King's Officers for Guides to the Land of *Ophir*, since call'd *India*, or the *Golden Land*, where they got together four Hundred Talents of Gold, and went back with it to the King.

* The Fame of *Solomon's* Virtue and Wisdom was so advantageously represented, upon this Occasion, to *Nicolaus* the Queen of *Egypt* and *Æthiopia*, that being a Princess of wonderful Understanding herself, and a Person every way extraordinary, the very Glory of the Character gave her a longing Impatience to hear and see the Original: For, says she to herself, " what signifies all this Hear-say, without experimental Proof? Illustrious Rumours speak but the Sense or Affection of the Reporter: And after all their splendid Pretensions, fall flat perhaps, and come to nothing in the Conclusion." When she had been ballancing a-while upon these Thoughts, she took-up a Resolution, in contempt of all the Risks and Difficulties of a long Voyage, to give him an honourable Visit, for the Satisfaction even of her Curiosity, as well as of her Inclination and Judgment; and to enjoy the Fruit and Comfort of that Wisdom she had heard such Wonders of. In this Determination, she set forward toward *Jerusalem*, with a Train and Equipage suitable to her Royal Dignity; taking along with her a Number of Camels, laden with Gold; Variety of rich Perfumes, and of precious Stones. Upon her Arrival, the King receiv'd her with all possible Honour, Courtesy, and Respect; and with so much Ease and Clearness solv'd all the Difficulties she propos'd, that it put her into an Amazement to find his Excellencies, in Truth and Effect, so much beyond what she had heard of them in Fame and Report. She stood in great Admiration at the Majesty and Curiosity of his Palace; the Order
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* 1 Kings 10.

and Disposition of the Building, and at the King's incomparable Prudence, upon the Main, through the whole Contrivance and Conduct: But she was mov'd at nothing more then at the Master-Piece of that Fabrick, call'd *The Grove of Libanon*: The magnificent, and the regular Course of his Entertainments; the *Discipline* and *Oeconomy* of the Family, and the doing every thing with so peculiar a Grace. She was likewise infinitely pleas'd with the Spectacle of the daily Sacrifices, and to see with what Application, Care and Veneration, the *Priests* and *Levites* perform'd their Part in the Worship. The constant Course and Practice of this orderly Reverence ran in her Head Day and Night, and her Heart was so set upon it, that the more she consider'd it, the more she found it to be still her Wonder and Delight: Nor did she make any Difficulty of owning as much to the King himself.

"Great Prince, *says she*, the Credit of Reports is so doubtful and uncertain, that without a demonstrative and experimental Confirmation of the Truth of what we hear, we are forced to suspend our Assent for want of knowing what to believe: Especially where the Fame of Things byasses toward either Extreme of Good or Evil: But in the Question of your incomparable Faculties and Greatness; that is to say, the internal Advantages of the Mind in a superlative Degree of Knowledge and Understanding, and the Glory of your outward State; the Rumour has been so far from partial, that it falls short, even of a common Justice: For though common Fame said as much to your Honour as could be put in Words, I have yet the Happiness at this present to see much more then I heard. Blessed are the *Hebrews*: Blessed the Friends and People of *Solomon*, that stand ever before him, and hear his Wisdom; and blessed be God for his Goodness to this Land and Nation, in placing them under the Government of so excellent a Prince."

Having proceeded thus far, this generous Princess did not stop here at Words and Professions, but follow'd her Speech with more substantial Effects, as a further Instance of the high Respect she had for the King. She made him a Present of *twenty Talents of Gold, Aromatical Spices, rich Perfumes, and precious Stones*, to a prodigious Value. They speak also of a Root of *Balsam* that she brought with her, which (according to a Tradition we have) was the first Plant of the Kind that ever came into *Judæa*, where it hath propagated so wonderfully ever since. Neither was *Solomon* wanting,
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on the other hand, in a suitable Return of whatever he thought might be to the Queen's Liking, and Satisfaction ; for he deny'd her nothing, and was much readier to give then she to ask, even to the preventing of her Askings. After this reciprocal Interchange of Presents, given and taken, the Queen went back again into her own Country.

About this Time came *Solomon's* Return-Ships from *Ophir*, (otherwise called the *Land of Gold*) with *Stones for Jewels*, and *Pine-Wood* in Abundance ; the latter was made use of, partly for Pillars, and Supporters to the King's Temple and Palace, partly for Musical Instruments ; as Harps, Cymbals, Psalteries, and the like, for the *Levites* to glorify God upon in Company with their Voices. It is to be noted, that for Size and Beauty, *Solomon* had never seen any of this Sort of Wood comparable to it before. This was none of the Wood that passes commonly upon the World for *Pine*, in the Way of Trade, betwixt Buyer and Seller. This has somewhat of the Grain of a Fig-Tree, only a little whiter, and more glossy. I thought it not amiss to advertise the Reader of a common Mistake ; especially being a Question that falls so naturally upon this Occasion into *Solomon's* Story.

The *Plate-Fleet* brought the King six Hundred sixty six Talents of Gold, over and above the Merchants Adventure, and what the Governours and Kings of *Arabia* sent him for Presents. Of this Gold he caused to be cast *two Hundred Targets*, weighing six Hundred Shekels of Gold each ; and these were all hung up in the great Hall of the *Grove of Libanon*. His drinking Cups were all of beaten Gold too, garnish'd with precious Stones, and wrought with all the Curiosity imaginable ; and in short, the rest of the Utenfils were of the same Metal. There was no trading with Money in this Case ; for the King had his Ships in the Sea of *Tarsus*, that dealt upon the Truck with foreign Nations ; and in Exchange for Commodities of his own, return'd him Gold and Silver ; great Quantities of Ivory, Blacks, Apes, &c. Going and Coming, they reckon'd upon this Expedition as a three Years Voyage.

The Reputation of *Solomon's* Greatness and Wisdom was by this Time spread far and near, insomuch that several great Kings, for their own Satisfaction Sake, were enflam'd with a longing Desire to see him ; and laid hold of all Occasions, by their Munificence, and other good Offices, to shew the Desire they had to serve him. They sent him Gold and Silver-Plate ; Purple-Robes, Spices and Perfumes of all Sorts ; Horses, Chariots, and Mules for Burdens, such as for Strength
and

and Beauty they thought might be most acceptable to the King: So that he had now an Addition of four Hundred Chariots to what he had before: That is to say, a Thousand Chariots, and (a) twenty Thousand Horses, that for Beauty and Speed were beyond all others: And for the better Grace of the Spectacle, they had the Flower of the Youth to ride and menage them. They were all proper goodly Persons, in (b) Purple Vests; their Hair dischevel'd and flowing, to the great Advantage of their Motion, and such an Intermixture of Golden Threads with their Locks, that the Sun playing upon them, irradiated their Heads with a kind of Glory. This was the Guard, which with their Arms and Quivers, attended the King's Chariot, (himself mounted in it clothed in White) to a House of Pleasure he had at *Ethan*, not far from the City; which for the delicate Gardens, Walks and Fountains, and the Fruitfulness of the Place, he took great Delight in.

This Prince had it in his Nature to be neat and curious, and his Providence look'd so far, that there was hardly any thing so minute as not to fall under his Care. He provided for the very Paving of the High-ways that led to his Palace at *Jerusalem*, partly for the Convenience of Comers and Goers, and in Part for the Honour of his own Magnificence. He kept not many Chariots about his Person, but disposed of them here and there at so many in a Town upon free Quarter: And these Places were called his *Chariot-Towns*. Silver was as plentiful in *Jerusalem*, as Stones; and *Cedars*, which had never been seen in *Judæa* before, were now as common as *Mulberry-Trees*. He gave Commission also to his *Ægyptian* Merchants to buy him a Provision of Chariots with two Horses, at the Price of six Hundred *Silver Drachmas* a-piece; and these were to be sent away to the Kings of *Syria*, and beyond *Euphrates*.

Now, as it is without Controversie, that this King was hitherto the most glorious, pious, and incomparably the most wise and powerful Prince that ever sat upon that Throne; so is it no less certain, that he made the latter Part of his Life a Scandal to the former, by departing from the Precepts of *Moses*, and the Laws and Religion of his Forefathers; and blasting so hopeful a Beginning with so foul an End.

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(a) 1 *Kings* 4. 26. and 10. 26. 2 *Chron.* 1. 14. and 9. 25. 'tis Twelve Thousand. See *Bochart's Hieroz.* l. 2. c. 9. part 1.

(b) *Bochart* fancies that he describes them according to the Fashion of his own Times. *ibid.*

The raging Impotency of his Lust after Women, made him stark mad : And the Women of his own Country would not serve his turn neither ; for he took indifferently Women of all Nations ; † *Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammonites, Idumæans, &c.* quite contrary to the Institution of *Moses*, that barr'd the *Hebrews* marrying with Strangers ; wisely foreseeing, that *strange Women* would inveigle Men over to *strange Gods* too. And this was the true Reason of the Precaution against such Marriages ; for the Violation of one Law, is but a Step toward the breaking of another ; and the taking of a prohibited Wife, does naturally lead to the embracing of a prohibited Religion. But *Solomon's* sensual Appetite was deaf to all Counsels of Sobriety and Reason. He had no fewer then seven Hundred Wives, that were Princesses, (the Daughter of the King of *Ægypt* for one) and three Hundred Concubines ; and the Passion he had for the Charms of their Conversation transported him into Compliances with them in the Impiety of their Practices and Opinions, as the most effectual Earnest he could give them of his unchangeable Tenderness and Affection. As he came further into Years, he felt the Decay of Age in his Mind, as well as in his Body, and still as he grew more and more careless and remiss in the Exercise of the true Worship, he was the more easily prevail'd upon to join with the Women in a false one : Not that this was the first Breach of the Law that he was guilty of ; for he had transgress'd the Rule, in the very Figures of his Bulls under his brazen Sea, and in the Lions afterward that were set as a Guard upon his Throne : Which was all directly against a positive Institution. He had at the same time in his own Family the most glorious President for Honour and Virtue, that was any where to be found, in the Example of his blessed Father ; whose Piety and Practice was so expressly recommended to his Imitation, that God inculcated the Charge over and over to him in his Sleep ; and upon the Pain of his uttermost Displeasure, to be sure to tread in his Father's Steps. This he neglected to do, and came, in the Conclusion, to an ignominious End.

The Word of the Lord came after this, to *Solomon*, by the Mouth of a Prophet, " Telling him that his Wickedness was " no Secret, and he should not pass long unpunish'd : But " in regard of a Promise from Heaven, to his Father, that he " should have no other Successor, the Prophet told him that " his

† 1 Kings 11.

“ his Government should not be taken from him, while he
“ was living; and that after his Death, his Son should suf-
“ fer for the Iniquities of his Father: Not that there should
“ be an universal Defection; but that *Ten Tribes* only should
“ revolt, and the other two continue in their Allegiance to
“ the Son of *Solomon* for his Grandfather's Sake, and for the
“ Sake of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, which God had made
“ Choice of for the Place of his Habitation.” These Words
wounded *Solomon* to the very Soul, to see himself cast down
in a Moment from the highest Pitch of all sublunary Com-
forts, and temporal Glory, into the very Depth of the con-
trary Extreme.

Some short time after this denouncing Message by the Pro-
phet, God stirred up a bitter Enemy against *Solomon*, whose
Name was *Adad*, an *Idumæan* by Birth, and a Branch of the
Royal Family; the Ground of his Animosity being as fol-
lows. When the *Hebrews* over-ran the Country of *Idumæa*
under the Command of *Joab*, who at that Time was *David's*
General; *Joab* having subdu'd the People, put to the Sword
all the Males he could find in the Province, that were able
to bear Arms; and this Execution continu'd for six Months.
This same *Adad*, who in those Days was but a Child, made
his Escape to *Pharaoh*, the King of *Ægypt*; who not only
received him with great Humanity, but very generously gave
him Houses, Lands, and Revenues for his Entertainment,
and took such an Affection further for him, upon his grow-
ing up into the World, that he marry'd him to his own
Wife's Sister, whose Name was *Taphines*; who bare him a
Son, that was train'd up with the Children of *Pharaoh*. In
Process of Time News was brought into *Ægypt*, that *David*
and *Joab* were both dead; and *Adad* upon these Tidings
desir'd *Pharaoh's* Leave to return into his own Country.
The King took him up short, and ask'd him what he want-
ed, or what he meant by that Earnestness to part with the
best Friend he had in the World? For he press'd it over and
over, but could not as yet prevail.

Solomon being now in a declining Condition, and the Mea-
sure of his Iniquity well-nigh full and ripe for Judgment,
God put it into *Pharaoh's* Heart, whom he had hitherto re-
strain'd, to let *Adad* go: So that away he went forthwith
to *Idumæa*, with a Design to stir up the People to a Rebel-
lion against *Solomon*: But finding the Garrisons so strong,
and the Country in such a Posture that there was no Good
to be done by a Surprise, he took new Measures, and went
from thence into *Syria*; where he join'd Interests with one

(a) *Rezon*,

(a) *Rezon*, a Fugitive from his Master (b) *Adadezer* the King of *Zobah*, and a famous Captain of a Body of *Banditti* that made Spoil and Ravage up and down at Pleasure. *Adad* struck a League with this Man; and with his Assistance, master'd that Part of *Syria*, where he got himself to be declared King, and made so many Inroads upon the Land of the *Israelites*, that all Things were in a Confusion with Blood and Pillage, even while *Solomon* himself was yet living.

And it was not all neither, for the King to suffer these Affronts, and Indignities from a Stranger, without a more dangerous Conspiracy against him at the same time, in his own Bowels: Meaning that of *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Nebat*; a Man of a turbulent, and ambitious Spirit, and one that had taken up a Conceit long since from an old Prophecy, of a strange Part that he was to play in the overturning of the Government. *Jeroboam* being left by his Father, very young, and under the Tuition of his Mother, *Solomon* took notice of him as he grew up towards Man's Estate, for a Youth of a frank generous Humour, and made him Overseer of his Works, being at that time repairing and rebuilding the Walls of *Jerusalem*. He acquitted himself so well in that Commission, that *Solomon* gave him the Military Command of the Tribe of *Joseph*, as a Consideration for his Industry and Service. As he was one Day travelling out of *Jerusalem* about his Bus'ness, the Prophet *Ahijah* the *Shilonite*, met him upon the Way; and after the Formality of a Salute, took him aside, out of all Sight and Hearing, and there laid hold of a Garment he had on, and rent it into twelve Pieces, bidding him take ten of them to himself; for it was God's Will and Order, that it should be so; "For he is resolved," said the Prophet, to tear the Government from *Solomon*; "and for his Promise Sake, to give the two contiguous Tribes to the Son of *Solomon*, and the other ten to you, as a just Punishment for giving up himself to strange Women, and to strange Gods. Wherefore since you see the Ground of his Rejection, let *Solomon's* miserable Case be a Warning to you, not to do the same Things yourself that ruin'd him. Be just to all Men; observe and protect the Laws; imitate *David's* Virtues of Piety and Religion, and you may promise yourself the Comfort of *David's* Reward."

Jeroboam was not a little elevated with these Words of the Prophet; and being naturally hot, and haughty over and

(a) *Raazaros*. Jos.

(b) *Adrazaros*. Jos.

and above, every little Thing that gratify'd his Ambition, made him restless and unquiet. The prophetic Prediction would not out of his Head, and the first Thing he did, after he came to the Army, was to tamper the People against their Sovereign, and to set up for himself: But *Solomon* all this while was no Stranger to the Malice and Practice of his Designs; and there was a Train laid to take him up, and dispatch him: But the Plot was discover'd, and *Jeroboam* slipt away to *Shishack*, the King of *Ægypt*; where he waited the Death of *Solomon*, for a fair Opportunity to revive his Pretension.

C H A P. III.

The Death of Solomon. Rehoboam discontents the People. Ten Tribes fall off, and declare for Jeroboam; who seduces them to Idolatry. He officiates as High-Priest. The Prophet Jadon reproves him. Jeroboam and Rehoboam do both forsake God.

S*olomon*, in fine, liv'd to a great Age. He reign'd eighty Years, dy'd at ninety four, and was bury'd at *Jerusalem*; the wisest and richest Prince that ever was heard of; and in all other Respects the happiest, bating only the Sin of his ungovernable Passion for Women, and of those Dotages that he was led into in his declining State, by their Arts: Of which Misdemeanours, and the Mischiefs that ensu'd upon them, I shall say more hereafter.

* *Solomon* being now dead, and *Rehoboam* his Son (by *Nama* an *Ammonitish* Woman) succeeding in Course to the Throne, some of the great Ones sent out of hand into *Ægypt*, to inform *Jeroboam* how Matters stood, and to recall him. He came presently, upon Notice, to *Sichem*; and *Rehoboam* came thither also, proposing to himself the calling of an Assembly, and so to enter upon the Government by the common Declaration and Consent of the People. Upon this Occasion, divers of the Princes and leading Men, together with *Jeroboam* himself, went to *Rehoboam*, and made him a Discourse, by the way of Advice and Respect, how his Father had born a little too hard upon his Subjects, and that

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they

* 1 Kings 12.

they were in hope they should find him easier ; for it was his own Interest and Security so to be, and rather to make himself belov'd than fear'd. They recommended this humbly to his Thought ; and *Rehoboam* took three Days time to consider of it. The Delay of his Answer gave them some Jealousie what would be the Result : Especially in a Case (as they understood it) so easie, and so necessary to be resolv'd immediately ; and so well becoming the Years and Circumstance of a Young Prince to appear forward and obliging in. But they were not however quite out of Hope yet ; the *Put-off* being only a Suspension, not a Repulse.

While this was a doing, *Rehoboam* advises with his Father's Friends and Counsellors, what Answer to return them ; who being both well affected to the Publick, and well seen in the Humour and Disposition of the common People, advised him by all means to treat them with Courtesie and Descension ; for he would gain much more upon them by a popular Freedom, *they told him*, then by standing stiff upon his Points, in the Formalities of Majesty and State ; there being no such Charm upon the Hearts of the People, as Graciousness and Humility in the Prince. Nothing could have been said more to the purpose in general, or more especially to his purpose in particular ; having a Kingdom in his Eye : But his Understanding was taken away by a judicial Infatuation, to such a Degree, that he rejected the Counsel ; call'd a *Cabal* to him of his own Humour and Years ; told them what had pass'd, and demanded their Opinion upon the whole Affair. They took the Point into Debate, and whether for want of Experience and Foresight, or that God had blinded them, they came all to this Agreement upon the Question. *Rehoboam* was to tell them, " That since they complain'd of his " Predecessor, they should find his little Finger heavier then " his Father's Loins. If they thought themselves ill used formerly, they must expect to have him harder upon them : " And, that if his Father had chastised them with *Whips*, he " himself was resolved to chastise them with *Scorpions*." The King was so delighted with the mistaken Majesty and Dignity of this huffing Answer, that upon the third Day, when the People were gather'd together in the greatest Anxiety imaginable, betwixt Hope and Fear of the Doom they were to receive ; some fancying one Thing, some another ; the King appear'd, and passing over the Opinion of his Father's Counsellors, gave the People for Answer the very Syllables that the Young Men had put in his Mouth : The Providence of God having so order'd it, that the Prophecy of the Prophet

phet *Abijah* might be fulfilled. These Words were so many Blows to them, and no less terrible in the Hearing, then the dreadful Things they threaten'd would have been in the Execution: Insomuch, that they all cry'd out in a Rage, as with one Voice, "What have we to do with the House of *David*?" "Let him take to himself the Temple that his Father built:" And the Uproar look'd like a Prologue to a general Revolt. The Sedition was so outrageous, that *Adoram*, one of the King's Officers in the Treasury, being sent out to pacifie them by laying the Blame upon the Intemperance of some hot-headed Young Men, the People ston'd him to Death, without so much as hearing him. *Rehoboam* look'd upon the Malice of this Violence to be levell'd at himself rather then against his Officer; and he was much in the Right: So that he presently mounted his Chariot in a Fright; and in a Hurry posted away to *Jerusalem*, to get out of the Reach of the Mutineers. The Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, all as one Man, stuck to him, and proclaim'd him for their King; but all the rest of the People went over to *Jeroboam*, and from that Day forward would have nothing to do with the House of *David*. *Rehoboam* had so great an Indignation at the Thought of this Revolt, that he summon'd a full Convention of the two Tribes that stood firm to their Allegiance, and drew out one hundred and eighty Thousand Soldiers upon the Muster; proposing to himself, with this Body of Men to reduce the other Ten Tribes to their Duty by Force. While he was preparing for this Enterprize, he was admonished by a Prophet from God not to engage himself in a civil War; especially where the Desertion was in some Measure the Work of a Divine Direction.

We shall now in the first Place give some Account of the Actions of *Jeroboam*, the King of the *Israelites*, and proceed from thence to the History of *Rehoboam*, and the Two Tribes, according to the Order of the Narration.

Jeroboam built himself a Palace at *Sichem*, which he made his Place of Residence; and for Variety sake, he built another at *Penuel*. This was a little before the Feast of *Tabernacles*, which was the Thing that put these Thoughts into his Head. "If, says he, I shall now suffer the People to go up to *Jerusalem*, and leave them at Liberty for the Celebration of that Festival, they'll be so taken with the Shews and Ceremonies of the Place, and of the Religion, that they'll be in Danger of changing their Minds perhaps, and of going back to their old King again, as well as to their old Way; which may lead to the extreme Hazard,

“ even of my Life, as well as of my Government.” Now for Prevention sake, he bethought himself of this Expedient. He caused to be made *two Golden Calves*, and *two Temples* to be built; the one at *Bethel*, and the other at *Dan*, which is a Town situate at the Head of the *Leffer Jordan*. These *Images* were consecrated in both Places, and indicting an Assembly of the *Ten Tribes* under his Command, he made a Discourse to them to this Purpose.

“ I need not tell you, my Countrymen, that God is every where, and not confin'd to any certain Place; but wherever we are, he hears our Prayers, and accepts our Worship, in one Place, as well as in another; and therefore, I am not at all of Opinion for your going up to *Jerusalem* at this Time, to a People that hate you. 'Tis a long tedious Journey, and all this only for the Sake of Religion. He that built that *Temple* was but a *Man*, as every one here is: And the *Golden Calves* that I have provided for you, the one in *Bethel*, the other in *Dan*, are *Consecrated* as well as that *Temple*, and brought so much nearer you, on Purpose for the Convenience of your Worship; where you may pay your Duty to God in such Manner as best pleases him. As for *Priests* and *Levites*, I shall make such a Provision for you, that you shall have no Want, either of the Tribe of *Levi*, or of the Race of *Aaron*. Let him that has a mind to enter the *Sacerdotal Function*, initiate himself into the *Priesthood* by the Sacrifice of a *Calf* and a *Ram*, according to the *Institution* of *Aaron*; who was the first of that Order and only so-qualify'd.” This was *Jeroboam's* way of seducing the Multitude into an *Apostacy* from the Laws of their God, and of their Country; and he himself consequently the Capital Cause and Author of all those Calamities that afterwards beset the *Hebrews*; as foreign Wars, Routs, Captivity, and the like: Of which hereafter in their due Time and Place.

† The *Festival* of the *Seventh Month* was now drawing on, and *Jeroboam* took up a Resolution to worship the same way at *Bethel* that the *Two Tribes* did at *Jerusalem*. There was an *Altar* erected before the *Golden Calf*: He himself personated the *High-Priest*, and went up with his *own Priests* after the Manner of the *Temple-Worship*. But as he was preparing to put Fire to the Offering in the Sight of all the People, there came a Prophet from *Jerusalem* in that very Point of Time, whose Name was *Jadon*. He was sent by God, and being

advanc'd

advanc'd into the middle of the Croud, he address'd himself in the King's *Hearing* to the *Altar*, in Words to this purpose. "Altar, Altar, *says he*, Thus saith the Lord, there shall arise one out of the House of *Judah*, whose Name shall be *Josiah*; who upon thee shall put to Death the *false Prophets, Seducers, and Impostors* of those Times, and upon thee shall burn their Bones: And to the end that no Creature may doubt the Truth of this Prediction, the Authority of it shall be now confirmed by a Prodigy. The *Altar* shall fall to pieces, and the Fat of the *Sacrifices* upon it shall be spilt upon the Ground." The King was so inflam'd upon these Words of the Prophet, that he lifted-up his Hand against him, and commanded aloud that some Body should lay hold of him; but his Arm was immediately so benumm'd, and blasted, that it was like a *dead Limb*, and he could not draw it back again. The *Altar* fell to pieces, as was presag'd, and the Fat of the *Sacrifices* was thrown upon the Ground, as the Prophet had foretold. The King, finding by what Spirit the Man spake, and that he was no Counterfeit, besought him to pray to God on his behalf for the restoring of his *wither'd Arm*: Which being done, and the Miracle wrought, *Jeroboam* thankfully acknowledg'd the Benefit of the Cure, and earnestly press'd the Prophet to stay Dinner with him, who excused himself upon an Injunction that God had laid upon him, not so much as to taste either Bread or Wine in that City, nor to return the same Way he came. This Reserve and Sobriety of the Prophet, made the King give more heed to what he said, then otherwise he should have done; so that he grew very uneasy upon it in his Forebodings concerning himself.

There was in that Town a certain *false Prophet*, that was much in *Jeroboam's* good Graces; not for the Truth, (for he was an arrant Juggler) but for the Time-serving Pleasingness of the Things he foretold. This Man was old, and crazy; and as he lay at this Instant dozing upon his Bed, his Sons brought him News of a *famous Prophet* that was come from *Jerusalem*, and what Wonders he had done: With the Story of *Jeroboam's wither'd Arm*, and the Recovery of it at the Prophet's Intercession to God for him; and how he was now gone back again, and which Way he went. The Fame of this Stranger put such a Jealousie in the Sick Man's Head, for fear of being supplanted in his Master's Favour: That he presently order'd his Sons to fetch his Ass, which was immediately done, and the Man mounted, and away, to seek after the strange Prophet. He follow'd him

upon the Heel, till he came up to him at length, as he was resting himself under the Shadow of a large well-spread Oak. After the Formality of the first Salute, the false Prophet fell to Expostulating with the other, why he would not be so kind as to call at his House, and do him the Honour to take a Collation with him. The Stranger told him it could not be; for God had positively forbidden him either to eat or drink in that City. Nay, says the other, I can absolve you in this Point myself; for I am a Prophet as well as you, and we are both Servants to the same God: And it is by that God's express Command, that I am come hither now to invite you to Dinner with me. *Jadon* gave Credit to this false Wretch; accepted of his Invitation, and so went along with him. While they were yet at Dinner, and in the Freedom of Table-Discourse, God appeared to *Jadon*, and told him that he would not only punish him for his Disobedience, but the very Manner of his Punishment: Which was, that he should be torn to pieces upon the Way, by a *Lion*, and that his Body should not be laid in the Sepulchre of his Forefathers. It fell-out accordingly, and perhaps God order'd it so, for the hardening of *Jeroboam's* Heart, into a Disbelief of *Jadon*, upon so remarkable a Miscarriage; for in his Way back to *Jerusalem*, a *Lion* tore him off from his Ass, and kill'd him; the Ass untouch'd and standing still, the *Lion* couching by the Carcass, like a Guard to both. The Relation of this Disaster being brought to the false Prophet, by some Travellers that pass'd that Way, he appointed his Sons to fetch the Body into the City; which being done, he gave it a magnificent Burial; charging his Sons, whenever he dy'd, to see his own Body laid in the same Monument; "For, *said he*, whatever this good Man has spoken concerning the City, the Altar, the Priests, and the false Prophets, it is all true. Now when I am dead, *says he*, and my Bones deposited with his, I am safe; for who shall know his Bones from mine?"

So soon as *Jadon's* Funeral-Rites were well over, and the Sons competently instructed, away goes their wicked Father to *Jeroboam*; who finding him exceedingly disturb'd, ask'd him, "What he meant to trouble his Head at that rate, for the Words of a mad Man?" Well but, *says the other*, what do you think of the Prodigy of the Altar; and the miraculous Loss and Recovery of my Arm? (*telling him both the Stories at length.*) The Man, *says he*, is certainly a Man of God, and a true Prophet, he could never do all this else." The other, in the mean time, shuffles-off every thing with plausible

plausible Glosses and Distinctions; doing all he could, in short, to disguise the Truth. "As to the Business of your Hand, *says he*, you had overwrought yourself, it may be with lugging *Sacrifices* to the Altar. The very Weariness made it *Numb* at first perhaps, but after a little Rest, you see, it came to itself again. And so for the *Altar*, it was new built; and not being thoroughly settled, it sunk under the Weight of an insupportable Burden of *Sacrifices* that were laid upon it. And what was your holy Man's *End* at last! Why, he was kill'd by a *Lion*: And here's not the least Sign or Token of a Prophet all this while, that I can find, either in Word, Life or Death." The King was so poison'd and corrupted with the Vanity and Mockery of these loose Insinuations, that from thence forward he had no longer any Thought of God, or Goodness; but on the contrary, abandon'd himself wholly to the Love, Study and Practice of all Manner of Wickedness: And to such a Degree too, that he did effectually bid Defiance to all that was Sacred, either in Heaven, or Earth; making it his Business to find out new Sins, and in the Event to out-do himself. But I shall pass now to *Rehoboam*, according to the Order of the Relation.

* *Rehoboam*, being King all this while of the *Two Tribes* before-mention'd, built and fortify'd several strong and fair Cities, as *Bethlehem*, *Etan*, *Tekoa*, *Beth-zar*, *Shoco*, *Adullam*, *Ipa*, *Maresha*, *Ziph*, *Adoraim*, *Lachish*, *Azekah*, *Zorah*, *Ajalon*, and *Hebron*, all in the Tribe of *Judah*; beside other Towns, no less considerable, in the Lot of *Benjamin*: Which he provided with good Garrisons and Governours, and with Corn, Wine, Oil, and other Necessaries in Abundance, for their Maintenance and Defence; beside Shields and Lances many Thousands. While *Rehoboam* continu'd at *Jerusalem*, there came up from all Parts, great Numbers of *Priests* and *Levites*, and so many of the Layety too, as made any Conscience of their Ways, to worship there; quitting their Countries to attend the Duties of their Religion. They were all sick of *Jeroboam's* Tyranny, and to see themselves forc'd to the worshipping of his *Calves*, to the Dishonour of the True God. The Discontent, in fine, was so great that in three Years time, the Power and Interest of *Rehoboam* was mightily increas'd. This King's first Wife was his Kinswoman, by whom he had three Children, and he afterward marry'd *Maacah*, the Daughter of *Thamar*, who was the Daughter of

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Abalom,

* 1 Kings 14.

Abfalom, by whom he had *Abiah*, and ſhe was a-kin to him too. He had ſeveral Wives beſide, and Children by them; but none ſo dear to him as *Maacah*. He had eighteen Wives legitimate, and thirty Concubines, by whom he had eight and twenty Sons, and ſixty Daughters: But *Abiah* the Son of *Maacah* was the Perſon he deſign'd for his Succeſſor, committing his Treafure and ſtrong Holds all to his Truſt. But it fell out to be with *Rehoboam*, as it fares commonly with other Mortals; Proſperity puff'd him up, and in time ruin'd him; for the greater he grew in the World, the more Liberty he took to be wicked; and he did not only turn his Back upon God, and his Holy Commandments himſelf; but made his People as wicked too, out of a Kind of Reverence to his Example. It is but according to the Nature of humane Affairs, for Subjects to be deprav'd by the exemplary ill Manners of their Superiours; for the Virtue, or the Iniquity of the Governour, is, generally ſpeaking, ſome Sort of Rule for the People to walk by; and it has the Reputation of a kind of political Virtue, to imitate the very Vices of Rulers. Not to do as they do, is tacitly to condemn their Doings; as it happen'd under *Rehoboam*, where the People were wicked and licentious, for fear of diſpleaſing the King.

C H A P. IV.

Shiſhak King of Ægypt lays Siege to Jeruſalem. King Rehoboam meanly gives it up; and the Temple is pillag'd. Rehoboam dies, and Abias his Son ſucceeds him. Jeroboam is foretold by the Prophet Achias, of the utter Ruin of himſelf, and his whole Family.

GOD avenged himſelf upon *Rehoboam* by the Hand of (a) *Shiſhak* the King of Ægypt, (not by *Sefoſtris*, as (b) *Herodotus* miſtakes the Matter.) This ſame *Shiſhak*, in the fifth Year of *Rehoboam*'s Reign, march'd againſt him with a vaſt Army. They reckon'd twelve Hundred Chariots, ſixty Thouſand Horſe, and four Hundred Thouſand Foot; the Soldiers being moſt of them *Africans*, and *Æthiopians*. With this Army,

(a) *Suſakos*, Joſ. *Suſakim*, Septuagint. *Sefac*. St. *Jerom*.

(b) Lib. 2.

Army, *Shishak* brake in upon the *Hebrews*, and took into his Protection several of their strong Towns, that render'd on their own Accord. In all which Places he left Garrisons, and marched afterwards directly up to *Jerusalem*, where *Rehoboam* and his People were block'd-up in the Town. The King, in this Strait, betook himself to Prayers and Supplications for Victory over his Enemies; but could not prevail for an Answer, to his Satisfaction: And thereupon *Sameas* the Prophet told him, for his greater Terror, that God threaten'd to forsake all those that forsake him first; which frighted them all into an Acknowledgment of their Wickedness, and of God's just Judgment upon them for their Apostacy and Disobedience. Being now brought to the uttermost Extremity of Despair, the Prophet told the King once again, that God was pleas'd so far to accept of their Humiliation, and Repentance, that they should not be utterly destroy'd and cut-off; but only deliver'd-up in Subjection and Slavery to the *Ægyptians*, that they may learn upon Experience, whether it be better to serve God or Man. In this *Panick Dread*, *Rehoboam* deliver'd-up *Jerusalem* to *Shishak*, upon certain Conditions; but, without any Regard to Faith, or Honour, he brake his Articles; pillag'd the Temple; took away all the Plate and Treasure, as well God's, as the King's: Gold and Silver to an inestimable Value, without leaving so much as one Grain behind him. He carry'd away the *Golden Shields* and *Bucklers* of *Solomon's*, with the *Golden Quivers* that *David* took from the King of (a) *Sophena*, and dedicated to the adorning of the Temple. After which, *Shishak* went back again with a prodigious Booty. *Herodotus of Halycarnassus* takes notice of this Expedition, only mistaking the Name; where he speaks of the King of *Ægypt's* March thorough several other Countries, and of subduing the *Palestine-Syria*, without striking a Stroke. Now this can only be understood of the Conquest of our Country by the *Ægyptians*; for he tells of several Pillars erected, and left there, with the Images of Men cut upon them, with the privy Parts of Women; as an emblematical way of stigmatizing the Men for giving-up their Country without a Blow. Now this *Rehoboam* was undoubtedly our King, that gave-up all for the Asking. He says likewise, that the *Æthiopians* took up the Custom of Circumcising from the *Ægyptians*. Now it is agreed at all Hands, that the *Philistines*, and the *Palestine-Syrians* had it from thence: And it is as clear, that there are no other People
in

(a) *Al. Zoba.*

in *Palestine-Syria* circumcised, but ourselves. But of this, every Man has the Freedom of his own Thought.

After the Departure of *Shishak* into *Aegypt*, *Rehoboam* repair'd the Loss of the *Golden Shields* and *Bucklers*, with the same Number of *Brass*, and committed the Care of them to his proper Officers and Guards : And so he liv'd on, in a private, quiet Way, without any considerable Adventure, or Undertaking; his Fear being a continual Check upon him, in regard of the everlasting Feud betwixt *Jeroboam* and himself. He liv'd seven and fifty Years ; seventeen of them in a Station of Sovereign Power. He was a Man weak and arrogant, and lost himself, his Government, and his Reputation, by refusing wise Counsel when it was given him. He was bury'd at *Jerusalem* among the Kings. His Son *Abias* succeeded him, in the eighteenth Year of *Jeroboam's* Reign over the *Ten Tribes*.

* And now we have spoken of the End of this King, it remains in the next Place to see what became of *Jeroboam*. He was a Worker of Iniquity out of all Bounds and Measure. He was every Day setting-up and multiplying *Altars* in the *High-Places*; and raising *Priests* to officiate, out of the Dregs of the *People*; which Indignities and Affronts, God, in his righteous Judgment, avenged upon himself and his Family. It happen'd at that Time, that *Obimes*, his Son, fell sick, and he bad his Wife put herself into the Disguise of a private Person, and go to *Achias* the Prophet, being a Man that had the Spirit of *Prediction*, and the Person who told him formerly, that he himself should come to be King. "Go you," says he, to this Prophet, and ask him if the Boy shall recover or no." She dress'd herself according to her Husband's Order, and so went to *Shilo*, where *Achias* at that Time liv'd. As she was upon the Way toward the House, a Voice from Heaven spake to the Prophet, (who was now dim-sighted with Age) and told him, that the Wife of *Jeroboam* was then coming to him ; told him likewise her Business, what Questions she would ask him, and what he should answer. Upon her coming to the Door in the Dress of an ordinary Guest, the Prophet call'd her to him by the Name of *Jeroboam's Wife*. "Come-in, says he, and never disguise yourself for the Matter ; for he that told me who you are, and put the Words in my Mouth that I am to say to you, is not to be impos'd upon. Go therefore to your Husband from me, and tell him that *Thus saith the Lord God*: As it was

* 1 Kings 14.

“ was I that rais’d thee out of a low Condition to the Dig-
 “ nity of a Throne; and cutting-off the Family of *David* from
 “ the Kingdom, gave it to thee: So, on the other hand, in re-
 “ turn for all these Bounties and Benefits, thou hast now most
 “ ungratefully cast-off him that exalted thee, and set-up
 “ Gods of thine own Fancy, and of the Founders making, in
 “ Preference to the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and in Con-
 “ tempt of my Majesty and Power. Wherefore, I will now
 “ forthwith raze thee and thy Family out of the Roll of Man-
 “ kind; give your Carcasses to the Dogs, and to the Fowls of
 “ the Air, and set-up another King over my People, that shall
 “ not leave one living Man of the House of *Jeroboam* upon
 “ the Face of the Earth; and the very Multitude shall not
 “ escape the Stroke of Divine Justice neither; for they shall
 “ be exterminated out of the good Land they were possess’d
 “ of, and driven away and dispers’d beyond *Euphrates*, for
 “ being wicked after their King’s Example, in adoring *his*
 “ *Gods*, to the Contempt of *Me* and *my Commandments*. Wo-
 “ man, begone to your Husband now, and make haste, and
 “ tell him, as I have told you: And for what concerns your
 “ Child, you shall find it dead when you come back; for
 “ the very Moment you enter the City he shall breathe his
 “ last. He shall be lamented, and bury’d with the Solem-
 “ nity of a publick Mourning, as the only Creature of *Je-*
 “ *roboam’s* Family that had any thing of Good in it.” The
 Woman hasten’d away in a Fright, upon what she had heard;
 and miserably bewailing the Loss of her poor Boy all the Way
 she pass’d; went straight to her Husband; and the more haste
 she made, the sooner the Child dy’d; for being come to her
 Journey’s End, she found the Child dead, as the *Prophet* fore-
 told her, and so gave her Husband an Account at length of
 the dismal Story she had in Charge from the Prophet.

C H A P. V.

Abias the King of Judah gets a great Victory over Jero-
boam King of Israel. Abias dies, and leaves Afa his
Successor. The Death of Jeroboam. Nadab his Son
succeeds him. Baasha kills Nadab, and extirpates
the whole Race of Jeroboam.

J *eroboam*, in Defiance of all these Judgments, made great
 Levies still, and march’d out with an Army against *Abias*
the

the Son of *Rehoboam*, who was then King of the *Two Tribes* in the Right of his Father ; making little Doubt of his Success, against a Prince of so little Experience, either in Government or Arms : But *Abias* was so far from being terrify'd at this Preparation, that beyond all Expectation from a Person of his Years, * he presently drew together an Army out of the *Two Tribes*, and advanced with it toward *Jeroboam*, in a certain Place they called the *Mount Samaron* ; and there encamping himself, he made ready for a Battle. He had in his Army four Hundred Thousand Men, and *Jeroboam* double the Number. As the two Armies were both drawn-up and ready to engage, *Abias* advanced to a little Eminence upon a Rising-Ground, and from thence held up his Hand to bespeak a Silence, and an Attention to what he had to say ; which was presently agreed to, and the Sum of his Discourse was this.

“ Good People, *says he*, you cannot be ignorant of God’s Promises, that this Kingdom should be continu’d to *David*, and his Posterity for many Ages. Now this being the very Case, I cannot but wonder to see my Father deserted, and *Jeroboam* his Subject taken into his Places ; and you yourselves in Arms against the Divine Right of a Government settled by God himself : And not content with that neither, unless you can force the rightful Heir out of the small Remainder that is left him, when *Jeroboam* hath already by Violence and Usurpation, engross’d the greater Part of the Kingdom to himself. But he is not long to enjoy the Fruit of his Wickedness ; for God will call him to a severe Account for his Iniquities, and put an end to this Course of Rapine and Oppression ; which he himself is so far from doing, that he makes it his daily Bus’ness to continue, and to inflame a most impious Sedition : And what was the true Ground and Reason now at last of this Defection ; my Father never did you any Injury ; only by the Advice of evil Counsel, *Jeroboam* himself being in the Bottom of it, he let fall an unlucky Word or two ; and upon this, you all went off in a Huff, abandoning your Duty, not only to my Father, but to God himself, and to his Laws, and all Things that are Sacred. You should have weigh’d Matters with Allowances for humane Frailty. You should have consider’d that my Father was a Young Man, and one that does not set up for an Orator. You should have considered him again as the Son of *Solomon* too, your Royal
“ Patron

* 1 Kings 15. 1 Chron. 13.

“ Patron and Benefactor. Now all this together might have
“ aton’d, methinks, for a wry Word or two ; and it would
“ have been but Reason, to have born a little with the *Son*,
“ for the *Father’s* Sake. But these are Thoughts never came
“ near your Heart, I perceive ; nor truly are they ever like
“ to do, if a Body may judge by the Army that is advancing
“ against us. And what is it you have to trust to at last ? If
“ your *Golden Calves*, your *Altars*, and your *High-Places* ;
“ ’tis not your *Religion* that you depend upon, but your
“ *Wickedness* : Besides that you have the Laws of God and
“ Man to contend withal. Piety and Justice will have the bet-
“ ter of you in the Conclusion : And you do manifestly fight
“ against both in this Cause, and in fighting against us, who
“ have constantly asserted the Worship, and the Reverence
“ that we owe to the *True God* ; not a God of *Wood*, or
“ *Stone*, or the Imposture of a wicked King upon a credu-
“ lous Multitude, but God the Maker of all Things and of
“ all Things that are made, the Beginning, and the End.
“ Wherefore let me advise you to repent of your past Sins
“ and Follies, and to betake yourselves to sounder Counsels
“ for the Future : Or if you must needs be contending, let
“ it be for the Defence of, and not in Opposition to those
“ Laws that have made you so great and happy.”

While *Abias* was upon his *Harangue*, a Detachment of *Jeroboam’s* Army had slipt away by Stealth, and gotten upon the King’s Rear so unexpectedly, that his People were not a little startled at the Surprise, till he himself hearten’d them up, and bad them cast themselves upon God ; for the Cause, he told them, was his, who was not to be over-reach’d by *Stratagem* and *Trick*. These Words of the King’s brought them to themselves again, and so they went presently to their Prayers ; till at last the Priest sounding a Charge, they fell on, with a mighty Ciamour, and so victoriously upon the Enemy, that, with the Help of God, they put them to a total, absolute Rout, and made such a Slaughter, as no Story, either *Greek*, or *Barbarous*, ever came up to. There were five Hundred Thousand Men slain upon the Place ; a Victory never to be forgotten : Their strongest Towns taken and rifled ; *Bethel*, and *Ithem*, with their Dependancies. After this Blow, *Jeroboam* was so broken, that he was never able to make any further Attempt so long as *Abias* was living ; who dy’d not long after in the third Year of his Reign, and was bury’d at *Jerusalem*, in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors. He left two and twenty Sons behind him, and sixteen Daughters ; which he had all by *fourteen Women*. - *Asa* his Son succeeded him,
whose

whose Mother's Name was *Maacha*; and under his Government, the *Israelites* enjoy'd a Ten Years Peace.

This is all that we find written of *Abias*; and after him dy'd *Jeroboam*, the King of the *Ten Tribes*, in the second Year of the Reign of *Asa*, and the two and twentieth of his own. His Son *Nadab* succeeded him, and liv'd in a kind of Competition for Malice and Impiety, with the Character of his Father, and reigned only two Years: In which Time he led out an Army against *Gabathon* a City of the *Philistines* upon an Opinion that he might take it by a Siege; but in the mean time, he was cut off by the Treachery of a familiar Friend, whose Name was *Baasha*, the Son of *Machel*; who seiz'd upon the Government, and destroy'd the whole Family; which made good the Words of the Prophet, "That the Dogs should eat him of *Jeroboam's* Stock that dy'd in the City, and that the Fowls of the Air should eat him that dy'd in the Field." This was the End of *Jeroboam*, and his Family; and the Judgment was just upon them for their impious *Apostacy*.

CHAP. VI.

Asa the King of Judæa was an excellent Person. He gave a very great Overthrow to Zaræus the King of Æthiopia. The King of Damascus joins against Baasha the King of Israel, who is murder'd by Creon; and Elah, his Son and Successor, assassinated by Zimri.

‡ *AS A*, the King of *Jerusalem*, was a Man so conscientiously strict, both in his Religion, and in his Morals, that he led a Life, in Word, Thought, and Deed, in a most scrupulous Conformity to the Laws of God and Nature. He rectify'd all that he found amiss in his Government; purg'd his Dominions from all extravagant Lusts, and foreign Abominations. He had a select Body of Men armed with Lances and Shields, to the Number of three hundred Thousand, of the Tribe of *Judah*; and of the Tribe of *Benjamin* he had two hundred and fifty Thousand with Bows and Bucklers. In the tenth Year of his Reign, *Zaræus*, a King of *Æthiopia*, marched against him with an Army of nine hundred Thousand

sand Foot, one hundred Thousand Horse, and three Hundred Chariots. When he was advanc'd as far as *Maresa*, a City in the Dependency of *Judah*, *Asa* went out to meet him, and rang'd his Army not far from the City, in a certain Valley called *Saphatha*. Upon the Sight of so prodigious a Multitude of Men, "*Asa* called out to God for his Assistance, and that he would vouchsafe to prosper his Arms, and give him Victory over so formidable an Enemy : For it was wholly in a Dependence upon his Divine Goodness that he had now undertaken this Enterprize ; concluding with an Ejaculation, that he wholly resign'd himself to his blessed Pleasure, whose Power was more than sufficient to supply the Want either of Strength or Number." Upon this Prayer of *Asa's*, God was pleased to encourage him with a Token and Assurance of Victory.

In this Confidence, *Asa* charg'd the Enemy, and with so great Bravery, that with a mighty Slaughter, and a total Rout, he pursu'd them to the Plain of *Gerar* : And there quitting the Pursuit, he took, and rifled *Gerar* itself, and likewise the Enemy's Camp, with a vast Booty in Gold, Camels, Flocks and Herds. Upon gaining this mighty Victory, through the Goodness of Divine Providence, the King returned with his Army to *Jerusalem*, laden with the Spoil. As they were upon the Way, not far from the Place, the Prophet *Azariah* call'd to them to make a Stand, and then told them as follows. " God hath been pleased, *says he*, to bless you with this glorious Victory, in Consideration of your Justice, your Piety, and your Obedience to his Will and Commandments ; and if you go on as you have begun, you may expect the same Providential Advantages and Successes in all your Affairs for the time to come. But if ever you falter in your Religion, you will find in all Respects the clear contrary ; and that the Time will come, wherein there shall not be a true Prophet among you, nor a Priest answerable to the Dignity of his Function. Your Cities shall be laid level with the Ground ; your Nation scatter'd like Vagabonds over the Earth, without any Seat or Habitation that they can call their own. Wherefore, *says he*, let me advise you while you have Time, to apply yourselves to the Study and Practice of Virtue : And finally, to join with Thanksgiving in the Acknowledgment and Enjoyment of the Blessings of God's Favour." These Words of the Prophet were a great Rejoicing to the Hearts both of King and People ; who thereupon made it their express Business, publick and private, one and all, to keep their Religion sacred

sacred, and inviolate, in the Observance of the Laws: In order to which End, the King had his Commissioners every where up and down thorough his Dominions, to attend that Care and Duty.

This was the Posture of *Asa's* Affairs, the King of the *Two Tribes*. I shall now return to *Baasha*, the King of the *Israelites*: He, that when he had kill'd *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam*, seiz'd the Kingdom to his own Use. This Prince reign'd four Years, and his Palace was in *Tarshish*: A Man, that for all Sorts of Lewdness and Impiety, went beyond either *Jeroboam*, or his Son; a tyrannical Oppressor of his People, and of a stubborn and contumacious Spirit toward God himself: * Infomuch that "The Word of the Lord came to *Gimmon* the Prophet, commanding him to tell *Baasha*, that "God had fully determin'd to root out him and his Family "from off the Earth, as he had done *Jeroboam* before him, "for his Ingratitude to that Power and Goodness that rais'd "him to the Throne; and for his Tyranny and Impiety in "the Exercise of his Government, without any Regard to "Righteousness, or Justice: Two Virtues that are above all "others, the most acceptable to God, and profitable to the "People; telling him further, that since he thought fit to "make *Jeroboam* his Example for all Manner of Iniquity, it "was but reasonable to have him as exemplary in his Misery and Punishment." *Baasha*, after all these frightful Denouncings, stood his Ground, as if it had been a Point of Honour to affront his Maker; and as if the Prophet had rather promis'd him a Reward for his Wickedness, then threaten'd him with the Stroke of so dreadful a Vengeance. So that he went on still, heaping Sins upon Sins, and every Day worse then other, without any Care or Thought how to avert the Judgment, and reconcile himself to God: Nay, without the least Motion, or Disposition toward Amendment, or Repentance. In the Conclusion, he march'd with an Army to *Ramath*, a Place of some Note, and a matter of some forty Furlongs from *Jerusalem*. He took it, and fortify'd it, with an Intent to make it the Seat of the War, as a commodious Station for the Advantage of making Inroads into the Dominions of *Asa*. Now *Asa* was not without some Apprehension of the Quality of his Design; and computing with himself how great a Danger the Neighbourhood of so powerful an Army might bring upon his Country, he sent Embassadors presently to the King of *Damascus*, with Money

* 1 Kings 16.

Money and Presents, inviting him over to his Alliance, out of a Respect to the former Friendship that had been betwixt those two Families. This King receiv'd the Money and Presents; brake off with *Baasha*, and enter'd into a League with *Asa*; sending an Army some short Time after, into the Territory of *Baasha*; fell upon his Towns and strong Holds in that hurry; burning some, and rifling others, as *Achion*, *Dan*, and *Abelmaen*. Upon the News of this Incurſion, the King of the *Israelites* quitted *Ramah*, and went back to look to himself nearer home: But *Asa* erected two strong Towns there out of the Materials that *Baasha* left behind him; calling the one *Gaba*, and the other *Mafpha*. This was the last of *Baasha's* Military Adventures; for he was cut off by *Creon*, and bury'd in the City of *Arsanes*; his Son *Elah* succeeding him: He himself being afterward treacherously slain by *Zimri*, the Master of one Division of his Horse, in the second Year of his Reign, as he was drinking with *Osa*, the Steward of his House; a Troop of Horse breaking in upon him, in the Absence of his Guards and Officers, who were then abroad at the Siege of *Gabathon*, a City of the *Philistines*.

CHAP. VII.

Zimri murders Elah the King of Israel: And the Army chuses Omri King. He sets Fire to the Place and burns himself with it. Ahab succeeds to Omri; a wicked Prince. Elias foretels his Ruin. Jehu anointed King of Israel; and Hazael King of Syria. Naboth ston'd at the Instigation of Jezebel.

Z*imri*, after this Exploit, advanced himself from Master of the Horse, to the Throne; and according to the Prediction of *Gimon*, totally extinguished the whole Race of *Baasha*; which was utterly rooted out for their Wickedness, after the Method of the Destruction that beset *Jeroboam*. The News of the King's Death coming to *Gabathon* when the Army was before the Town, and that *Zimri*, the *Assassin*, had taken the Government to himself, the Army presently chose *Omri*, the Captain of the Guards for their King, who raises the Siege, and immediately goes away to *Tirzah*, and takes it by Storm. *Zimri* finding the City without a Guard, withdraws himself into a private Apartment in the Palace; gives Fire to't, and

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burns

burns himself and the House together. This was in the seventh Day of his Reign. All Things were now in a Confusion, and the People immediately divided into two Factions; the one was for *Thaman*, and the other for *Omri*: But the latter carry'd it; for *Thaman* was slain, and *Omri* had the whole Government to himself. This was in the thirtieth Year of the Reign of *Afa*; and *Omri* govern'd twelve Years; six at *Tirzah*, and the rest at *Mareon*; which the *Greeks* call *Samaria*. He gave it the Name of *Samareon*, from *Samar*, the Man's Name that sold the Mountain whereupon it was built. He differ'd little from the former Kings, but in the degree of being still worse; for they all made it their Business to alienate the Peoples Hearts from the Love and Service of God, by the repeated Practices of daily Wickedness: Wherefore God in his Wrath made use of them successively for the Destruction one of another; till in the End, the whole Race was extinct. This Prince dy'd at *Samaria*, and *Ahab* his Son reigned in his stead. In the Course of this Revolution, we are given to understand how the Wisdom and Providence of God interposes in humane Affairs, and in show'ring down Blessings upon the Righteous, and in the utter Extirpation of the Wicked. For the Kings of the *Israelites* were in a short Time cut off, with the whole Families, by the Hands of one another: Only *Afa* the King of *Jerusalem*, and of the *Two Tribes*, liv'd happily, and in the Favour of God, to a great Age, in Consideration of his Piety and Justice; and after a Reign of one and forty Years, departed this Life with Comfort. His Son *Jehoshaphat* that he had by *Abida*, succeeding him, and no less a Successor to his Father's Virtues, then to his Government, proposing to himself the Holiness, and the Bravery of *David* for his Example: But this is enough said for this Place.

Ahab, the King of the *Israelites*, took up his abode at *Samaria*, where he ruled two and twenty Years, without any Innovation in the Government, saving only where he made Things worse than he found them. He was a faithful Imitator of the worst of his Predecessors in the worst of Things, and most particularly of *Jeroboam*: Not only in the worshipping of his Golden Calves, but in the multiplying and superadding of other heinous Offences. He took to Wife *Jezebel*, the Daughter of *Eth-baal* then King of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, who drew him over to the Idolatry of worshipping her Country Gods. She was a Woman of a rash, enterprizing Humour; and of so impetuous, and ungovernable a Spirit, that she had the Confidence to erect a Temple to *Baal*, the God

God of the *Tyrians*; to plant *Groves* for Superstition, of all Sorts of Trees, and to appoint her *Priests* and false Prophets expressly for that *Idolatrous* Service. Now these were a Sort of People that the King was well enough pleas'd to have about him; being a Man violently bent upon any daring or malicious Wickedness, beyond all that ever went before him. There came to *Ahab*, about that Time, a certain *Prophet*. He was a *Tishbite*, and born in the City of *Gilead*. * "His
 " Message was to tell the King, that from the Time of his going away, there should not be one Drop of Rain, or so much as the least Sign of a Dew in that Province, till he came back again; confirming his Prediction with a strong
 " Asseveration, that so it should be." So soon as he had deliver'd his Errand, he went away to the *Southward*, till he came to a Torrent, where he might supply himself with Water, and there he stop'd for the present; the *Ravens*, time after time, bringing him Meat. The Drought continuing and encreasing, the Channel was dry'd up; whereupon God warned the Prophet to remove to *Sareptha*, which is a Town betwixt *Tyre* and *Sidon*: A Voice from Heaven foretelling him, "That he should find a *Widow-Woman* there that would
 " feed and provide for him." He follow'd his Order, and being come almost to the End of his Journey, spy'd a poor Woman gathering of Sticks, not far from the Port, which Woman he understood by a Divine Impulse, was to be his Nurse: So he call'd to her to give him a little Water to drink; and as she was going to fetch it, he spake to her again to bring him a little Bread too. The Woman solemnly protested to him, that she had nothing in the House, but one Handful of Meal, and a little Oil, and that she was now getting a few Sticks for a Fire to bake a Cake of it for herself, and her Son; and when that was eaten, they must even starve; for she had not one Bit more in the World. "Well!"
 " says the Prophet, good Woman, go thy ways with a good Heart, and hope for better Things, and bring me a Piece of
 " it when it is ready; for I do assure thee that when we have
 " all eaten our fill, thy Barrel shall never be without Meal
 " nor thy Cruise without Oil, till God shall send Rain upon
 " the Earth." The Woman did as the Prophet bad her, and found his Words to be true; for they had all Three their Bellies full, and the Provision was still recruited again as it wasted, till this miserable Drought was over. *Menander* speaks of it in the History of *Eth-baal* a King of the *Tyrians*.

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* 1 Kings 17.

“ In his Time, *says he*, there was an extreme Drought for want of Rain, that lasted from the Month of *Hyperberetæus*, till the same Month again next Year. There were Prayers indeed put up for the averting of the Judgment, which were follow’d with mighty Claps of Thunder.” This Prince built *Botrys* in *Phœnicia*, and *Auzates* in *Africa*. This was undoubtedly the Drought under *Ahab*; for it was in his Reign that *Eth-baal* was King of *Tyre*, as *Menander* has it in his Commentaries.

At, or about this Time, the Woman’s Son of the House fell desperately sick; and the Mother, in a passionate Extravagance of raging and exclaiming for the Loss of her Boy, laid the Blame upon the *Prophet*. “ This Man, *says she*, that I have entertain’d, hath discover’d my Sins, and now brought this Judgment upon me.” The Child being absolutely given over for dead, the *Prophet* bad the Woman comfort herself, and deliver up her Son into his Arms; with an Assurance that he would suddenly restore him to her alive again. He took him up, and carry’d him into his Chamber; laid him upon his Bed, and offer’d up a Prayer to God for him. “ Lord! (*says he*) This will look like an ill Requital to my Preserver, to have her Son taken from her while I am in the Family: Be pleas’d in thy infinite Goodness to restore this innocent Creature to Life again.” God was pleas’d upon the *Prophet*’s Supplication, beyond all Thoughts, or Expectation, to call the Child to Life again, that the poor Woman might not have any Misfortune to complain of while the *Prophet* was in the Family. The Child, upon this Prayer, was revived, and the Woman with great Thankfulness to the *Prophet*, found herself now fully convinc’d, *she said*, that he was authoriz’d and directed by the Spirit of God.

* The *Prophet*, a while after this was sent to *Ahab* to tell him, that there should suddenly be Rain. The Famine was now so pinching all over the Country, and so general a Scarcity of all Necessaries for Life, that not only the People were ready to starve for want of *Bread*; but the very Cattle also, and other Animals upon the Point of perishing, for want of Food and Forage; so parching was the Drought every where. In this Distress, the King sent for *Obadiah*, the Overseer of his Stables and his Grounds, to come to him, and to search every where about the Brooks and Rivers for Grass for his Horses and Herds; charging him by all Means to get *Elias* the *Prophet* to him; whom they had been looking up and down for,

* 1 Kings 18.

for, but could not find him : So the King walk'd-on, and bad his Bayliff follow him ; and when they had gone a-while together, the King struck-off into one Way, and *Obadiab* into another. This *Obadiab* was a very good and holy Man ; and at the Time when Queen *Jezebel* was in the Heat of her bloody Persecution against the *Prophets*, he concealed and protected a Hundred of them in Caves, and fed them with Bread and Water. The King and *Obadiab* were no sooner parted, but the latter met *Elias* upon the Way ; and finding who he was, by his Answer to the Question, he did him Reverence. The Prophet after a while, desir'd *Obadiab* to go to the King and tell him that he was a-coming. “ Why
 “ what have I done, *says Obadiab*, to be sent of such an Er-
 “ rand, to a Person that is at this Time looking after you to
 “ put you to Death ? And there is no Torment you are not
 “ to expect whenever he catches you. But what now, when
 “ I go to the King, if the Spirit that governs you as it pleases,
 “ should carry you another Way ; and when you are not to
 “ be found, my Head lies at stake to answer for you ? Pray
 “ be not so indifferent in a Case where my Life is in so much
 “ Danger. You may assure yourself, I do not want Af-
 “ fection for your Party, that ran the Risk of preserving
 “ a Hundred of your Prophets from the Rage of *Jezebel*, and
 “ to this Day maintain them in Caves upon my own Account.
 “ Well, *says the Prophet*, fear nothing ; but go to the King,
 “ upon my solemn Oath, and promise that I will come to
 “ him.” So soon as *Ahab* understood that *Elias* was there, he mended his Pace, and in Haste and Indignation, marching toward him, call'd out : “ Are you, *says he*, at this Day
 “ the Troubler of *Israel* ? Are you the Occasion of this
 “ Drought and Famine ? ” *Elias* told him with Liberty and Assurance, “ That it was *Ahab* himself, and his Family, and
 “ their bringing-in of *foreign and false Gods*, and the sup-
 “ pressing of the *True Religion* ; that was the Cause of all
 “ their Misery. Pray, *says the Prophet*, will you give Order
 “ for all the People to meet in a Congregation upon Mount
 “ *Carmel*, and let your own, and your Wife's Prophets be
 “ there also ; (*expressing the very Number of them.*) Summon
 “ likewise the Prophets of your Groves, (about four Hun-
 “ dred more or less.) ” The King summon'd them, and they met accordingly : *Elias* standing in the middle of the Throng, and calling out to them after this Manner. “ How long,
 “ *says he*, will you stand wavering betwixt two Opinions.
 “ If you believe ours to be the True and the Only God,
 “ obey him, and keep his Commandments ; or if you are

“ rather of Opinion for the worshipping of strange Gods,
 “ take what you like.” The People making no Answer to
 what he said, *Elias* went-on, and proceeded to this Chal-
 lenge. “ If, *says he*, you have a mind to be certainly assur’d
 “ which Worship is the Right, *yours* or *ours* ; here do I
 “ stand a single Prophet on the one side, to defend the
 “ Cause against *three Hundred* on the other. I will take an
 “ Ox, and lay it upon a Pile of Wood, without putting
 “ any Fire to it : Let them do the same Thing, and call up-
 “ on their Gods to set their Pile in a Flame. By this means
 “ you will be able to distinguish the true from the false.”
 The People were well enough pleas’d with the Experiment,
 and *Elias* bad *Ahab’s Prophets* take an Ox, as is said before,
 and call upon their Gods by their Names, giving them the
 Precedency of being the first to offer up the Sacrifice. When
 they had pray’d, and call’d a good while, and without any
 Effect, *Elias* turn’d their Superstition to Ridicule, and bad
 them cry out louder ; for their Gods might possibly be upon a
 Journey, or asleep perhaps. At this rate they went on, with
 Outcries and Exclamations, from Morning till Noon, cutting
 and lancing their Bodies, after the Custom of their way of
 Worshipping ; and all to no manner of Purpose. Now
 when it came to the other’s turn to sacrifice, and these fa-
 natical Oblations were taken away, “ *Elias* spake to the Mul-
 “ titude to draw nearer, and to spy every where if they could
 “ find any Fire that was secretly convey’d there.” Upon their
 coming-up, *Elias* took *Twelve Stones*, to answer the Number
 of the *Twelve Tribes*, and erected an Altar out of them, cut-
 ting a deep Ditch about it. The Wood was fitted, and laid
 upon the Altar ; the Sacrifice upon the Pile, and four Vessels
 of Fountain-Water cast upon the Altar ; so that it ran-off, and
 fill’d the Trenches. When every thing was ready, “ *Elias*
 “ call’d upon God, and besought him to shew his Power now
 “ for the Conviction of a mistaken and unbelieving People.”
 While the Words were yet between his Lips, there fell a Fire,
 as from Heaven, down upon the Altar, that in the Sight of
 the People consum’d the Sacrifice, and dry’d-up all the Wa-
 ter, about the Altar, and in the Ditch. The *Israelites*, upon
 this Prodigy, fell prostrate upon the Ground, and agreed in
 the Adoration of one Deity ; confessing him to be the Great,
 and only True God : And for the rest, they look’d upon them
 to be only the vain Imaginations of weak Men. The four
 Hundred Prophets were taken, and put to Death, by the
 Command of *Elias* ; who then bad the King go to Dinner,
 without troubling himself any further.

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When the King was gone, *Elias* went up to the Top of *Carmel*; where he sat down upon the Ground, and laying his Head upon his Knees; order'd his Servant to get-up to a Rock toward the Sea, and look about him, if he could see ever a *Cloud*. He went up again and again; but still saw nothing: At last, after the seventh Time, looking about him, he said he saw something *blackish* in the Air about the Bigness of a Man's Hand. So soon as *Elias* heard that, he sent away immediately to *Ahab*, to make haste to the City; for he would be taken in a very great Shower else: And by the time he was come to the City of *Jezreel*, the whole Air was dark and overcast, and there fell immediately a pouring *Rain*. The Prophet, in the mean time, by the special Assistance of God, ran before *Ahab's* Chariot, till he came to *Jezreel*.

* When it came to the Ear of *Jezebel*, the Wife of *Ahab*, what Wonders *Elias* had done, and how he had kill'd all her Prophets, she sent him threat'ning Messages, that his Life should answer for theirs. *Elias*, upon these Menaces, fled to *Beersheba*, which is in the farthest Part of *Judæa*, and bordering upon *Idumæa*: In which Place he left his Servant, and so went away into the *Wilderness*, where he laid himself down, as a Man weary of Life, and calling for Death. "Lord! says he, I am not better then those that are gone before me; and I find no Temptations left me to the Desire of longer Life." So he laid himself down under a Tree, and there fell asleep, till some thing or some body waken'd him, he knew not how, nor for what; and upon raising himself, he found Meat and Drink set before him, which he fed heartily upon; and in the Strength of that Refreshment he went forward to Mount *Sinai*, the Place where, according to our Tradition, God deliver'd the Law to *Moses*. There was a large convenient Cave there, which he enter'd into, with some Thought of taking it up for his Habitation. While he was there, the Question was put to him, how he came to leave the City, and wander thus in the Desert. He heard the Voice distinctly; but whence it came he knew not. His Answer was, That upon the killing of the *false Prophets*, and preaching the Doctrine to the People of only *One God*, and that God only to be worshipped, the Queen for this Crime threaten'd to have him put to Death. He was commanded after this, by the same Voice, to quit the Cavern the next Day, and receive Instructions how to govern him-

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* 1 Kings 19.

self for the future. The Day following, he came out from his Retreat ; and immediately upon it, there was a great *Earthquake*, and after the *Earthquake*, the Appearance in the Air of a *blazing Fire* ; which Fire was follow'd with a little Pause of Silence, and after that a still Voice, bidding him *fear nothing, for his Enemies should not prevail against him* ; and so commanded him back again by the Way of *Damascus*, and there to anoint *Hazael* King of *Aram* : And *Jehu* the Son of *Nimshi* King over *Israel* ; and to anoint *Elisba* also, of *Abel*, Prophet in his Room : For that God was resolv'd to root out all the Wicked from the Land by the Stroke of Divine Justice ; and those that 'scap'd the Sword of *Jehu*, to fall by that of *Hazael*. Upon these Words *Elias* presently return'd according to his Order, and found *Elisba* the Son of *Shaphat* ploughing, in Company of others, with twelve Yoke of Oxen. He went to him, and casting his Cloak over him, *Elisba* immediately began to prophesy ; quitted his Oxen, and presented himself to follow him ; only desiring to take leave of his Father and Mother before he departed for good and all. This was granted him, and upon his Return from his Parents, he became thenceforward a Disciple and Companion to *Elias* : Which shall suffice at present for the State of his Affairs.

* It happen'd that one *Naboth* of *Jezreel* had a Vineyard near the Palace of *Ahab*, the King of *Samaria*, which lay contiguous to the King's Grounds. *Ahab* had a mighty Mind to take this Parcel of Land into his own Gardens, and so was often at *Naboth* to let him have it, either in Exchange for some Equivalent in another Place, or otherwise for a Sum of Money. *Naboth* excus'd himself, that it was his Inheritance, and in so particular a Manner the Gift of Providence, that he could not part with it, either for Money, or otherwise. This Disappointment upon another Man's Estate, was as much to *Ahab*, as if he had lost his own : Inso-much that he fell sad, and sick upon it ; refusing to bathe as he us'd to do, and forsaking his Meat. *Jezebel*, upon this Change, became very solicitous and inquisitive to know the true Reason of so wonderful an Alteration, that her Husband should all on a sudden give over washing as he us'd to do, and forsake his Meat : So that upon her Importunity, he told her the Story of *Naboth*, and how brutishly and saucily he had behav'd himself. “ I gave him, *says Ahab*, the best “ Words in the World, and in Truth treated him, even be-
“ low

“ low the Majesty of a King. I spake him fair, in fine,
“ and all I got by’t was to be put off at last with a Repulse.”
The Queen, on the other side, hearten’d him up to come to himself again, and bad him never trouble his Head further in the Case; for she would undertake to bring it about herself, and *Naboth* should never carry off this Affront gratis. Hereupon she wrote Letters in *Ahab’s* Name to the Elders and chief Men of *Jezreel* to this Purpose; “ That they
“ should proclaim a Fast, call an Assembly, and assign *Naboth*
“ both a Place there among the principal Men of the People:
“ That they should have three Witnesses ready, that would
“ swear any thing, to give Evidence against him, for speaking
“ Blasphemy against God and the King; upon which Testimony he should stand Convict, and receive Sentence to
“ be ston’d to Death by the People.” Every thing was done according to the Queen’s Direction, and *Naboth* convict, sentenc’d, and ston’d. *Jezebel* instantly, upon the News of this Success, went her way to the King, and told him that *Naboth’s* Work was now done, and that he might take Possession of the Vineyard when he pleas’d, without beating any more Bargains for the Price. *Ahab* was so overjoy’d at what *Jezebel* told him, that the first Thing he did was to take a Journey to his new Purchase; but God sent *Elias* to him in his Wrath, to charge him with the Murther of the true Owner of that Vineyard, and the Iniquity of his usurping upon the Possession. When *Ahab* saw the Prophet coming toward him, he went to him of himself with a Confession in his Mouth, and a Tender of any Satisfaction the Prophet should require. This he did to prevent the other’s beginning with him. *Elias* told him, by the Direction, and in the Name of God, “ that where the Dogs licked the Blood
“ of *Naboth*, they should lick also the Blood of *Ahab* and
“ *Jezebel*; and that the whole Race should be rooted out
“ for this flagitious Cruelty, in taking away the Life of an
“ innocent Man by Calumny and Subornation.” These Words of the Prophet brought *Ahab* to the Sense of a true, and of a sincere Repentance. He mortify’d himself in Sackcloth and Fasting, going Bare-foot, and giving all Manifestation of a hearty Sorrow for his Sins. So that God sent the Prophet once again to him with another Message; and to let him know, that in regard of his Penitence and Humiliation, the Judgment denounced should not be executed in his Days, but in the Days of his Son, it should all come to pass. Upon these Words the Prophet went his way.

C H A P. VIII.

Adad besieges Ahab in Samaria, and is beaten-off. He is worsted against the next Year, and flees to Ahab for Mercy; who treats him kindly, and dismisses him; which the Prophet reproves him for.

* **W**Hile Matters went thus with *Ahab*, *Adad* the King of *Syria* and *Damascus* levy'd a mighty Army out of his whole Kingdom, and being joined by two and thirty Confederate Kings beyond the *Euphrates*, he marched with this mighty Force against *Ahab*, who did not think it reasonable, upon so vast an Odds of Number, to venture a Battle in the plain Field; but chose rather to draw his Military Men out of the open Country into strong Holds, and fortify'd Towns; and to keep themselves upon the defensive. He himself made choice of *Samaria* for his Capital, which he resolv'd to make good. The Place was strong by Situation, good Walls, and good Works about it, and a good Garrison to maintain it. The *Syrian* brought his Army before it, and began in Form to make his Attacks, sending a *Herald* to *Ahab* at the same time, for Licence to dispatch Embassadors to him, with Instructions to propose what he should demand. This was granted, and the Embassadors sent, and receiv'd; having a Commission, as they said, to tell him, that his Treasure, his Wives and his Children, were all at *Adad's* Mercy; and that if he would acknowledge as much, and permit the other to take what he thought fit out of them, he would instantly quit the Siege, and withdraw his Army. *Ahab* sent the Embassadors back with this Answer, That he himself, and all he had was at their Master's Service. The *Syrian*, after this Demand and Return, sent yet another Embassy; which was, That upon sending his Officers and Servants to him next Morning, they should have free Liberty to search all his own Lodgings, with the Houses, and Apartments of all his Relations, and Domesticks, and to take away with them whatever they should think worth the while; and for the Remainder, *Ahab* might keep it to himself.

This Message was the less troublesome to *Ahab*, because it gave him a fair Occasion of calling a Council, and furnish'd him

* 1 Kings 20.

him with Matter for a very plausible and seasonable Debate. "Look you Friends, *says he*, I have had two Proposals sent me from *Adad*; the former for an Acknowledgment that myself, my Wives and Children, are all at his Mercy; and upon the Terms of such a Confession, he was to raise the Siege. Now all this I yielded to, as I would part with any thing of my own Interest for the Sake of the publick Peace, and the common Good of my People: But they are now come up to insist upon a general Search and Rifle, out of a meer captious Humour, to pick a Quarrel with us: And nothing less, *they say*, will do. They began at first with my own particular Concerns, out of an Opinion I would have stuck there: But I am now to deliver-up my Country, and my People also, which they know I will never do; and so that must be the Rise of a War. But I am ready and resolv'd at last to do only what you shall advise me to." The *Council* cry'd out upon the Insolency of this *Barbarian*, with all the Contempt imaginable; and gave their Voices unanimously for a downright War: So the Embassadors were sent away with this Answer, "That the King would yet agree to their first Demands; but that for the Security and Honour of the Citizens, he would never consent to the other." *Adad* was so nettled at this Answer, that he sent a third Embassy, which was much more peremptory and menacing then the former, "Tell their King, *says Adad*, that he values himself upon the Strength and Security of his Walls; but that I will, before he is aware, cast-up Works that shall over-top them; and that it will be but every Soldier a Handful of Earth to do his Business;" giving to understand the incredible Number of his People: To which *Ahab* reply'd, that *Men of Honour were to dispute with their Swords, not with their Tongues*. *Adad* happen'd to be at Supper with his two and thirty Confederate Kings, upon the Ambassador's Arrival with this Answer: And he gave Orders in the same Moment for the Siege, and the Works; and for the doing of every Thing, in fine, that might conduce to the Taking of the Town. *Ahab* in the mean while, and his Party, were as much down and hopeless, as Men could well be, till a certain Prophet came to him, and rouz'd him with an Assurance from God, that he should prevail against that prodigious Army. *Ahab* was now desirous to know by what Hands this Victory should be obtain'd. *By the Sons*, *says he*, *of the Nobility, and you yourself in the Head of them*. So the King call'd them together to the Number of two Hundred thirty two: And *Ahab* having Information that the
Syrian

Syrian was in the Height of his Cups and Luxury, the Gates were thrown open of a sudden, and these Heroes made a Sally. The Information of this was no sooner brought to *Adad*, but he forthwith sent out a Party toward them with Orders, that whether they came to fight or to treat, they should bring them bound to him. *Ahab* in the mean time had the rest of his Army in Readiness within the Walls, to issue out upon Occasion. These great Officers Sons first engag'd with the Guards, kill'd a great many of them, and pursu'd the rest up to their Tents. When the King of *Israel* found that they succeeded thus far so well, he issu'd out with the Remainder of the Army, and made a furious Charge upon the *Syrians*; took them at unawares, and routed them without any Difficulty, having only Men in Drink, and without Arms, to deal withal: So that they were forc'd to run for their Lives; *Adad* himself getting off only by the Swiftness of his Horse. They had, in short, the Chase of them a great Way, killing those they overtook; and so with a mighty rich Booty of Gold, Silver, and Equipages, that they took in the Tents, and the very Chariots and Horses of *Adad*, they march'd back again to the City. The Prophet however advis'd the King, after all this, to have an Army in Readiness to take the Field next Spring; for *Adad* would give him Occasion for it. So *Ahab* prepares vigorously for it on the one hand; and *Adad* calls his Friends together on the other, with the Remains of his broken Army, to advise how to manage it. *Adad's* Friends were against his fighting any more in the Mountains; for the *Israelites God*, they said, was the *God of the Mountains*: But if they had sought upon the Plains, the *Israelites* would have been worsted. They gave Counsel also for the discharging of the Confederate Princes from any further Personal Service and Attendance; only their Troops to stay, and be supply'd with good Officers in the Head of them; and in the mean time, their Commanders might be levying Recruits of Horse and Foot to fill up their shatter'd Companies. The King was well enough pleas'd with this Advice, and so apply'd himself to his Preparations. The Spring being now at hand, he march'd his Army against the *Hebrews*, and pitch'd his Camp in a large Plain, according to the Advice of his Prophets, not far from the City of *Apheca*. *Ahab* in the mean time, with his Troops, advanced, and drew-up just over against him, though many Thousands short of the Number of the *Syrians*. While they were facing one another, the Prophet came to the *Hebrews* with an Assurance from God, that they should be victorious, and

and that the Enemies should find the *God* of the *Mountains* to be the *God* of the *Valleys* too. The Armies continu'd for *six Days* in the same Station without moving; and upon the *seventh* they advanc'd on both Sides in a Line, and struck the Battle. It was hard fought at first; but when the *Syrians* found that they were not able to stand the Shock any longer they turn'd their Backs immediately, and every Man shifted for himself, in a direct Rout, with the Enemy close at their Heels. Betwixt those, in fine, that were slain upon the Pursuit, and those that perish'd by Misadventure in the Confusion of their Flight, by their own Chariots and Men; some torn to pieces, others trampled upon, and trod to Death, the Calamity was very great. Those that got into *Apheca*, the only Place they had to fly to, were not many, considering so mighty a Body of Men; and then they reckon about seven and twenty Thousand bury'd under the Ruins of the Walls; beside a Matter of a Hundred Thousand that were slain in the Battle.

Adad, with some of his trustiest Officers and Servants, got into a Cave and hid himself, where some of those about him took up a Discourse of the natural Humanity and good Nature of the *Hebrews*; and upon the Issue, advis'd their Master to cast himself at *Ahab's* Feet for Mercy, in Confidence that upon such an Application and Submission, it would not be refus'd him. The King agreed to try the Experiment, and thereupon so many of his Train were immediately dress'd up in the Guise and Habit of Supplicants and Captives, clothed in Sackcloth, and Halters about their Necks, according to the Custom of the Country in such Cases, and sent to *Ahab* with a Commission to tell him that *Adad* was his Prisoner, and would ever own himself so to be; and that they came in his Name, only to implore his Grace toward him for the saving of his Life. "Well, says *Ahab*, I am glad he is safe; and you may assure him, that he shall be as welcome to me, as if he were my own Brother."

The Messengers, upon the Solemnity of a sacred Oath that no Violence should be offer'd to his Person, went away presently to their Master in the Cellar, and brought him out to the King of *Israel*; who was at that Time in his Chariot. So soon as the Prisoner had made his Obedience, *Ahab* bow'd himself to receive him, taking him up to him with his Right-hand, and kissing him, giving him his Faith and Honour also for his absolute Security and Freedom. *Adad*, on the other side, returning as large Acknowledgments, with repeated Protestations, that this Generosity and Goodness should

should never be forgotten : And in the mean time, he said, " He would restore again to the *Hebrews* all the Cities and " Lands that had been taken from them ; and that *Ahab* " should be as free at *Damascus*, as ever the other's Father " had been at *Samaria*." Upon this, they proceeded to the Signing and Sealing of a *League*, and the reciprocal Interchange of Oaths for the Performance of Covenants ; and so *Adad* was dismiss'd, not without magnificent Presents.

After this Blow given to the *Syrians*, a certain Prophet, whose Name was *Micaiah*, came to an *Israelite*, and bad him strike him over the Head ; telling him withal, that it was God's Will to have it so : But the Man refusing to do it, the Prophet told him, " He should pay dear for his Disobedience ; for he would come to be worried by a Lion." This fell out accordingly ; and the Prophet, with the same Words in his Mouth, went afterwards to another ; who immediately gave him a Blow that drew Blood of him. Upon this, he bound up his Head, and went to the King with this Story, That he was a Soldier, and a certain Officer had deliver'd him a Prisoner to keep, who had made his Escape, and he himself was now forc'd to fly for't ; for fear the Officer that committed him to his Custody, should put him to Extremities now for letting him go. " Well, says *Ahab*, " and he should serve you but right neither : " Upon which Words, the Prophet unbound his Head, to give *Ahab* to understand that he that told him this Story was *Micaiah*. He made use of this way of Parable to fasten the deeper Impression upon him ; telling him in the End, that God would call him to a severe Account, for letting go so impious and blasphemous a Wretch as *Adad*, when he had him in his Power ; " For the Time will come, says the Prophet, when this very " *Adad* that you have now spar'd, shall be the Death of you " yourself, and the Destruction of your Army." *Ahab* was highly exasperated at this Liberty of the Prophet, and order'd him to be imprison'd ; but he went home however with a heavy Heart, for this dismal Prediction would not out of his Head.

C H A P. IX.

The Piety, good Fortune, and Power of Jehoshaphat. His Son Joram marries the Daughter of the King of Israel, and joins in a War with Ahab against Adad.

† **T**O return now from the Story of *Ahab*, and his Matters, to *Jehoshaphat* King of *Jerusalem*; this Prince had not only enlarged his Territory, and put Garrisons into all the Cities under his Jurisdiction: But he had put Men and Governours into those also in the Land of *Ephraim*, that his Grandfather *Abias* had taken from *Jeroboam*, the King of the *Ten Tribes*. This King never fail'd of God's Blessing and Protection in any of his Undertakings; for he was a just and a pious Man, and not a Day pass'd over his Head without doing some good Thing or other that was acceptable to God. This Integrity of his Life and Manners gave him a very high Reputation among all the Neighbouring Kings, as appeared by the Frequency and Munificence of their Presents; which not a little contributed to the advancing even of his Fortune, as well as of his Fame.

In the third Year of his Reign, he called together the *Elders*, and the Priests that were under his Jurisdiction, and gave them Orders to have Commissioners sent from Town to Town, wherever he had to do, to attend the Care of God's Worship, and to see that *Moses's* Laws might be duly executed and observed. This Care of his for the Preservation of their Religion, was so great a Satisfaction to all his Subjects, that they were at Strife amongst themselves, who should be foremost in the promoting of so excellent a Work. And the Princes every where about him all this while, had so great a Reverence for him, that they liv'd in a fair Understanding one with another, and an inviolate Peace. The *Philistines* paid their ordinary Tribute with punctual Justice; and the *Arabians*, their Annuity of six Hundred and thirty Lambs, and the like Number of Kids. *Jehoshaphat* also fortify'd his great and strong Towns, and kept in constant Pay a well disciplin'd Army, to be ever in Readiness upon Occasion. Of the Tribe of *Judah*, there were Three Hundred Thousand *Shield-bearers*, under the Command of *Edra*; Two Hundred Thousand

† 2 Chron. 18.

Thousand under *Johanan* ; and of the Tribe of *Benjamin* two hundred Thousand *Archers*, under the same Officers. There was another Captain also, by Name *Ochobab*, that commanded a hundred and eighty Thousand Men armed with *Bucklers* : Beside the Soldiers that were dispers'd into Towns and Garrisons. He marry'd his Son *Jehoram*, in fine, to *Gotholia* the Daughter of *Ahab*, King of the *Ten Tribes* : And when he had an Occasion to go to *Samaria*, he was most magnificently received by *Ahab* ; he, and all his Military Men about him, with Corn, Wine, Flesh, and other Provisions ; and upon *Ahab's* Entreaty, join'd with him in a War upon the King of *Syria* for the Recovery of *Ramath-Gilead*, which had been taken, and was detained from him by that Prince. * *Jehoshaphat* having an Army of his own, not inferiour to the others, promis'd him his Assistance, and sent for his Troops from *Jerusalem* to *Samaria* ; where both the Kings went out of the Town, and each of them sitting upon his Throne, apart, took a Review of their Forces, and paid the Army. *Jehoshaphat*, upon this Occasion, was of Opinion, if any of the Prophets were within Call, to advise with them in this Expedition against the *Syrian*, whether or no it might be a War at that Time to be undertaken ; for there had been a three Years Peace now betwixt those two Kings, since the *Syrian* was taken.

C H A P. X.

The Prophets consulted about the War with Adad. Zedekijah tells Ahab that he shall be Victorious. Michaiah the Contrary. It comes to a Battle, and Ahab the only Man that falls in it ; and Ahaziah his Son succeeds him in the Government.

A *Hab* call'd his *Prophets* together about him, to the Number of some four Hundred, and order'd them to enquire, whether or no they should be victorious in this War against *Adad*, and carry the City, which was the main Point in Question. The *Prophets* were altogether for the War ; for the *Syrian*, they said, should be overcome, and made a Prisoner, as before. *Jehoshaphat* suspected a Double-meaning in

* 1 Kings 22.

in the Words, and that they were *false Prophets* : So that for more Certainty sake, he asked *Ahab* what other Prophets there were, that he might have Recourse to ; who made Answer, that there was one indeed, (one *Michaiah*, the Son of *Imli*) but he hated the Man, for he could never get a good Word of him : Insomuch that he would have persuaded him into a Fancy, that he was to lose his Life in this Action against the King of *Syria* ; so that he had now laid him in a Jayl for his pains. But *Jehoshaphat* would needs have him sent for however ; and an *Eunuch*, one of the *Bed-Chamber Waiters*, was dispatch'd presently to fetch him. This Messenger was telling *Michaiah*, as they were upon the Way together, what the rest of the Prophets said, and how they were all agreed upon't, that *Ahab* should be victorious. " Well ! " *says the other*, I must not prevaricate with him that made me ; but by the Grace of God, what Message soever he shall think fit to put in my Mouth, shall be most faithfully reported to the King." Upon the Prophet's Arrival, *Ahab* adjur'd him to speak the very Truth of the Matter, as he found it, without making it either more or less. " Why then, *says Michaiah*, I saw all *Israel* scatter'd and flying, and the *Syrians* pursuing them, as Sheep that had no Shepherd ; by which Representation, God hath given to understand, that all the rest of the People shall return safe, and *Ahab* only fall in the Battle." The King upon these Words, turning to *Jehoshaphat* : " Well ! *says he*, and do not you find it to be true now as I told you, that this Man is my Enemy ? " " No, *says Michaiah*, the Words that I deliver are according to the express Direction and Command of God ; but you suffer yourself to be flatter'd by your false Prophets into a War, upon the Hope of Victory, when you yourself are to fall in't." This Firmness and Resolution of the Prophet made the King very uneasy.

One of the *false Prophets*, whose Name was *Zedekijah*, stept out upon this Occasion, and in Contempt of *Michaiah*, advised the King not to give any heed to what that prating Fellow said, for there was not one Word of Truth in it ; and there needed no other Proof of his being an Impostor then the Prediction of *Elias* who undoubtedly saw further into Things to come then he did, for he had foretold, " That in the Place where Dogs licked the Blood of *Naboth*, who was ston'd to Death by his Procurement, in the Field of *Naboth*, Dogs should lick the King's Blood also. Now this is a most palpable Falsity in Contradiction to the foretelling of a Prophet of much greater Authority then himself ; for he will have

“ it, that within the Compass of three Days the King is to
 “ fall in the Battle; but it shall be quickly seen, *says the*
 “ *Prophet*, by what Spirit this Man speaks. I will now give
 “ him a Box on the Ear, and let my Hand wither upon do-
 “ ing of it, as *Jeroboam's* did upon lifting up his Hand a-
 “ gainst *Jadon*, when he would have had the Prophet taken
 “ into Custody; if what he delivers to you be from Heaven. I
 “ take it for granted that you have heard of the Story.” Up-
 on the saying of these Words, he struck the *Prophet*; and
Ahab finding that no Judgment or Mischief follow'd upon
 it, was harden'd in his Resolution upon this War, by the
 strange Force of a Fatality, that made him give more Credit
 to false Prophets, then to true ones; and so dispos'd of Cau-
 ses, that they might be follow'd with suitable Events. *Zede-*
kijah then made him Horns of Iron; and, *says he*, “ Under
 “ the Figure of these Horns, is signify'd by God, the pushing,
 “ and the breaking of all *Syriah* :” *Michaiah*, on the other
 Hand telling the *false Prophet*, “ That in a very short Time
 “ he should be call'd to an Account for the Vanity and Fal-
 “ sity of his Pretensions, and be driven from one hiding
 “ Place to another to save himself.” *Ahab* was so exasperated
 at this Liberty that he appointed (a) *Apion* the Governour of
 the City to take him into strict Custody, and to feed him with
 only Bread and Water, till he should return.

The two Kings, upon this, advanced with their Troops
 toward *Ramath*, and the King of *Syria* hearing it, went
 out to meet them. It was agreed upon betwixt them, that
Ahab should put himself that Day into the Disguise of a pri-
 vate Habit, and, a Native of *Jerusalem* represent the Person
 of the King in his Royal Robes, the better to evade the Dint
 of the Prophet's Presage: But a providential Fatality found
 out the King, though without any distinguishing Marks a-
 bout him of his Regality; for *Adad* gave a strict Charge to
 his Officers and Commanders to fight neither with Small nor
 Great, but with the King of *Israel*. The *Syrians*, upon the
 first Push, seeing *Jehoshaphat* in the Head of the Army, im-
 mediately press upon him, taking him for *Ahab*; but when
 they found their Error, they went off and left him. They
 kept the Field from Morning to Night, the one flying, and
 the other pursuing, but not one Drop of Blood spilt all this
 while; only hunting after *Ahab*, and still not finding him.
 But in the End, one of *Adad's* Domesticks, *Aman* by Name,
 drew an Arrow at a Venture, that struck the King through
 the

(a) *Achamen. Jos.*

the Joints of his Armour into his very Lungs. *Ahab* was willing to keep it private for fear of discouraging his Men ; and so spake to his Charioteer to carry him a little out of the Army ; for he was mortally wounded. He kept his Chariot however till about Sun-setting, though in miserable Fortune, and then betwixt Agony, and Weakness with the Loss of Blood, he departed this Life ; and the Night coming on, the *Syrians* withdrew to their Tents : And so soon as ever they were advertis'd by a Herald, of *Ahab's Death*, the Camp brake up, and every Man went to his own Home.

The King's Body was carry'd to *Samaria*, and there interr'd ; and upon washing the Blood off from the Chariot in a Fountain near hand, the Prediction of *Elias* was verified ; for *the Dogs lick'd up the Blood*, and the Place was afterwards made use of for common Women to bath in. He dy'd at *Ramath*, according to the Prophecy of *Michaiah* : So that for the greater Honour, and Authority of the Revelation, the Presages of both the Prophets were made good to the eternal Shame and Confusion of fawning and time-serving Impostors, that square all their Judgments to their Profit ; and instead of telling us from God what we are to believe and do, give us effectually to understand that we are not to believe, or do. - Upon this Occasion, I cannot but reflect upon the insuperable Necessity of our Fate ; which is not in the World to be avoided, even if it should be foreknown : But we suffer ourselves to be egg'd on with vain, and foolish Hopes, till we are hamper'd irrecoverably in the Snare. This was the Ruin of *Ahab* : He would not believe those that told him the unpleasant Truth of Things ; but lost his Life by a fatal Credulity toward those that betray'd, and humour'd him. This was his End, and *Ahaziah* his Son reigned in his Stead.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the NINTH.

[From the Year of the World 3048, to 3224.]

C H A P. I.

Jehoshaphat gets a great Victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabians. The Wickedness and Death of Ahaziah, as Elias had foretold it. Jehoram his Brother succeeds him ; who with the Assistance of Jehoshaphat, and the King of Idumæa, overthrows the King of the Moabites. The Death of Jehoshaphat.

* **U**PON *Jehoshaphat's* Return to *Jerusalem*, after his joining with *Ahab* against *Adad*, the Prophet *Jehu* met him, and gave him a Rebuke for espousing the Quarrel of so impious and flagitious a Wretch as *Ahab*. He told him how highly he had offended God in that Alliance ; but yet he was graciously pleased, for the Good that was in him, to pass over what he had done amiss, and to deliver him out of the Hands of his Enemies. Upon this Admonition, the King reconcil'd himself to God by Prayers and Sacrifices ; appointed a general Visitation through all his Dominions, with Orders for instructing

* 2 Chron. 19.

structing the People in the Laws of *Moses*, and in the Religion of their Forefathers. He also erected Magistrates in all their great Towns and Places, giving them Charge to administer Justice to all Men indifferently, the Poor as well as the Rich, without any Respect to Profit, Favour, or Affection; and, in fine, to discharge their Duties, as in the Sight of an All-seeing God, that knew the very Thoughts of their Hearts. When he had taken Care for the Establishment of good Order and Manners in the several Cities of the *Two Tribes*, he returned to *Jerusalem*; where he constituted Judges out of the most considerable of the *Priests* and *Levites*; enjoining them, by the way of Precaution, to do Justice impartially to all the People: Or if there should arise any Controversies of more Weight then ordinary in any of their Neighbour-Cities, that should be brought to them for Judgment, that they should not pass Sentence, without all possible Care and Consideration; for it would be a most scandalous and dishonourable Thing not to do punctual and accurate Justice in a City where *God* had establish'd his *Temple*; and the King, his Palace. He chose the Chief Magistrates out of the Number of his own Friends; as (a) *Ahaziah* the *Priest*, [for the Matters of the Lord;] and *Zebediah*, of the House of *Judah*, [for the King's Affairs.]

* It was at this time, that the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, with the People of *Aram*, made War upon *Jehoshaphat* with a mighty Army of Mercenaries, and encamped at *Engedi*, a City near the Lake of *Asphaltites*, some three hundred Furlongs from *Jerusalem*, and a Place famous for *Balsam* and *Palm-Trees*. When *Jehoshaphat* understood that they had pass'd the *Lake*, and broken into his Country, he was not a little startled at the Surprise, and presently order'd an Assembly to be call'd; and then standing before the *Temple*, he betook himself to his Prayers, for *God's* Blessing upon his Arms against so powerful an Invader: Which was but according to the Form and Practice of our Forefathers, upon the first Institution of that holy Place; who, whenever they found themselves in Danger of being overrun by a foreign Enemy, caused all the People to meet in a full Congregation to implore *God's* Assistance toward the repelling of that Violence, and for the Maintenance of that Inheritance, which the Lord in his infinite Bounty had bestow'd upon them, and their Enemies would take away by Force. *Jehoshaphat*

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(a) See *Selden de Synedr. Hebr. l. 2. c. 8. p. 244, 245. Edit. Anstet.*

* 2 Chron. 20.

Japhat mingled his Prayers with Tears, and the joint Supplications of the whole Multitude, with their Wives and Children went along with them.

As they were in the Fervour of their Devotions, there started-up a certain Prophet in the Middle of them, whose Name was *Jahaziel*, crying out to the People, that God had heard their Prayers, and would fight their Battle, in favour of the Religion they profess'd; appointing them, upon this, to be in Readiness the next Day to march toward their Enemies, whom they should find encamped betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Engeddi*, at a certain Ascent, known by the Name of *Sis*; which in *Hebrew* is as much as *an Eminence*: Telling them further, that they should not need to strike a Stroke; but only to stand looking on, as quiet Spectators of an Action wherein God would fight for them. After this Declaration, both King and People fell prostrate upon their Faces; gave thanks, and worship'd: The *Levites* in the mean while accompanying their Hymns with Musical Instruments.

The King, early next Morning, went into the *Desart*, under the City of *Tekoah*, where he admonished the Multitude to put their Trust in God, according to the Prediction of the *Prophet*, and that there was no need of ranging themselves in Form of Battle; but only to set the *Priests* with their *Trumpets* in the first Line, and the *Levites* with their *Singers*, and so to move chearfully forward, with Musick and Thanksgiving, as upon a Day of Victory, or Deliverance from a common Enemy. They were all highly satisfy'd with the King's Advice, and soon after they put it in Execution; for God struck the *Ammonites*, and their Allies, with such a panick Terror and Consternation, that falling foul one upon another, the Outrage was so furious against their own People, that of so many Thousands of Combatants, there was not one Man left alive. When *Jehoshaphat* came to take a View of the Valley where the Enemy was encamped, he found it all cover'd with dead Bodies: Never so easie and absolute a Victory, gain'd without either Sweat or Blood: So that *Jehoshaphat* in a Transport of Joy for so unexpected a Blessing, gave his Soldiers the Pillage of the Camp, and the Spoil of the Dead; which was so excessive great, that it cost them full three Days to carry-off the Booty.

On the fourth Day, all the People gather'd together in a deep, craggy Valley, called *The Valley of Beracha*; where they praised and blessed God for all the Works of his Power and Mercy. From hence it was that the Valley took its Name; which is as much as to say, *The Valley of Blessings*: And it

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is so call'd to this very Day. The King led his Army from thence to *Jerusalem*, where he pass'd several Days in Sacrifice and Feasting. The Fame of this miraculous Victory possess'd all foreign Princes and Nations wherever it came, with such a Reverence for the Sanctity and Piety of *Jehoshaphat*, that they look'd upon him as a Person for whom God had a peculiar Kindness; and kept-up the same Opinion of him to his Dying-day. But he was yet a Friend all this while to [*Abaziah*] the Son of *Ahab*, King of *Israel*, and went Shares with him in the setting out of Ships for the Gold-Trade: But the Design miscarry'd, to their very great Expence and Damage; for the Vessels were not of a Make and Size for those Seas: So that, in short, what with one thing and another, whether through ill Conduct, or foul Weather, they were all cast away, and so the Project fell to the Ground, and was never afterwards revived. Let this suffice for the History of *Jehoshaphat*.

* *Abaziah* the Son of *Ahab*, and the King of *Israel*, had his Royal Palace in *Samaria*. He was a pestilent, wicked Man, and the very Picture of his Father and Mother, and all that was Naught: Beside a certain Emulation that he had to out-do *Jeroboam* himself, the Capital Seducer of *Israel*. In the second Year of his Reign, the King of the *Moabites* fell-off, and absolutely refused to be any longer Subject to the Tribute he had formerly paid to his Father. It happen'd that *Abaziah* got a terrible Fall down Stairs one Day, as he was passing from an upper Chamber, that endanger'd his Life: He was very ill upon it, and sent to the God of the *Accaronites*, or the *Fly* (as they call'd him) to know whether he should live or die. Upon this Occasion, the God of the *Hebrews* commanded the Prophet *Elias* to go presently and meet the Messengers, and to ask them whether the *Israelites* had not a God of their own; and if so, there was no need of consulting a strange God in the Case: And therefore, they had e'en best go back again to the King, and tell him that he should not recover. The Messengers immediately took their Errand from *Elias*, and posted away with it to the King; who was in great Admiration to see them so soon back again; and enquiring further into the Matter, they told of a Man they met, that bad them go no further, and withal charging them to tell their King in the Name of the God of the *Israelites*, that his Illness was mortal. The King was very earnest and particular with them to describe the Man: So

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they

they told him, it was a hairy Man, with a leathern Girdle about him. By this Description, the King presently concluded this Person to be *Elias*, and so dispatch'd away an Officer with fifty Soldiers to take him into Custody. The Commander found him upon the Top of a Mountain, and so call'd him down to go along with him to the King; for that was his Order, he said; And if he would not go by fair Means, he would make him go by foul. *Elias* told him, that to shew him the Difference betwixt a *true Prophet* and a *false*, he would now convince him by a *Prodigy* that he was no Impostor. *If I am a Man of God*, says he, *let Fire come down from Heaven, and devour thee and thy fifty*: Upon which Prayer, a Fire descended, and consumed them all. The Tidings of this dreadful Judgment came no sooner to the King's Ear, but in a Rage, he sent another Officer with the same Number of Men, and upon the same Errand. The Captain said the same Things over again; used the same Menaces, and they were all destroy'd after the same Manner. After this, the King sent yet again a third Officer with his Party. Now the Man being a candid good-natur'd Person, when he came up to *Elias*, saluted him with Respect. "I need not tell you (*says he*) that I am under Command; that I come upon this Errand unwillingly, as they did likewise who came before me; Wherefore I beseech you be pleas'd out of Pity to me, and my Soldiers about me, to come down willingly, and follow us to the King." *Elias* was so much mov'd with the Modesty and Civility of the Man, that he went down, and follow'd him. When they had brought him into the King's Presence, the Spirit of God came upon him, and he freely told the King, *Thus saith the Lord*: "Since you have an Opinion of me that I am no God, nor able to foretel what will be the Issue of your Distemper; and that you have rather chosen to send to your God *Accaron* for your Satisfaction, take Notice that it will be your Death."

In some short time, this Prophecy was fulfill'd; and *Ahaziah* dying without Issue, *Jehoram* his Brother reigned in his Stead; a Man no way inferiour to *Ahab* for a vicious and an impious Course of Life: For he deliver'd himself up wholly to strange Gods, to the Scandal and the Dishonour of the Religion of his Forefathers, though otherwise a Man of Sense, and well enough qualify'd for Bus'ness.

It was in his time, that *Elias* was taken away from the Conversation of Men, and no Manner of Account given what became of him even to this Day; but he left *Elisba* his Disciple

Disciple behind him, of whom we have spoken already. We find in Holy Writ the same thing attested of *Enoch* before the Flood, as well as of *Elias* here, and that they were both taken away; but no Mention made of the Death of either of them.

† Upon *Jehoram's* coming to the Throne after his Brother, he resolved to make War upon *Mesha* the King of the *Moabites*, for refusing to pay the Tribute of two hundred Thousand unshorn Sheep a-Year, upon the Account of what was formerly paid to his Father *Ahab*. Wherefore he began with levying an Army at home; and after that, pray'd the Assistance of *Jehoshaphat* (for ancient Kindness sake betwixt the two Fathers) to join with him; who not only promis'd for himself, but undertook likewise to engage the King of *Idumæa*, having some Tye upon him, in the Party. When *Jehoram* came to understand how well he was like to be seconded, he went forthwith to *Jerusalem*, where he was splendidly receiv'd and treated by the King of the Place. Being there in Council, the Ways and Method of the Expedition were taken into Debate, and a Vote pass'd by common Consent for the Army to steer their Course through the Desert of *Idumæa*, where the Enemy would be least aware of the Design. The three Kings; that is to say, of *Jerusalem*, *Israel*, and *Idumæa*, put themselves upon their March, according to the Resolution of the Council; and when they had wander'd up and down for the Space of seven Days, they fell into a great Distress for Want of Water, both for Man and Beast, till they were all within a very little of the uttermost Extremity of Despair. *Jehoram* especially, who call'd out to God in an expostulatory way of Impatience, "What have these three Kings done, says he, to be deliver'd up Captives to the King of the *Moabites* without a Stroke?" *Jehoshaphat*, on the other hand, as became a pious Man, spake comfortable Words to *Jehoram*; advising him to enquire, if there were ever a Prophet in the Army to ask Counsel of God what was to be done under their Circumstances. A Servant, within Hearing, told them that he had seen *Elisha* the Son of *Shaphat* there, the Disciple of *Elias*; and upon this Information, the three Kings, upon the Proposal of *Jehoshaphat*, went and found him out. When they came to his Tent, which was a little out of the Camp, they ask'd him what would become of this Army; *Jehoram* especially was the most inquisitive. Well, says

Elisha

† 2 Kings 3.

Elisha to him, "you should have gone to your Father's and
 " your Mother's Prophets for Satisfaction, without troubling
 " other People: They would have set you right, no doubt."
Jehoram lay at him still, begging and praying for an An-
 swer, if it were but for the saving of so many Mens Lives
 that were ready to perish. *Elisha* swore solemnly to *Jeho-*
ram, "that if it were not for the Sake of *Jehoshaphat*, who
 " was a good and a pious Man, he should have had no An-
 " swer from him at all." And upon this, he order'd a Mu-
 sician to be call'd, and as he was singing, the Spirit of God
 came upon the Prophet; who spake to the Kings to make
 several Ditches in the Channels of the Torrent; and, says
Elisha, "you shall see them all flowing with Water, with-
 " out either Wind or Rain: Water sufficient for yourselves,
 " and your Cattle, to all Manner of Purposes: Beside that
 " henceforward you shall never feel any more Drought.
 " And this is not all neither; for God will bless you yet
 " further still, for by his Grace and Help you shall over-
 " come your Enemies, and scatter them, and ruin their
 " Plantations; lay their Country waste, and choak-up their
 " Rivers, and their Fountains." The next Day, before Sun-
 rise, after these Words of the Prophet, there came down
 from *Idumæa*, three Days Journey from the Place, an im-
 petuous Torrent upon a mighty Fall of Rain, so that there
 was no longer any Want of Drink, either for Horse or
 Man.

When the King of *Moab* understood that these three Kings
 were advancing against him by the Way of the *Wilderness*,
 he raised all the Force he was able to make, to meet them
 upon the Borders, for fear of any Inroad upon him by Sur-
 prize. The two Armies were by this time not far from the
 Land of *Moab*; when the Rising-Sun striking upon the Tor-
 rent, made the Water look so red, that the *Moabites* took it
 for Blood; vainly imagining, that the three Kings had fallen
 to cutting of Throats among themselves, in a Rage for Want
 of Water, and that this Torrent was a Stream of their Blood.
 In this Confidence, they went to their King only for Liberty
 to rifle the Enemy's Camp, giving for granted that it was
 all abandon'd. Upon their Application, they obtained
 Leave to break-in upon the Enemy's Pillage, and so ran
 Hand over Head in a Confusion to the Enemy's Camp, as
 if there needed no more to the gaining of the Booty, then
 the taking of it up; but they quickly found their Mistake,
 for they were set upon on all Hands in the Attempt; Part
 kill'd, and the rest so scatter'd, that they had much ado to
 make

make their way home again. The Kings, in the mean while, made an Incurſion into the Land of the *Moabites*; deſtroy'd their Towns and Cities; drove away all their Cattle, and cover'd all the Turf with the Sand and Gravel of the Torrent; cut down the beſt of their Woods and Trees; dam'd up the Springs and Fountains, and levell'd their Walls to the Ground: Nay, the King himſelf was forc'd to take Sanctuary in a Town, where he was afterward beſieged; and in ſuch Danger of loſing it by Aſſault, that he attempted a Sally with ſeven Hundred Horſe upon the Enemy's weakeſt Quarter, to break through their Body; but failing of his Puſh, he was forc'd into the Town again, where he enter'd upon the moſt horrid, barbarous Action that the uttermoſt Pinch of Neceſſity or Deſpair could put a Man upon. He took his eldeſt Son, the next Heir to the Government, and ſacrific'd him to God upon the Walls, in the View of the Enemy's Army. The Kings reflecting upon the Force of an abandon'd Deſperation, together with the Viciffitude of humane Affairs, were ſofter'd to ſuch a Degree of Compaſſion, and making it their own Caſe too, that they brake-up the Siege upon it, and every Man went back to his own Home. *Jehoſhaphat* was at Eaſe after this Expedition; but he did not long out-live it. He dy'd at *Jeruſalem* in the *ſixtieth* Year of his Age, and the *twenty fifth* of his Reign; and he had in that City a moſt magnificent Burial; ſuch a one, as might become the Imitator of *David*.

C H A P. II.

Jehoram the Son of Jehoſhaphat ſucceeds his Father. Eliſha works Miracles. Adad beſieges Jehoram in Samaria. The miraculous raiſing of the Siege. Hazael ſtrangles Adad, and uſurps the Kingdom of Syria and Damafcus. The execrable Impieties of Jehoram, and the dreadful Judgment that Eliſha denounces againſt him.

* *Jehoſhaphat* left behind him ſeveral Sons; and *Jehoram*, the eldeſt of them, by his Father's Appointment, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. He bare the ſame Name with his

his Mother's Brother the King of *Israel*, and the Son of *Ahab*, who was then but newly return'd to *Samaria* from the War with the *Moabites*, and brought *Elisha* with him. The Holy Scriptures make mention of several memorable Passages of that Prophet, which I shall account well worth the taking Notice of in this History. The Wife of *Obadiah*, *Ahab's* Steward, apply'd herself to *Elisha*, and told him, That he was no Stranger to the outrageous Violence of *Jezebel* against the † *Prophets*, and how her Husband conceal'd and preserv'd a Hundred of them from Destruction, and took up Money upon his own Credit to feed them while they were in the Cave; but that her Husband being now dead, the Creditors threaten'd to make Slaves of her and her Children for the Debt: Wherefore she intreated him for her Husband's Sake to procure her some present Relief. So the Prophet ask'd her what she had in the House; who said she had nothing at all, but a little Oil in a Cruise. The Prophet then bad her go borrow some empty Pots, or Vessels, of her Neighbours, and keep her Chamber-door shut, and put Oil into all those Vessels; for God would fill them all. The Widow did as she was order'd; and after the distributing of the Oil, she came back again to the Prophet, and gave him a particular Account of what she had done; who advis'd her to sell the Oil, and discharge the Debt; for there would be somewhat remaining, after Satisfaction given to the Creditors, for the Relief of her Children. By this Means she deliver'd herself from a troublesome Obligation.

The Prophet one time having got Notice of a Conspiracy against the Life of *Jehoram*, and that *Adad* had treacherously planted an Ambush to surprize him, he gave the King Intelligence of it, with a Caution to have a Care of such a certain Place, where the *Syrians* had laid a Plot to entrap him. This Precaution kept the King from going a Hunting, and disappointed the Plot. But *Adad* was in such a Rage when he found his malicious Contrivance defeated, that he fell to storming and railing at his own Domesticks, for a Company of Traitors, threat'ning them with no less then Death itself for discovering a Design that no other Creatures were privy to but themselves. Some Body made Answer, that they had no need to look for Treason among his own Friends and Domesticks, and those that were of the Party to have done the Execution, so long as his Enemy had *Elisha* for a Spy upon him, that lay perpetually prying into his Ways, and Actions,

on

† 2 Kings 4.

on his Master's Behalf; and he had the Faculty of diving into the most secret of his Counsels. The King presently sent his Scouts abroad to enquire after *Elisba*, and to learn where he was; and Word was brought him that he might be found at *Dothan*. Upon this Intelligence, he immediately dispatch'd away Horsemen and Chariots to apprehend him. They went and beset the Town by Night, so that there was no passing either out or in; and early the next Morning, a Servant of the Prophet's ran trembling to his Master to tell him the News, and how the Town was begirt with a Body of the Enemy that came to take him. *Elisba* bad him have a good Heart, and fear nothing; for his Trust and Confidence was in the Goodness and Power of an over-ruling Providence, and so he pray'd to God for some special Token of his Presence and Protection, that might confirm his Servant in a fearless Resignation to his holy Will and Pleasure. The Prophet's Prayers were heard, and there appeared forthwith, in the Sight of the Servant, a Multitude of Horses and Chariots round about *Elisba*, as a Guard upon his Person. The Consideration of this Succour, as the Servant understood it to be, put him out of all Fear of any further Danger for his Master.

After this Vision, the Prophet pray'd once again that God would cast a Mist before the Eyes of these People, and strike them with such a Blindness that they might not see him, so as to discern him from another Man. Upon the granting of this Request also, *Elisba* cast himself into the Middle of their Troops, and so went from one to another, asking them for what, or whom they fought for. They told him, for *Elisba* the Prophet. "Well, says *Elisba*, do but follow me "to the Place where he is, and you shall have him:" So these Men that were blinded in their Understanding, as well as in their Eyes, went after him without any Difficulty or Scruple, till at last he brought them into *Samaria*. Upon their Entrance into the City, the Prophet bad *Jehoram* cause the Ports to be shut, and the *Syrians* to be surrounded. *Elisba*, upon this Occasion, betook himself to his third Prayer; which was, that God would restore the *Syrians* to their Sight again: Whereupon the *Syrians* Eyes were opened; and to their great Astonishment and Admiration, they found themselves coop'd up in an Enemy's Town, and at Mercy in the Hands of their Adversaries.

While the *Syrians* were at a Stand upon this unaccountable Surprize, and at their Wits end what to do next, the King propos'd to the Prophet the putting of them all to Death;

Death ; which he absolutely opposed, as a Way of Proceeding that would not stand with his Honour and Justice ; and only to be allow'd of in Cases where Men are overcome in Battle. But these were People, he told him, that were guilty of no Act of Hostility upon his Country, and only brought thither by the Will and Power of God, without any malicious Intention, or but so much as the bare Knowledge of what they did. And therefore the Prophet gave his Opinion for the Treating of them with Hospitality and Respect ; and after such a generous Refreshment, leaving them to their own Freedom. *Jehoram* took the Prophet's Advice ; gave them a splendid, and a liberal Entertainment, and so sent them back again safe and sound to their Master. They gave the King, at their Return so particular an Account of this wonderful Story, that his Conscience was struck, upon the Hearing of it, with a Conviction, that the Hand of God was manifestly in this Prodigy, and that what the Prophet deliver'd in the Name of God, was no other then the Dictate of a Divine Inspiration. So that after this Time, *Adad* never enter'd into any under-hand Practice against the King of *Israel* ; but resolved however to make open War upon him, in Confidence of his greater Strength and Numbers.

Upon the taking of this Resolution, *Adad* rais'd a mighty Army, and marched with his whole Force, against *Jehoram* : Who finding himself too weak to venture his All upon the Push of a Field Battle, kept himself within the Walls of *Samaria*, where he had good Works and Defences to trust to. It was a strong Place, and *Adad* in some Doubt whether to attempt it by Assault, or by Famine : But however, Siege was laid to the Town, and the Garrison brought to so miserable a Scarcity of Provisions, that an Ass's Head was sold for fourscore Pieces of Silver, and a Pint of Pigeon's Dung (for Seasoning) for five Pieces. There was nothing the King feared so much in this Extremity, as lest some Body or other should betray the Place to the Enemy under the Force and Necessity of an insupportable Famine : So that *Jehoram* every Day visited the Walls, and the Guards, himself ; took care that no Spies should enter privately into the Town, and had a vigilant Eye upon all Motions and under-hand Practices whatsoever.

As the King was attending his Bus'ness, there came a Woman crying to him for Help ; and *Jehoram* supposing she had come to beg of him, turn'd her off with a kind of angry Rebuke ; " I have no Barns, nor Wine-Presses, says he, and " what have I left me to supply your Wants ? " The Woman told

told him, "She did not come to beg his Meat, but to implore his Justice, and to desire that he would do her Right in a Controversie betwixt herself and another Woman." The King ask'd her what it was? And she told him; "*Sir, says she*, a certain Neighbour of mine, and myself, that were ready to die for want of Food, came to an Agreement betwixt ourselves, having each of us a little Male-Child, to eat our Children by turns, barely to keep Life and Soul together. Mine was kill'd and dress'd Yesterday, and she had her Part of it; and now I should have my Part of her Child, she breaks her word with me, and has hid him." *Jehoram* in a raging Passion of Grief and Horror, rent his Garment, raving and crying out, "That he never knew what it was to be perfectly miserable, till that Instant: And all this might have been prevented, *says he*, for a Word speaking, if the Prophet would but have interceded with God for me, on my Behalf: But, *says he*, I'll have his Blood for it;" and in that Heat dispatch'd away an Officer to cut off his Head, who in the same Moment set forward upon that Commission.

This outrageous Displeasure of the King's was no Secret to *Elisha*; who told his Disciples as he was sitting with them at home, that *Jehoram*, that Son of a Murderer, had sent a Party with an Officer, that was then upon his Way, to take off his Head. "Wherefore, *says he*, do you watch and observe them; and when they come near the House, be you sure to shut the Door upon them, only to put them to a little Stand till the King himself shall come up; who hath now chang'd his Mind, and is hast'ning after his People to prevent Mischiefs." They watch'd, as they were directed; shut the Door upon the Men when they came, and kept them out till *Jehoram* appeared himself, who made all the Haste that was possible for fear of being too late to countermand the Execution of the Order, and to save the Life of the Prophet.

Upon the King's coming to *Elisha*, he fell to reproaching of him, that he could have the Heart to see him and his People in so many Extremities of Distress, without putting up one Prayer to God for their Relief. The Prophet gave him for Answer, this Promise and Assurance, that by the same Hour the next Day *Samaria* should be so abundantly stored with all Sorts of Necessaries for Life, that a Measure of fine Flour should be sold publicly in the Market for one Shekel, and two Measures of Barley at the same Rate. The King and his Court made no doubt at all of the Truth of his Predictions,
having

having had so many Proofs of their Authority and Credit : So that they comforted themselves upon the Prefage, as if it had been a Thing already done, and made their present Difficulties easie to them in the Hope of what was to come ; but a certain Favourite, and an Officer of the King's, that commanded a *Tertia* of his Army, told the Prophet, as the King was leaning upon him, in a familiar way : * “ Elisha, says *he*, a Body may as well believe, that it shall rain Flour “ and Barley from Heaven, as what you have now foretold ; “ for it seems to me incredible, even to the Degree of impossible.” “ Well, says the Prophet, make no Question “ of it ; for you shall see it : But you shall only see it, without enjoying it :” Which Prediction was made good.

It was a Custom among the *Samaritans*, that no *Lep'rous* Persons should be suffer'd to live within the Walls of the City : And at this time there were *Four Lepers* that had their Habitations without the Gates. The Famine in the City was so extreme, that there was no Provision to be expected from thence : So that whether they went back into the Town, or staid where they were, they had certain Death before them the one way as well as the other. Upon this Deliberation, they took up a Resolution of casting themselves upon the Enemy. If they spar'd them, they should live ; or if they put them to Death, it would be a gentler way of Dispatch. They agreed all Four in this Opinion, as the best Expedient they had before them, and so slipt away by Night into the Enemies Camp ; in which very Point of Time, it pleased God to possess the *Syrians* with a panick Terror upon the imaginary Noise of Horses and armed Men, breaking in upon them ; and in the Strength of this Fancy and Apprehension, they all ran thronging to *Adad*, and told him that *Jehoram's* Confederate Kings of *Ægypt*, and of the *Islands*, were just at hand, and within hearing of the March of the Army. *Adad* gave the more Credit to the Delusion, in regard that he himself labour'd under the same false Imagination : So that in this unaccountable Affright, the whole Army brake up in a Confusion, and every Man did what he could to shift for himself, leaving their Horses, Carriages, Baggage, and their whole Treasure in the Camp, without any other Care in the World, then how to save their Lives. When the *Lepers* came up to the *Syrians* Tents, all Things were in a profound Silence, and so they went from place to place, eating and drinking what they pleas'd, and taking as much Gold

* 1 Kings 7.

Gold and rich Booty, as they could carry away without finding so much as one Person in the Field. They loaded themselves four Times, and bury'd their Burdens in a Hole they digg'd for that Purpose without the Camp. They might now reasonably conclude the Enemy to be drawn off, and came upon this to blame themselves for not giving *Jehoram*, and the Citizens an Account of this wonderful Desertion, upon the first Discovery of it. Wherefore they made all possible Haste back to *Samaria*, calling aloud to the Watch from under the Walls, that the Enemy had totally abandon'd their Camp; and this Intelligence in the same Instant sent by them to the King's Guards, *Jehoram* presently called a great Council upon it, of his Friends and Officers, and gave his own Opinion, that he look'd upon it as a Trick to draw his People into an Ambush under that Pretence. "They might, *says he*, perhaps despair of starving us, and so be-
 "thought themselves of this Invention to surprize us; and
 "if they could but draw us out to take Possession of the Booty, they might make an Excursion upon us from their hiding Places; cut our Men to pieces, and with great Ease
 "make themselves Masters of the City; and therefore, *says the King*, I am for providing against Treachery, and being the more wary still for this Pretence, I cannot think
 "they are run away, and should be loth to venture the main Chance upon the Credit of this Intelligence." One of the Council stood up, and with great Respect to the King's Opinion, judg'd it to be the true Reason of the Case. "But
 "this notwithstanding, *says he*, it might be worth the while, I conceive, to send out two Horsemen, upon the Scout for
 "Discovery, as far as *Jordan*. If they should happen to be taken, it will serve for a Warning to others however not
 "to expose themselves too far; and then the Loss would not be very great; beside that, if they scape the *Sword*, they
 "are in Danger to die of the *Famine*." The King was much of this Counsellor's Mind, and sent away his Scouts immediately for Intelligence; who returned soon after with this Report: "That they had been so far, without seeing so much
 "as one Enemy; but that they saw Arms, and Corn, and several Bundles of Things upon the Way that look'd as if
 "the *Syrians* had thrown them there to ease them in their Flight." The King, upon this Information, sent out his People to the rising of *Adad's* Camp, where (a) they found a
 P p wonderful

(a) See *Cotelerius's* Notes upon the second Volume of his *Monumenta Eccl'es. Gr.* p. 578.

wonderful rich Booty, in Gold, Silver, Horses, and several Sorts of Beasts; beside such an incredible Provision of Grain, that it look'd liker a Dream then a Truth: So vast a Quantity, in short, that the People presently forgot their former Scarcity in this Superabundance; for two Measures of Barley were sold for one Shekel, and a Measure of Flour at the same Price too, according to the Prediction of *Elisha*. Now this Measure contains about an *Italian* Bushel and half: Only the Officer before spoken of, that commanded the *Tertia*, had no Benefit by this Relief, being posted at the Gate by the King's Command to keep the People in Order that they should not croud one another to Death upon the Sally they were to make. He himself was smother'd in the Throng. This was a Judgment that beset him for his Unbelief, in giving so little heed to what *Elisha* foretold.

* *Adad* was by this Time gotten safe back to *Damascus*; and when he came to understand that all these *Alarums* of Chariots and Horsemen that had given such an irreparable Rout to him and his Army, were, in truth, only judicial Impressions of Affright and Terror, without any other Foundation, he look'd upon it as a Declaration from Heaven against him: And the Anxiety of that Thought made him as sick in his Body too as he was in his Mind. *Elisha* went then toward *Damascus*; and *Adad* being informed where he was, sent *Hazael*, his very particular and trusty Friend, with a Complement and magnificent Presents, to meet him, and to enquire likewise of the Prophet, "Whether the King should out-live this Disease or not? And what would be the Issue of it." *Hazael* took forty Camels, and loaded them with the choicest Curiosities that either the Court or the Country afforded; advanced with them toward *Elisha*; and meeting him upon the Way, saluted him with great Reverence, in the Name, and by the Order of King *Adad*; telling him, that he had in his Commission to offer him those Presents, and likewise to advise with him about his Disease, whether or no he might hope for any Relief. The Prophet told *Hazael*, that the King was to die; but charged the Messenger to say nothing of it to the King. This went to the Heart of *Hazael*; and *Elisha* fell upon that into an extreme Fit of Weeping in the Contemplation of the Miseries the People were to endure after the Decease of *Adad*. *Hazael* ask'd the Prophet what might be the Cause of that excessive Grief? "Why, says the Prophet, I cannot forbear weeping to think of the Calamities

* 2 Kings 8.

“ mities that you yourself are to bring upon the *Israelites*.
 “ You shall put the best of their Men to the Sword ; burn
 “ their walled Cities ; dash their Children to Death against
 “ the Stones, and rip up the Children out of the Bellies of
 “ their Mothers.” “ Well, says *Hazael*, but how is it possible
 “ for me to compass all this Mischief ? ” “ Why, says
 “ the Prophet, it is declared to me by God, that you are to
 “ reign in *Syria* : ” And upon this Discourse, *Hazael* left him,
 and returned to his Master, with an Account, that he should
 recover of his Distemper. On the Day following, he made
 the King a Visit ; and taking his Opportunity, strangled him
 with a wet Cloth, and took Possession of his Palace and Government.
 He was a Man of great Interest and Reputation
 with the People of *Syria* and *Damascus* ; insomuch that to
 this Day, the Memory of *Adad*, and of *Hazael* his Successor,
 is celebrated among the *Syrians* with Divine Honours, not only
 for their Bounty and Generosity in general ; but in particular,
 for the pompous Magnificence of the Temples they erected at
Damascus, and the Care they took for the Honour and Ornament
 of the City. Their Images, in fine, are carry’d about in a daily
 Procession, as in an Ostentation of their Antiquity ; whereas,
 in truth, they were not of above eleven hundred Years
 standing from their Original.

The Death of *Adad* set the Heart of *Joram* the King of *Israel*
 much at ease, as it gave him a Breathing-while from Wars and
 Broils, and the Comfort of seeing himself once again in a State of
 Peace. * But *Jehoram*’s Name-sake (I mean the other *Jehoram*,
 the King of *Judah*) of whom I have spoken already, was no
 sooner enter’d upon the Sovereignty, but for a Welcome to his
 Reign, he began with the Slaughter of his Brother’s, and of his
 Father’s Friends ; and briefly, with such Outrages, as if he had
 been upon a Competition with the worst of former Kings, which
 should be the wickedest : Having also at his Elbow his Wife
Goatholiah, the Daughter of *Ahab*, an excellent Instruress to all
 impious Purposes ; and the Instrument of his idolatrous Defection
 from the true Worship to the Service of strange Gods. Now
 though God would most certainly stand firm to the Promise he
 made to King *David*, that he would never utterly extinguish the
 whole Race ; *Jehoram* did all he could yet to provoke a total
 Extirpation, by a lewd, daily Course of fresh Impieties and
 Abominations. *Idumæa* at this Time revolted from *Jehoram*,
 and they made way to their Apostacy by the Murder

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of

* 2 Chron. 21.

of their *King*, who had ever been faithful to [his Father] *Jehoshaphat*, and by setting up another in his Place. Upon the first Impression of this Affront, the King made a running Incursion by Night with a good Body of Horse and Charioteers, into the Enemy's Quarters: But they were fain to content themselves with burning, and making a little Havock upon the Borders; and so falling off again, without daring to attempt any further Progress into the Country. This Expedition was so far from striking any Sort of Terror, or Apprehension into the Deserters, that, on the contrary, it serv'd for an Encouragement to others to follow the Example of their Leaders, and slipping their Necks out of the Collar, to fall off for Company: *Libnah* rebelling also at the same time. Such, in short, was the Madness and Folly of *Jehoram*, that he forc'd the *Israelites* up to the *Groves* and *High Places* upon the Mountains, and there to worship *false Gods*. He went on for some time, in the Defiance and Contempt of Law and Religion, and all that could be sacred either in Heaven or Earth, till in the End, there came a menacing Letter from the Prophet *Elisha* to him to this Effect: "That since he
" had audaciously and wilfully set himself up against the
" Practice and Example of his Forefathers, and espoused the
" impious Superstition of the *Israelites*; and not resting
" there neither, had likewise debauch'd the Tribe of *Judah*,
" and the Citizens of *Jerusalem*, from the Religion of their
" Country, into the *Paganish* Superstitions of *Idolatry*, in
" making *Gods of Images*, after the Example of *Ahab's* Violence upon his People to force them into these Abominations:" After the doing of all this, and the dipping his Hands in the Blood of his own Brothers, and other good and righteous Men, this Judgment was denounced against him in the aforesaid Letter; "That his Family and his People should
" fall into the Hands of a merciless Enemy, that should spare
" neither Women nor Children; that he himself should be
" tormented with a lingring Pain in the Guts, till his Bowels,
" by little and little, should rot, and fall out." This was to be his miserable Condition, that should bring him at last, though too late, to a Sense, and Sight of his Wickedness. This, in short, was the Substance of the Writing that was deliver'd to *Jehoram* in the Name of *Elisha*.

C H A P. III.

The Arabians break-in upon Jehoram. His miserable End. Ahaziah his Son succeeds him.

SOME short time after this, an Army of *Arabians* from the Borders of *Æthiopia*, together with a Medly of other *Barbarians*, brake-in upon the Kingdom of *Jehoram*; ravaged the Country; rifled the Palace; put the King's Wives to the Sword, and all his Children, one only excepted, *Ahaziah* by Name, who very narrowly scap'd the Fury of the Enemy. The King, after this publick Calamity, fell into a Disease, according to what the Prophet foretold him; which was such a kind of Plague in the Guts, that all People look'd upon it as a just Judgment of God upon him in his Displeasure; his Bowels dropping daily out of his Belly before his own Eyes. The People insulted over the Carcase, and drew Inferences from the Exemplary manner of his Punishment, to the Degree of his Wickedness, and that the Wrath of God was upon him. They would neither vouchsafe him a Royal Funeral, nor a Place in his Father's Monument. He lived *forty Years*: He reigned *eight*; and the People of *Judah* placed *Ahaziah* upon the Throne of his Father.

C H A P. IV.

Jehoram besieges Ramoth; receives a Wound, and retires to Jezreel. Jehu carries on the Siege. Jehu anointed King of Israel, with a Command to extirpate the Family of Ahab. He marches directly to Jezreel, where Jehoram and his Nephew Ahaziah were at that time together.

* *Jehoram*, the King of the *Israelites*, was in hope, after the Death of *Adad*, that he might recover *Ramoth of Gilead*; and in that Prospect, he levy'd a great Army, and advanc'd towards it. In that Attempt he received a Wound with an Arrow from the Bow of a *Syrian*. It was not

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mortal;

* 2 Kings 9.

Mortal ; but yet, such as it was, he was fain to withdraw to the City *Jezreel* for the Conveniencies of the Cure, leaving his whole Army behind him at the Siege of *Ramoth*, under the Command of *Jehu*, the Son of *Amasis*, who took the Town by Force. *Jehoram* propos'd upon his Recovery, to make War upon the *Syrians* ; and in the mean time, *Elisha* sent one of his Disciples with Holy Oil to *Ramoth*, there to Anoint and Declare *Jehu* King, and to do it in the Name of God, and by his Authority and Order. The Prophet gave him some other Things in Charge also, and command'd him to slip away as fast as he could, and without making any Creature privy to his Journey. When he came to the Town, he found *Jehu* sitting with the Head-Officers of the Army, as was foretold him by *Elisha* : So he went up to him, and gave him to understand, that he desir'd to have a Word or two in private with him. *Jehu* rose up presently, and the Messenger follow'd him into his Cabinet. So the Young Man took out his Oil, and poured it on his Head ; telling him, that God had chosen him King for the Destruction of the House of *Ahab*, and to revenge the Blood of the Prophets, that against all Right and Reason was spilt by *Jezebel* : And that as *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, and after him, the Family of *Baasha*, were utterly rooted-out, and destroy'd for their Wickedness ; so there should be no Remainder left of the wicked Stock of *Ahab*. So soon as he had spoken these Words, he went his way out of the Cabinet in all haste ; and as near as he could, so privately, that no body should see him : *Jehu* returning forthwith to his Place among the Commanders. The Officers had a great Mind to know what that Youth's Business was ; for he look'd (they said) as if he were not well in his Wits. Why you are not much wiser, says *Jehu*, for he did speak effectually the Words of a Mad-Man. This Suspension did but make the Officers more and more Inquisitive, what it was he came about : So *Jehu* told them in plain Terms, that he came to him with a Message from God to Pronounce him King. At the Hearing of these Words, the Commanders took every Man his Cloak, and laid them one upon another for *Jehu* to sit down upon, in lieu of a Throne ; and when he had taken his Place, they all saluted him King, with Acclamations, Benedictions, and the Sound of Horns and Trumpets, to gratulate his Accession to the Throne. *Jehoram* was now under the Surgeon's Hands at *Jezreel*, for the Wound he got at the Siege of *Ramoth* ; and his Sister's Son *Ahaziah* was there at the same time too, upon a Kinsman's Visit.

Visit to him: So that *Jehu* took this Opportunity of Marching with his Army to *Jezreel*, where he might surprize them both at once; precautioning his Soldiers, as a Proof of their Fidelity to him, neither directly nor indirectly to give *Jehoram* any Knowledge, or Intimation of the Matter.

C H A P. V.

Jehu kills Jehoram and Ahaziah with his own Hand.

THE Soldiers ply'd their Orders with great Cheerfulness, possessing themselves of all the Passes, and Avenues to the Town, and keeping so strict a Guard upon them, that it was morally impossible to get any Intelligence into the Place without Discovery. While this was a-doing, *Jehu* mounts his Chariot, and with a Party of choice Men, advances in all haste toward the City. The King had a Scout abroad, to observe what People passed that Way; and this Scout finding *Jehu* at the Head of his Troops, posted away immediately to *Jehoram* with the Tidings of a Body of Horse upon their March: The King upon this dispatched away a Horseman out of hand, with Instructions to go up towards the Party, and learn who they were. The Messenger went and did as he was order'd, and enquiring also into the State of the Army: For the King, he said, had a mind to know. Do not you trouble your Head, says *Jehu*, with the Business of the Army; but fall-off into the Rear, and march along with them. The Man did so, and the Scout presently gave the King Notice of it, that his Messenger had join'd the Troops. *Jehoram*, upon this, sent once again yet with the same Instructions, and with the very same Success; when receiving no Satisfaction upon the main, he took his Chariot himself, and *Ahaziah* the King of *Judah* along with him: (His Kinsman, as I told you, that was upon a Visit to him.) So they went out together to meet *Jehu*; who moved very leisurely, and coming into the Field of *Naboth*, *Jehoram* asked *Jehu* how Matters went in the Army; the other answering with a bitter Reflection upon the Whoredom and Witchcraft of his Mother. This gave *Jehoram* to understand, that that was no Place for him to stay in: So he told *Ahaziah* that he was betray'd; and as he was driving away to shift for himself, *Jehu* shot him through the Heart with an Arrow, so that he drop'd from his Chariot; and soon after

commanded *Bidkar* the Captain of a *Tertia* of the Army, to take the Carcase, and cast it out into the Field of *Naboth*, which put him in mind of what the Prophet † *Elijah* had formerly said to his Father *Ahab*; to wit, that he and his Family were to perish in that Place: Which he himself had heard, as he was sitting in a Chariot behind *Ahab*; and every thing fell out accordingly. Upon the Death of *Jehoram*, *Ahaziah* began to have an Apprehension of himself too, and so turn'd-off into a By-way, where he thought *Jehu* would not find him; but following him however to a certain Bank, he wounded him with an Arrow, which made him presently leave his Chariot, and take Horse to save himself by Flight. He got-off to the City of *Megiddo*, where he lay a-while for his Cure, and not long after dy'd of his Wound: From thence he was carry'd to *Jerusalem*, and there bury'd, after he had reigned one Year; and a wicked-er Man by much then his Father.

CHAP. VI.

Jehu orders Jezebel to be put to Death; with Ahab's seventy Sons, and all his Relations; forty two Persons of the Blood of Ahaziah, and all the Priests of the Tyrian-Baal: The Temple also to be destroy'd, which Ahab erected to the Honour of that Idol.

AS *Jehu* came into *Jezreel*, *Jezebel* planted herself in a Turret-Window, set out gloriously with Dress and Ornament, to see his Entry. As he was passing by, she let fall this *ironical Conceit* upon him: *A hopeful Servant*, says she, *that kills his Master.* *Jehu*, both seeing the Woman, and hearing the Words, call'd out to her to know what she was, and bad her come down; but not coming immediately, he commanded the *Eunuchs*, that were there then about her, to cast her down Headlong; which they did, and the Walls were bloody with the dashing of the Body in the Fall. As she lay dead upon the Ground, the Horsemen rode over the Carcase, and trampled it to Dirt: *Jehu* and his Friends marching forward to the Palace to refresh themselves. When they had been there a-while, *Jehu* order'd *Jezebel's* Servants,
out

† 2 Kings 9, 25, 26.

out of Respect to her Quality, to see their Mistress bury'd; for says he, she was a King's Daughter: But when they came to look for the Body, there was nothing to be found but a Piece of the Skull, the Palms of her Hands, and the Soles of her Feet; the Dogs have eaten up all the rest. This Providence gave *Jehu* more and more Veneration still for the Divine Spirit of *Elijah*, who had foretold, * *That Dogs should eat the Flesh of Jezebel in the Field of Jezreel.*

† *Ahab* had seventy Sons, and all at this time in *Samaria*, where they were brought up: So *Jehu* wrote thither two Letters, one to their Governours, and the other to the Magistrates of the Place, wherein he gave them to understand, that being well provided of Horses, Men, Arms, Chariots, and other Necessaries for War; beside fortify'd Towns, and strong Holds, they should do well to make choice of one of the finest and the bravest Young Men they could pick out of the whole Brood of *Ahab*, for their King, under whose Conduct they might revenge the Death of their Lord and Master. He cast out these Words among them, only to feel the Pulse of the People, and to try how they stood affected to his Interest. The Persons to whom these Letters were address'd, read them over and over with great Care and Consideration; and agreeing upon the Main, that it would not be safe, under their Circumstances, to oppose a Power that had already been too hard for two great Kings, the Answer they resolv'd upon was only in the Way of a sly and civil Excuse, to let him know, that they neither did nor would own any other Lord and Master than himself; and that they were to all Purposes at his Devotion. *Jehu* wrote them Word back again, that if they meant good Faith, they should forthwith send him the Heads of all *Ahab's* Sons, as a Token and Testimony of their Readiness to serve him. The Magistrates and the Young Mens Tutors conferr'd together about it; and without any Scruple of Tenderness or Compassion, agreed among themselves to cut-off all their Heads, and sent them in Baskets to *Jezreel*. The King and his Friends were together at Supper, when the News was brought him that the Heads were come: So he order'd them to be laid in two Heaps before the Gate; on each side one; and the next Morning going out to view them, turning his Speech to the People, *I had a Hand*, says he, *in the Death of my Master. But whose doing is all this?* His Business was to satisfy the People, that all this Rigour upon the House of *Ahab*, was not only according to the Will of God,

* 1 Kings 21, 23.

† 2 Kings 10.

God, but answerable to what God himself had foretold by the Mouth of the Prophet. He destroy'd as many, in short, of the Family of *Ahab* as he could find, and returned afterward to *Samaria*. Falling into Company upon the Way with several of the Kindred of *Ahaziah*, King of *Jerusalem*, he asked them whither they were a-going? They answered, that they were going to pay their Duty to *Jehoram*, and King *Ahaziah*, having heard nothing as yet of their Death by the Hand of *Jehu*. There were two and forty of them in Number, and *Jehu* caus'd them all to be slain. He happen'd afterward to meet with *Jehonadab*, a particular Friend of his, and a very good just Man, who after the first Salutation, highly commended him for his Zeal in rooting-out the Race and Family of wicked *Ahab*, according to the Command, and Appointment of God. *Jehu* then invited him into his Chariot to go along with him to *Samaria*; telling him that he should now see he would spare no *Apostates*, but put all the *false Priests* and *Prophets* to the Sword, every Man of them, that had seduced the People from the Religion of their Forefathers, into the idolatrous Worship of *false Gods*: Accounting it a glorious Spectacle, for a good Man to see the Wicked punish'd according to their Deserts. *Jehonadab* submitted to the King's Pleasure, and waited upon him in his Chariot to the City. *Jehu*, so soon as they came thither, caus'd a strict Search to be made for *Ahab's* Relations, and put them all to Death as fast as he found them; and being also resolved that none of *Ahab's false Prophets*, or *profane Priests*, should 'scape him, he circumvented them all with a Trick. He appointed the People to meet in an Assembly, telling them, that if *Ahab* served *Baal* a little, *Jehu* should serve him twice as much, for he would worship double the Number; and therefore he would have all the *Priests* and *Prophets* of *Baal* to be present, to a single Man; for he had a great Sacrifice to offer to the God of *Ahab*, whom they called *Baal*, and it should be Death for any *Priest* to absent himself. So he sent his Messengers up and down all over *Israel*, to summon the *Priests* up to *Samaria* at the appointed Day. Upon their Arrival they had Vestments given them, which they put on. So *Jehu* took *Jehonadab* with him into the House of *Baal*, where a strict Search was made, that there might not be any Creature there present, more then the Servants of *Baal*; for *Jehu* would not suffer, he said, any profane Intruder to intermix in that holy Worship. When *Jehu* found that they were all *Baalites*, and just entring upon the Ceremony, he had fourscore Men ready at the Door, that waited only the Word

Word of Command, to break-in upon the *Apostates*. Their Orders were to put all the *false Prophets* to the Sword, and to vindicate the Religion of their Ancestors, under this Condition and Penalty ; that whoever should spare the Life of but any one of them, his Life should answer for the other's. The Word was given, and they executed their Commission to the uttermost Rigour. They kill'd them all to a Man ; set Fire to the Palace itself, and so purg'd the City of all its sacrilegious Abominations. This *Baal* was the *Syrians* Idol, that *Ahab* dedicated an *Altar* to, in *Samaria*, for the Sake of *Ithobal* his Father-in-Law, the King of *Tyre* and *Sydon* ; and assigned them *Priests* and *Prophets*, and other Necessaries appertaining to their Religion. Now *Jehu* abolish'd the Rites and Ceremonies of this Worship ; but permitted the *Israelites* to go-on still in the Adoration of their *Golden Calves*. This Severity of his against that impious Generation did however so far atone for the rest, that God signify'd to him by his Prophet, that his Posterity should sit upon the Throne of *Israel* to the fourth Generation.

C H A P. VII.

Athaliah meditates a Revenge upon the House of David, for that of Ahab. Jehoiada the High-Priest saves Joash, the Son of Ahaziah King of Judah ; sets him upon the Throne, and causes Athaliah to be put to Death.

*W HEN *Athaliah*, the Daughter of *Ahab*, King of *Israel*, and the Widow of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*, came to understand what Havock *Jehu* had made in her Father's wicked Family ; King *Jehoram* her Brother assassinated ; her Son *Abaziah* dead of his Wound, and the whole Stock upon the Point of being utterly rooted-out ; she took up a Resolution of going the same way to Work with the House of *David*, and not to leave so much as one Man alive of the Family, to pretend afterward to the Kingdom of *Judah*. This was her Determination, and it was none of her Fault that it was not executed : For of all the Sons of *Abaziah*, there was only one that 'scaped ; and the Manner of his Deliverance was this. *Jehoshabeth*, the Sister of *Abaziah*, and the Wife of *Jehoiada* the *High-Priest*, coming into the Palace, she

she found a Male-Child, of about a Year old, whose Name was *Joash*, among the dead Bodies of the Sons of *Ahaziah*; which the Nurse, it seems, had hid there. She convey'd it away by Stealth to her own Lodgings, and so into the Temple, where she conceal'd, and took care of it, thorough the whole six Years of (a) *Athaliah's* Reign over *Jerusalem*, and the *Two Tribes*; and no Mortal of her Council all this while privy to the Secret, but her own Husband.

In the seventh Year, *Jehoiada* enter'd into an Association with five Captains, to force the Government out of *Athaliah's* Hand, and transfer it to the right Heir; shewing them the Child that was then present. So that their Bus'ness was now only to interchange an Oath of Faith and Secrecy, and so apply themselves to the Execution of the Design; which they did immediately, and not without great Hope and Confidence of Success. The Captains that *Jehoiada* had engaged in this Enterprize, travell'd all over the Country, with Summons to the *Priests* and *Levites*, and several of the principal Men in their Tribes, in the High-Priest's Name to go up to *Jerusalem*; where *Jehoiada* told them, that they were now call'd up for Advice, about the common Good of the Publick; and that he would lay the whole Matter before them: But it must be kept private however; beside that the Case requir'd not only Secrecy, but Help. Upon this he gave them their Oath of Secrecy, and then told them the whole Story, without any further Scruple, shewing them the Child likewise that he had taken into his Care, and preserv'd. " This Child, " *says he*, is your *King*, and a Branch of that Family, which " God hath both promised and foretold (as you know very " well) shall never be wanting to supply the Throne of *David*. " Now it is my Advice, that you divide yourselves " into three Bodies; one third to be upon the Guard of " the King in the Temple; a second third to secure the " Passes, and Avenues that lead to it; and the Remainder " to guard the open Gate that leads to the Palace. As for " those that have no Arms, let them be in the Temple if " they think fit; but no armed Man to be admitted there, " if he be not a Priest." *Jehoiada* gave Order also for a select Number of *Priests* and *Levites* to stand with their Swords drawn, as a Guard about the King's Person, and to kill any Man whatsoever, that should press into the Temple with a Weapon about him; and to secure the Life and Safety of the King, at what Rate soever. They were all pleas'd with the Advice

(a) *Al. Gotholiah.*

Advice and Contrivance of the High-Priest. So that the next thing to be done, was the putting of the Project in Execution. *Jehoiada*, upon this, open'd a Magazine of Military Provisions that *David* had long since stor'd up in the Temple, delivering out Lances, Arrows, and what other Arms were there deposited, to the *Centurions*, *Priests* and *Levites*; who planted themselves as a Guard upon the Temple quite around it; and so strictly beset the Doors, that not a Creature was let in that had no Bus'ness there. The Child was now produc'd with a *Royal Crown* upon his Head, and being anointed with Holy Oil according to Form, the High-Priest pronounc'd him King: Which Solemnity was accompany'd with a Thousand Acclamations, and Wishes of happy Life, and Victory over all his Enemies, by the Universality of the People.

The Clamour of this Outcry and Proclamation, was a terrible Surprize to *Athaliah*, who presently hurry'd away with their Guards, from the Palace to the Temple; where she herself was admitted by the Priest, but the Soldiers that follow'd her were kept out by the Guards that were posted there by *Jehoiada* for that very Purpose. So soon as *Athaliah* saw the Child upon the Throne, and with a *Royal Crown* upon his Head, she tore her Garments, and call'd out with a loud Voice to kill that traiterous Usurper. *Jehoiada*, on the other side, commands the Officers to seize that Woman, and carry her away to the Brook of *Kidron*, and there to put her to Death; but the Temple was not to be polluted with the Blood of a Sorceress. Order was likewise given, that if any Man should attempt a Rescue, they should put him to Death. They that had the Charge of this Commission, carry'd her out of the Gate by the Passage of the King's Mules, and there dispatch'd her. So soon as this Plot against *Athaliah* had taken Effect, *Jehoiada* call'd all the People, and Soldiers together, into the Temple, and gave them an Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to the King, for the Safety and Defence of his Person, and the Honour and Preservation of his Government. After this, the King himself took an Oath of a religious Reverence to God, and for the Observance of those Laws that *Moses* received from Heaven, and transmitted to the People. In the next Place the People ran in Shoals to the House of *Baal*, a Temple that *Athaliah*, together with her Husband *Jehoram*, had erected, in Contempt of the True God, and to curry Favour with *Ahab*. This Temple, the Multitude destroy'd from the very Foundations, and kill'd *Matton*, one of *Baal's Priests*, that was then in waiting. But
for

for the Care of the *Holy Temple*, that was committed to the Charge of the *Priests* and *Levites*, according to the Institution of *David*: *Jehoiada* appointing two Solemn Sacrifices to be offer'd up every Day, with Incense, according to the Direction of the Law; appointing Porters also out of the Number of the *Levites*, for the keeping of the Temple, that there might not any Pollution get into it by stealth. When all Things were thus dispos'd of, *Joash* was conducted out of the Temple into the Palace, by the Captains, the Governours, and all the People, where being plac'd a second time upon the Throne, and received with repeated Acclamations, the People gave themselves up for some Days, to Mirth and Feasting, and not a Man of them that was not satisfy'd with the Death of that wicked Woman. *Joash* was seven Years of Age when he began to reign. His Mother's Name was *Zibiah* of *Beer-sheba*. He was a steady Man to the Laws and his Religion, so long as *Jehoiada* liv'd. When he came afterwards to Years of Maturity, he married two Wives, with the Approbation of the High-Priest, and had Children by them of both Sexes. Let this suffice for the History of *Joash*, how he 'scaped the Snares of *Athaliah*, and afterward succeeded to the Government.

C H A P. VIII.

The Death of Jehu. Joash succeeds him, who orders the Temple of Jerusalem to be repair'd. The Death of Jehoiada. The Apostacy of Joash. Zachary ston'd to Death. Hazael besieges Jerusalem. Joash delivers up all his Treasure for the Raising of the Siege, and is slain by the Friends of Zachary.

* **H** *Azrael*, the King of *Syria*, made a bloody War upon the *Israelites*, and their King; laying waste a great Tract of Land to the Eastward beyond *Jordan*; particularly, in the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasses*, and so in *Gilead*, and *Batanæa*: Not only burning and pillaging, but putting Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword also, wherever he came, without either Mercy, or Quarter: And all this was done with little or no Difficulty, or Opposition from *Jehu* neither, being

* 2 Kings 10.

being a Man that spent his whole Time in a stupid Contempt of God's Religion and holy Laws. He died in the seven and twentieth Year of his Government over *Israel*, and was buried at *Samaria*; *Jehoash* his Son succeeding him.

† In the Days of *Jehoram* and *Athaliah*, and of their Sons, the Temple was gone quite to Ruin for want of Care and Repairing: So that *Joash* the King of *Jerusalem* sent for *Jehoiada* the High-Priest to give him Order about it; which was, that he should send *Priests* and *Levites* into all the Quarters of his Dominions, to charge every Man at half a Silver Shekel a Head, toward making good the Breaches and Decays of the Temple. But this Command notwithstanding, there was nothing done toward it at present; for *Jehoiada* very well knew, that the People were not at that time over forward to lay out Money in building of Churches. But *Joash* afterward, in the three and twentieth Year of his Reign, finding the Project of so good and needful a Work, to be totally forgotten, and laid aside, he charged the *High-Priest* and *Levites* with the Care of it once again; and not without blaming the *Priests*, in some degree, for the by-past Neglect of their Duty. This put *Jehoiada* upon bethinking himself how the Business might be brought about without any Grievance to the People; and in the End, he pitch'd upon this Expedient. There was a Wooden Chest provided, close wrought, and lock'd, with a Slit thorough the Cover of it, to receive what Pieces of Money soever should be put into it. This was to be placed near the Altar, and the People invited to shew their Good-will upon this Occasion toward the Work in hand, in Proportion to the Zeal they had to the True Religion, and God's Service. The whole Multitude was so well pleased with this Method and Contrivance, that they brought in Gold and Silver in a kind of Strife who should do most. The Chest was every Day open'd, the Money counted, and register'd by the Clerk of the Treasury, and then lock'd up again by the *Priest*, who had the keeping of the Key: And all this was done in the Presence of the King.

When they had gotten Treasure enough to begin withal, the King and the High-Priest hir'd Carpenters, Masons, and other Attificers; provided the largest and the choicest Timbers that were to be gotten, and went in hand with the Reparations; employing the Over-plus (which was very considerable) after the finishing of that Work, upon Cups, Flavons, Goblets, and other Vessels for holy Uses, over and above

† 2 Kings 12.

2 Chron. 24.

above the Oblation of daily Sacrifices : And this Order was exactly observ'd while *Jehoiada* liv'd ; but in the hundred and thirtieth Year of his Age he dy'd : A Man of signal Probity and Justice ; and so highly esteem'd of, as a Friend to the House of *David*, that his Body was deposited in the Sepulchre of the Kings. After his Decease, *Joash* fell off from his former Zeal and Care for Religion, and the Princes of the People quickly follow'd his Example ; to the Degree of valuing themselves upon the Contempt of holy Things and Duties. Upon this abominable Apostacy, both of the King and of his Ministers, God sent Prophets to them to expostulate and reason the Matter with them, and to convince them of their Wickedness ; but they were so reprobated, and harden'd in their Iniquity, that neither the Example of their Forefathers, and their Families, that had been cut off, and routed out, for the same Contempt ; nor the Threatnings of the Prophets wrought any thing upon them : But the King caused *Zachariah*, the Son of the High-Priest *Jehoiada*, to be ston'd to Death in the very Temple, without any regard to the Merits and good Counsels of his Father. And what was his Fault, but the exhorting of both King and People to Repentance, and to the Administration of equal Justice ; and not without a Premonition of the grievous Judgments that would befall them, if they persisted in their Iniquity. *Zachariah*, with his last Breath, appealed to God, both as his Judge, and as his Witness, " That the Crime he dy'd for " was only the giving of good Advice, and being the Son of " a Father that had deserved so well from *Joash* ; and that " the Death he then suffer'd was but the Reward of those " Services." It was not long after this, that Divine Vengeance overtook the King himself ; for *Hazael*, the King of *Syria*, made an Inroad into his Country ; rifled and destroy'd *Gath*, in the first Place, and from thence marched toward *Jerusalem*, where the King himself had taken Sanctuary. *Joash* was so affrighted at the Approach of the *Syrians* Army, that he compounded for himself, and the City, and deliver'd up all the Treasure of the Temple, as well what was dedicated to God, as the Donatives of particular Kings, as a Bribe to *Hazael* for the saving of his Carcase ; which he accepted of, being a prodigious Sum of Money, and so rais'd the Siege upon it. *Joash*, after this, fell into a desperate Fit of Sickness, and the Friends of *Zachariah* took their Revenge upon him by Surprise, for the Murder of the Son of the High-Priest. He was bury'd at *Jerusalem*, at the Age
of

of forty seven Years ; but a Man of so exemplary a Wickedness, that they would not allow him the Honour of a Sepulchre among the Kings, his Predecessors.

C H A P. IX.

Amaziah succeeds Joash. Jehoahaz implores God's Assistance against Hazael, and obtains it. His Son Joash succeeds him. Elisha foretels the Ruin of the Assyrians. The Death of Hazael, and the Government descends to his Son Adad.

* *A* *Maziah* succeeded *Joash* his Father in the Government of *Judah* ; and in the one and twentieth Year of *Joash*, *Jehoahaz* the Son of *Jehu*, enter'd upon the Government of *Israel* in *Samaria*, and reigned seventeen Years : Not so much after the Example of his Father, as after that of the worst of his former Predecessors, that liv'd in an open Defiance of God, and all Goodness. The King of *Syria*, in the mean time, had brought down his mighty Power to the miserable Pittance of ten Thousand Foot and five Hundred Horse, to trust to : Over-running several of his Cities, and killing a World of his People. This Calamity of the *Israelites* was foretold by *Elisha* in his Prediction to *Hazael*, when he told him that he should kill his Lord, and possess himself of the Government of *Syria* and *Damascus*. In this unhappy Juncture, *Jehoahaz* had recourse to God by Prayers, and Supplications, for Deliverance from the Power and Oppression of *Hazael* : Upon which Humiliation of his, that gracious God, who not only cherishes the Innocent, but pardons the Penitent, and chuses rather to correct, and to reform the Wicked, then to destroy them, was prevail'd upon to deliver him from the Burden of a ruinous War, by a timely Peace, and to restore his Dominions to their former State of Happiness and Plenty.

† After the Death of *Jehoahaz*, *Joash* his Son came to the Government of *Israel*, and *Samaria*, in the seven and thirtieth Year of the Reign of *Joash*, King of *Judah* : This King and the King of *Jerusalem* being both of a Name. He held the Government sixteen Years : An excellent Man ; and no-

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thing

* 2 Kings 14. 2 Chron. 25.

† 1 Kings 13.

thing in him of his Father's way of Life and Conversation. The Prophet *Elisha* was now far gone in Years ; and being at this time upon his last Bed of Sickness, *Joash* made him a Visit in his Extremity, and out of a Tenderness, to see the good Man labouring in his Agonies, burst out into Tears and Lamentations ; treating him in the Style of the Father, the Defender and the Protector of his Country ; “ For so long “ as he liv'd, the People were secure, *he said*, against all their “ Enemies, even without any need of Arms through the Benefit and Blessing of his Prayers and Predictions ; but that “ whenever he was taken away, they should be left naked “ and defenceless, at the Mercy of their Enemies : And “ therefore, for his own part, he had infinitely rather leave “ the World with him, then stay in it without him.”

This compassionate Softness wrought so far upon the Prophet, that to comfort the King, he call'd for a Bow and Arrows, laid his Hand upon it, and bad him bend it and shoot. He discharg'd thrice, and then gave over : So *Elisha* told him, “ That if he had let fly more Shafts, he should have “ over-run the whole Kingdom of the *Syrians* ; but since he “ gave it off at the *third Shot*, he must content himself with “ three several Victories over them : Wherein he should recover the Land they had taken from his Father.” The King went his way upon these Words ; and the Prophet departed this Life soon after. He was a Man celebrated for his Justice, and without all dispute highly in God's Favour, as appears by the History of the wonderful Things he did, and the Miracles that he wrought in abundance, as the Account of them stands sacred upon the Records of the *Hebrews* to this Day. They gave him, in fine, a pompous, and an honourable Interment, answerable to the Dignity, and Merit of so great a Saint. It happen'd, after this, that a Traveller was kill'd upon the Way by Thieves, and the Body thrown into the Prophet's Monument ; which, upon the bare touch of *Elisha*, was immediately reviv'd : So that both dead and living, this Prophet wrought Miracles.

Hazael was now dead, and the Kingdom of *Syria* fall'n by an Hereditary Right to his Son *Adad*, who was overthrown by *Joash* in three Battles ; and all that Country recover'd to the *Israelites* again, which his Father had wrested from them ; according to the Prediction of *Elisha*. Upon the Death of *Joash*, *Jeroboam* his Son enter'd upon the Government.

C H A P. X.

Amaziah defeats the Amalekites, Idumæans, and Gaba-rens. He Apostatizes. Joash overcomes and takes him Prisoner. He delivers up Jerusalem to save his Life. He is kill'd by his own People, and his Son Uzziah succeeds him.

IN the second Year of *Joash* King of *Israel*, *Amaziah* came to the Government of the Tribe of *Judah*, in the City of *Jerusalem*. His Mother's Name was *Jehoadan*, a Native of the Place. He had a wonderful Reverence for Justice, even in the Tenderness of his Youth; and began his Administration in revenging the Death of his Father upon their Heads who treacherously murder'd him, under a Cloak of Friendship. He brought the *Assassines* all to publick Justice; but spar'd their Children, according to the Opinion and Precept of *Moses*, who thought it unreasonable to punish the Children for the Iniquity of the Fathers. * After this, he made a Levy in the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, of the choicest Young Men that were to be found, of about twenty Years of Age, little over or under, which he list'd, and set Centurions over them. He treated with the King of the *Israelites* for twenty Thousand Auxiliaries; at the rate of a hundred Talents of Silver for the Hire of them, and the Money paid down; being resolv'd upon a War with the *Amalekites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Gabillites*. † He was just upon the Point of marching against them, when a Man of God advis'd him by all means to dismiss the *Israelites*; for they were a wicked Generation, and would certainly be destroy'd, together with those that join'd with them: Beside that he had a sufficient Force of his own, with God's Assistance, to confound the Enemy. The King having already parted with his Money, was not a little troubled at the Thought of losing both his Pay, and his Men; but yet upon the Prophet's Instance to resign himself wholly to the Will of God, under whose Protection he should be sure to want nothing, he discharg'd his Auxiliaries, with this Preface to the Farewel, That "He frankly bestow'd that Treasure upon them as a *Bounty*, "which they had received only as a Hire." Immediately upon parting with his Mercenaries, he advanc'd with his own

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proper

* 2 Kings 14.

† 2 Chron. 25.

proper Troops against the People above-mentioned, whom he overcame, and cut off ten Thousand of them in one Battle, and carry'd away ten Thousand more to the Top of a great Rock, that over-looks *Arabia*, where they were all thrown down the Precipice and destroy'd : And so *Amaziah* returned home again with a great Booty. But in this while, the twenty Thousand Mercenaries took it so heinously to be turn'd off so scandalously, and without any Colour of Reason for it, that to revenge the Affront of that Contempt, they made an outrageous Inroad into the King's Country, laying all waste as far as *Bethseamere* ; putting three Thousand People to the Sword, and carrying away a great Number of their Cattle.

Amaziah was so puff'd up with the Conceit of this Victory, that he had no longer any Thought of him that was the Author of it ; but went over from the Worship of the True God to the Idols of the *Amalekites*. The Prophet, upon this, went to the King, and told him, " That he could not but wonder at his Dependence upon those Powers, that were so far from being able to protect their Servants, that they could not defend themselves ; but were taken Prisoners by the *Hebrews*, and carry'd away like Slaves to *Jerusalem*, with the rest of the Spoil." The King cut him off short in his Discourse, at this rate of Reproach, and bad him at his Peril, not to meddle any further in a Business that did not concern him. The Prophet's Answer was, " That for the future he would be quiet ; but assuring him withal, that the Superstition of this Apostacy would not 'scape a Divine Vengeance."

Amaziah was so transported with Vanity, and Insolence upon his late Success, that without any regard to the Hand of Divine Providence, he wrote an imperious Letter some time after, to *Joash*, the King of the *Israelites*, commanding him and his People to pay the same Allegiance to him, which they had formerly render'd to his Ancestors, *David* and *Solomon* ; or in case of their Refusal, to expect a Decision of the Cause by the Sword : To which Summons, *Joash* returned this Answer.

King *Joash* to King *Amaziah*, Greeting.

" It happened once upon a Time, betwixt a *Cypress-Tree* and a *Thistle*, upon *Mount Libanus*, that the *Thistle* sent to the *Cypress*, saying, Give thy Daughter to my Son to Wife. Whereupon, a wild Beast went and trod down the *Thistle*. Make use of this Example for your own Instruction, and

“ and to moderate your Ambition, without aspiring to Things
“ out of your reach. Have a care, that this Confidence, and
“ Pride of yours for the Overthrow of the *Amalekites*, do not
“ betray you some time or other to the Loss of your Life and
“ Kingdom.”

This Answer to *Amaziah* was but so much Oil to the Flame, and made him ten times more furious and implacable then before: God in his Justice giving him up, as may be reasonably supposed, to such a violent Impotency of Rage and Passion, as would certainly expose him to the Stroke of Divine Justice for his Impiety. In this Heat he took the Field; and both Armies were drawn-up in Form of Battle. But no sooner were they advanced within sight of the Enemy, but his Men were instantly struck with so judicial a Consternation and Terror, that they turn'd their Backs without striking a Blow, and flying several Ways, left *Amaziah* Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemies, who refused to give him Quarter upon any other Terms, then that the Citizens of *Jerusalem* should set open the Gates, and receive him and his victorious Army into the Town; which, betwixt the Pinch of Necessity, and the Love of Life, they were prevail'd upon to do: So that *Joash* enter'd the Town in his triumphal Chariot thorough a Breach of three hundred Cubits of Wall that he had caus'd to be broken down, with his Prisoner *Amaziah* marching before him; and this was the Manner of his making himself Master of the Place. He made a Seazure of all the holy Plate and Treasure, and of all the Gold and Silver likewise that he could find in the Palace; carrying the whole Spoil away with him, and then dismissing the King, he return'd to *Samaria*. This Calamity beset *Jerusalem* in the fourteenth Year of *Amaziah's* Reign. The People of *Jerusalem*, after this, enter'd into a Conspiracy against him: So that he was forced to fly for Safety to *Lachish*; but that would not serve his turn, for the *Ruffians* follow'd him thither, and there they murder'd him. His Body was carry'd back to *Jerusalem*, where it was bury'd with a Royal State. This was the miserable End he came to, for the Neglect of God's Worship, and hankering after Innovations in Religion. He dy'd in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth Year of his Life, and the twenty ninth of his Reign; leaving his Son *Uzziah* the Successor to his Government.

C H A P X I.

The Story of Jonas. The Death of Jeroboam. His Son Zachariah succeeds him. Uzziah's excellent Qualities, Conquests, and his great Care for Jerusalem: But his Prosperity makes him forget God, and he is punish'd for it. His Son Jotham succeeds him. Shallum kills Zachariah, and usurps the Government. Menahem kills Shallum, and reigns ten Year. Pekahiah his Son succeeds him. Pekah murders him, and reigns in his Place. Tiglath-Pileser makes War upon him. The Virtues and good Qualities of Jotham King of Judah: In his time Nahum the Prophet foretels the Destruction of Niniveh, and the Assyrian Empire.

*IN the fifteenth Year of the Reign of *Amaziah*, *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash*, was made King over *Israel*, and kept his Court in *Samaria*, in the Palace of his Forefathers, for the whole forty Years of his Reign. He was a Prince impious to the highest Degree, wholly abandon'd to *Idolatry*; and so licentious, that he stuck at nothing, though never so wicked, that he had a mind to: And the Judgments that his profligate Course of Life brought upon the *Israelites*, were almost innumerable. It was foretold of him by *Jonas* the Prophet, that he should overcome the *Syrians*, and enlarge his Territories, as far as the City *Hamath* on the North, and the Lake *Asphaltites* on the South; which were formerly the Bounds of the Land of *Chanaan*, according to the Allotment of *Joshua* the General. *Jeroboam* was so elevated upon this Prediction, that he took away from the *Syrians* all that Tract of Ground before spoken of, and annexed it to his own Dominions; and therein made good the Prediction of the Prophet. Now in regard that I have strictly ty'd-up myself to write the History of the *Hebrews* with exact Truth and good Faith, I must not pass over, what I find recorded of this Matter in holy Writ.

“ The Word of the Lord came unto *Jonah*, saying: Arise
 “ and go to *Nineveh*, and there Cry aloud to them, that That
 “ Great Kingdom is to be suddenly destroy'd: But *Jonah*,
 “ to avoid the Danger of being an Author of such Tidings to
 “ them,

“ them, thought it better to slip out of the Way, (as if he
 “ could hide himself from God) and so went a-board a Vessel
 “ at *Joppa*, that was bound for *Tarshish* in *Cilicia*. While
 “ they were upon the Way, there arose a violent Tempest,
 “ that put the Master, the Mariners, and the Pilot himself, all
 “ to their Wits end, for fear of being swallow’d-up. But it
 “ was observ’d, that while the Crew were at their Prayers,
 “ and labouring to keep the Ship above Water, *Jonah* was
 “ the only Man that made no bustle; but lay flat upon his
 “ Face in the Hold, without doing as other People did. The
 “ Wind still blew harder and harder; and the Storm increa-
 “ sing, the Company took-up a Conceit, that this Calamity
 “ had befallen them for the Wickedness of some or other of
 “ the People that they had a-board. And so they agreed
 “ among themselves to put it to the Lot, who might be the
 “ Man. They did so, and the Lot fell upon the Prophet.
 “ This put the Crew upon enquiring *What he was*, and *what*
 “ *might be his Bus’ness*. He told them, that he was an *He-*
 “ *brew*, and a Prophet to the Great God: But I am the Man,
 “ says he, that has rais’d this Storm, and you have no way
 “ left you to save yourselves and the Vessel, but by casting
 “ me over-board. They look’d upon it, at first, to be so in-
 “ humane, and so ill-natur’d an Impiety, to deliver up a
 “ Guest, and one that had put his Life into their Hands, to
 “ so certain and inevitable a Destruction, that for a while
 “ they durst not resolve upon it: But in the End, partly by
 “ the extreme Necessity of the Case; (for the Ship was upon
 “ the very point of Sinking) partly by the Authority of the
 “ *Prophet*; and partly by their own Fear, they were prevail’d
 “ upon, and threw him into the Sea; in which Instant, the
 “ Storm ceas’d. The History says, that he was taken up by
 “ a Whale, and after three Days, cast up again, sound and
 “ living, upon the Shore of the *Euxine Sea*, (a) and nothing
 “ amiss about him: From whence, after Pardon obtain’d from
 “ Almighty God for his Disobedience, he went directly to
 “ *Nineveh*, according to his Order and Commission. He gets
 “ up to a Place there, where he might best be heard; and
 “ thence foretels them, that the Empire of *Asia* was near an
 “ End; and so upon the Publishing of this propheticall De-
 “ claration, he went his way.” This is what we find report-
 ed of him in the Records of holy Scripture.

But to return now to *Jeroboam*. * After a prosperous Reign

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of

(a) *Bochart* in his *Hieroz.* part 2. l. 1. c. 19. shews this to be an Error of *Josephus*.

* 2 Kings 14. v. 5.

of forty Years he was bury'd at *Samaria*; *Zachariah* his Son succeeding him: As * *Uzziah* succeeded *Amaziah* in the fourteenth Year of *Jeroboam*, to the Government of the *Two Tribes* at *Jerusalem*. His Mother's Name was *Achia*, a Native of *Jerusalem*. He was a Man naturally of great Courtesy and Justice; brave, provident, and industrious. He made War upon the *Philistines*, and took *Gath* and *Jamnia* from them by Assault; demolishing their Walls. And he made another Expedition also against the *Arabians*, upon the Borders of *Egypt*, and built a Town near the *Red-Sea*, which he committed to the Guard of a strong Garrison. After this, he subdu'd the *Ammonites*, and put them under Contribution, reducing the whole Country, as far as the Frontiers of *Egypt*, under his Power; betaking himself in the End to the Care of the City. Where the Walls were ruinous, or decay'd, whether by Age, or by the Neglect of former Governours, he rebuilt them anew, and repair'd that Breach also which the King of the *Israelites* had made when *Amaziah* was his Prisoner at his triumphant Entrance into the City. He erected also several Towers of one hundred and fifty Cubits in height, and built Castles and several strong Forts for the Security of the open Country; beside a great many *Aqueducts*, Cisterns and Basins, for the Relief of his Herds and Cattle, whereof the Number was incredible; the Country being naturally dispos'd for Pasture. He was himself also a great Lover of Tillage, Planting, Gardening, Nurseries, and all Sorts of Husbandry. As to the *Military* part, he had an Army of three hundred and seventy Thousand Select Men, under the Command of two Thousand brave and experienc'd Officers: All well arm'd, with Swords, Bucklers, brazen Corselets, Bows, Slings, and train'd up to the Exercise of Arms, and the drawing up of Armies, after the most advantageous way of Martial Discipline. He had several Machines and Engines also for Battery, and casting of Stones and Darts; beside Hooks, and other Instruments for Attack. But his Head was so taken up with the Vanity of these Preparations and Designs, that the Arrogance of his Ambition for a transitory and an earthly Glory, took him quite off from the Thought of Blessings everlasting, and from the Duties of Holiness and Religion in the Worship and Service of the Almighty: Insomuch that he faulter'd in his Integrity, after the Example of his Father, out of an Impotency of Mind, that was not able to bear-up against the Tide of a constant Course of Prosperity and Success.

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* 2 Chron. 26.

The King, upon a solemn Festival-Day, once dress'd up himself in a *Sacerdotal Habit*, and went into the holy Temple to offer up Incense to the Lord upon the Golden Altar; but *Azariah* the *High-Priest*, with a Train of fourscore *Priests* more along with him, rush'd into the Temple to the King, exclaiming against the Wickedness of that Usurpation, in breaking-in upon an Office belonging peculiarly to the *Priests* of the Race of *Aaron*, exclusive of all others: So that *Azariah* bad him immediately be gone, and not provoke the Wrath of God with those Indignities any longer. The King in a Passion bad them be quiet without more ado, upon the Peril of their Lives: Which Menace was follow'd with a terrible Earthquake, and the Roof of the Temple opening with the Shock of it, there pass'd a Beam of the Sun through the Cleft that struck directly upon the Face of this sacrilegious Prince, who in that very Moment became a *Leper*. And this Prodigy was accompany'd with another. There was a Place at some small Distance *Westward* from the Town, that they call'd *Eroge*; where, by the same Earthquake, one half of a great Mountain was torn from the other; and after it had roll'd over and over, a matter of four Furlong, it stopt in the Conclusion upon the *East-side* of a Mountain over against it: Having choak'd up the High-way, and cover'd the King's Gardens all over with Rubbish. When the *Priests* found the King to be *leprous*, and that the Lord had smitten him, they admonish'd him to depart the City, as an unclean Person, and not fit for common Society. The Shame of lying under such a Calamity, had by this time so far brought down his impious Pride and Stomach, that he submitted and obey'd; and when he had liv'd for some time a private Life out of the City, *Jotham* his Son taking upon him the Administration of the Government, his Grief brought him at last to his Grave, in the sixty eighth Year of his Age, and in the fifty second of his Reign; and his Body was laid in his Gardens, in a Monument by itself.

† *Zachariah*, the King of the *Israelites*, and the Son of *Jeroboam*, in the seventh Month of his Reign, was murder'd by the Treachery of one of his own Domesticks, *Shallum* by Name, the Son of *Jabesh*; who upon the Slaughter of *Zachariah*, took Possession of the Government. It was ill got, and he lost it as ill; on the thirtieth Day after the Seizing of it. *Menahem* had at that time the Command of an Army that was at (a) *Tirzah*; and upon the News of what had befallen *Zachariah*,

† 2 Kings 15.

(a) *Thapsa*, Jos.

Zachariah, he marched away presently with his Troops to *Samaria*, where he fought and overthrew *Shallum*, put him to the Sword, and afterward by his own Authority took all the Ensigns of Royalty to himself, and exercised Sovereign Power. With this victorious Army, he marched to *Tirzah*: But the Citizens shut their Gates upon him, and refused to admit him; which put him into such a Rage against them, as Revolters, that he laid waste the whole Country thereabouts, and in the End took the Town by Assault; put them all to the Sword, without sparing so much as a Child, to the highest Degree of Cruelty that ever was heard of: For he exercised that merciless Rigour and Inhumanity upon his own Countrymen, that would have been unpardonable, even toward the worst of *Barbarians* themselves: And his Government was not much easier for the whole ten Years of his Reign over *Israel*. He was threaten'd, after this, with an Invasion by *Pul*, the King of *Affyria*; but he durst not run the Risk of a Battle, and so came to a timely Ageeement with him for the Composition of a Thousand Silver Talents; which he rais'd upon the People at fifty Shekels a Head. He dy'd soon after, and was bury'd at *Samaria*; leaving *Pekahiah*, the next Heir, to succeed him; who inherited the Inhumanity and Ill-nature of his Father, as well as the Government. But his Time was short; for after two Years Reign, he was cut to pieces, with several of his Friends about him, at a publick Feast, by the treasonous Practice of *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, one of his Tribunes; who withal seized upon the Government, and reigned a matter of twenty Years; leaving it a Question at last, Whether he was more remarkable for his Impiety to God, or for his Injustice towards Men?

In the Days of this *Pekah*, *Tiglath-Pileser*, King of the *Affyrians*, invaded the *Israelites*; and after the Subduing of the Land of *Gilead*, and so the Country beyond *Jordan*, and that Part of *Gallilee* that lies next it, as also *Cydida* and *Afora*, he took the Inhabitants Prisoners; and carry'd them away into his own Country: Of which, this is enough said at present.

* *Jotham* the Son of *Uzziah* reigned in *Jerusalem* over the Tribe of *Judah*, his Mother a Native of that City, and her Name *Jerushah*; a Prince famous, and celebrated for all excellent Qualities and Virtues; a Man exemplary for his Reverence to God, for his Justice to Men, and for the Care he took of the Commonwealth; making it his Bus'ness to set and to keep all Things in Order, and to rectify what he found amiss.

amiss. He repair'd the Decays of the Porches and Galleries in the Temple; made good the City-Walls, where they were falling to Ruin; erected large and strong Towers: He brought the *Ammonites* under the Contribution of a Hundred Talents a Year; thirty Thousand Measures of Wheat, and as many of Barley; advancing the Kingdom also to such a State, that the People were both happy at home, and formidable abroad.

* In the Reign of this Prince, there appear'd a Prophet, whose Name was *Nahum*, and he foretold the Destruction of *Nineveh*, and the Subversion of the *Assyrian* Empire, in Manner as follows. "The Condition of *Nineveh*, says he, shall be like that of a *Fish-Pool*, in a violent Agitation of the Waters before a great Wind. The People shall fly away before the Storm, in Trouble and Confusion; calling out one to another, *Hold, stay a little, and take your Gold and your Silver along with you*; and no body shall mind it, for their Lives shall be much dearer to them then their Treasure. They shall have desperate Factions and Divisions among themselves; weeping and wailing, with the knocking of their Knees, and Death in their Faces. What will become of the Habitation of the *Lions*, and the *Dams* of the *Lion's Whelps*? *Nineveh*, says the Lord, I will strike thee out from off the Face of the Earth, and put an end to the Outrages of the wild Beasts, that thou hast sent in to the World." The Prophet's Predictions about *Nineveh* were more at large; but the Particulars are not necessary for my Purpose, and would appear tedious perhaps to the Reader. Let it suffice that the Prophecy was made good a hundred and fifteen Years after; and so I shall say no more of it.

C H A P. XII.

The Death of Jotham. Ahaz succeeds him. Rezin and Pekah make War upon him. Ahaz overthrown by Pekah, with a prodigious Slaughter.

† *Jotham* departed this Life in the one and fortieth Year of his Age, and the sixteenth of his Reign; and *Ahaz* in the Course of an hereditary Right succeeded him. He was the most impious Prince of all that ever sat upon the Throne, both

* *Nahum* 2. 8, &c.

† *2 Kings* 18. *2 Chron.* 28.

both for his Apostacy from the Laws of his Country, and for his *Idolatry*, in Imitation of the Kings of *Israel*. He built *Altars* in *Jerusalem*; sacrific'd to *Idols* upon them; and his own Son among the rest for a *Burnt-Offering*; after the Manner of the *Canaanites*: And a great many other Things he did too, as bad as this. While *Ahaz* was in the Course of these wicked Extravagances, *Rezin* the King of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the King of the *Israelites*, being joined in a League of Amity and Alliance, marched together up to *Jerusalem*, pressing it hard with Assault upon Assault, and lying a considerable time before it: But the Place was so well fortify'd and defended, that he was forc'd to quit it in the Conclusion. But in the mean while, the King of *Syria* possess'd himself of the City *Elath*, by the *Red-Sea*; put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and introduced a Colony of *Syrians* into their Places. He possess'd himself, after this, of several Castles, and strong Holds; did terrible Execution upon the *Jews*, and so with a prodigious Booty marched his Army back again to *Damascus*.

When the King of *Jerusalem* came to understand that the *Syrians* were gone away, he look'd upon himself to be a Match for the King of *Israel*, and so drew out an Army against him: But his Wickedness was so great, that God in a just Indignation gave the Victory to his Enemy, with the Loss of a hundred and twenty Thousand of his Men. In the same Battle, *Zachariah* the General of the *Israelites* kill'd *Amia* the Son of *Ahaz* upon a personal Encounter; and slew also *Azica* the Captain of the Guards; taking *Elkanah* the General of the *Jews* Troops, Prisoner: Beside a World of Captives of both Sexes of the *Benjamites*, that they carry'd away; and so return'd with the Spoil to *Samaria*. There was at that time a Prophet in *Samaria*, whose Name was *Obel*, who went out of the Town to meet the Army in their Return before the Walls; crying out to them with a loud Voice, that they were not to look upon this Victory as an Advantage gain'd by their own Virtue and Valour, but as a Judgment from Heaven upon King *Ahaz*. The Prophet therefore told them, they were to blame not to rest satisfy'd with the prosperous Success of their Undertaking, without making Slaves of their Kindred and Relations of the two Tribes; advising them by all means to set them at Liberty, and send them Home again, without offering any Indignity to their Persons, upon the Peril of falling under God's Displeasure if they refus'd it. The *Israelites* upon this Admonition, call'd a Council to deliberate what to do upon this Occasion. The Question being

being put, there stood up one *Berachiah*, a Man of great Authority in the Assembly; who, with three more, declared themselves utterly against the bringing any of the Prisoners into the Town, for fear God's Vengeance should fall upon all the rest. They had enough to answer for in Transgressions already past, that the Prophet had denounced against, without any need of encreasing the Provocation, or the Number. The Soldiers were so far wrought upon by this Consideration, that they gave their Prisoners Leave and Liberty to go whether they would, and to take what they would along with them. Whereupon the four Persons aforesaid set them free of their Bonds; appointed Care to be taken of their Bodies; furnish'd them with Provisions for their Journey, and so dismiss'd them safe back again: Bearing them Company themselves as far as beyond *Jericho*. And when they had brought them on their Way within a little of *Jerusalem*, they returned to *Samaria*.

C H A P. XIII.

Tiglath-Pileser joins with Ahaz: They ravage Syria; kill Rezin King of Damascus, and take the Place. The Wickedness and Death of Ahaz. Hezekiah succeeds him. Hosea murders Pekah, and seizes the Kingdom. Salmonezer overthrows Hosea. Hezekiah restores God's Worship, and overcomes the Philistines.

† **T**His last Blow from the *Israelites* forced *Ahaz* to bethink himself of calling in Assistance toward the carrying on of the War. So he sent an Embassy to *Tiglath-Pileser* the King of the *Assyrians*, with Promises of great Sums of Money, and magnificent Presents in hand, craving Succours from him against the *Israelites*, and those of *Syria* and *Damascus*. This Prince no sooner heard of the Desire and Proposal of *Ahaz*, but he march'd immediately to his Aid, laying the Country of *Syria* waste, taking *Damascus* by Assault, and putting *Rezin* the King to the Sword. The People of *Damascus* he transplanted to the *Upper Media*, and supply'd their Places at *Damascus*, with Colonies of his own People. And then he depopulated a great Part of the Land of the *Israelites*,

† 2 Kings 16, 17.

raelites, carrying away vast Numbers of them Prisoners. After the harassing of the *Syrians* at this Rate, *Ahaz* took all the Gold and Silver out of the King's Treasury, and that likewise out of the Temple, with all the rich Donatives and Presents, and carry'd the whole Mass along with him to *Damascus*; where, according to his Agreement, he deliver'd all up to the King of *Affyria*, with Acknowledgments for the Favour of his Relief, and so went his way back again to *Jerusalem*. Now this King had so little Sense, either of Honour, or of Reason, that the mortal Enmity betwixt him and the *Syrians*, did not hinder him yet from worshipping their Gods, and joining in their Ceremonies; vainly persuading himself that they would be propitious to his Arms, in Favour of his impious Zeal in a *false Worship*. And then when he was overcome, on the other hand, his Bus'ness was to make Friends of the Gods of the *Affyrians*: So that no Sort of *Idolatry* came amiss to him, provided he might but keep clear of the Reverence he ought to the *True God*, and to the Religion, and Traditions of his Ancestors. This Apostacy was it, that drew down the Wrath and Vengeance of God upon him. Nay the Contempt and Aversion that he had for the Honour and Service of God, was so extravagant, that after he had robb'd, and rifled the Temple of all that was precious in it, he commanded the very Doors to be kept shut too, in pure Spite to God and Goodness, and to prevent the celebrating of any Act or Office of religious Worship in that Holy Place. But at last, after a constant Course and Exercise of these outrageous Impieties, he departed this Life, at thirty six Years of Age, and in the sixteenth of his Reign; leaving his Son *Hezekiah* his Successor to the Government. About this time *Pekah* King of *Israel* lost both his Government, and his Life, by the Treachery of a Court Confident, whose Name was *Hosea*; who enjoy'd the Fruit of an impious Violence and Usurpation, for the Space of nine Years. † He was one of the worst of Men; and in his Life and Conversation, he shew'd not the least Thought or Belief of a God. *Salmanezzer* the King of the *Affyrians*, led an Army against him, and being cast off by God, whom he himself had rejected and despised, he was easily overcome, and forc'd to submit to the Terms of a *Tributary*.

‡ In the fourth Year of *Hosea's* Reign, *Hezekiah* came to be King of *Jerusalem*. He was the Son of *Ahaz*, by *Abiac*, a Native of that City: A Person of an excellent Understanding,

† 2 Kings 15, 30.

‡ 2 Kings 18. 2 Chron. 29, 30, 31.

ing, and naturally a Lover and Practicer of Piety and Justice. For the first Thing he did upon his coming to the Throne, was to provide for the Comfort of his People in settling the main Affair of Religion, and God's Worship: To which End, he immediately summon'd a Meeting of the *Priests* and *Levites*, and treated them with a Discourse, as it is reported, to this Effect. "I shall not need to mind you
" of the many and great Calamities that have befallen you
" for the Iniquities of my Father, in not rend'ring to God the
" Honour due to him, and for the Madness of your being
" prevail'd upon to pay a Divine Adoration to his *Idols*:
" Wherefore being now taught by woful Experience, how
" dangerous a Thing it is to prevaricate with the Almighty,
" it is my Advice, that all past Miscarriages may be forgotten;
" and that you purify and purge yourselves, together
" with the *Priests* and *Levites*, from all your former Pollutions;
" and after that Preparation, that you set open the
" Doors of that Holy Place: And when you shall have restor'd
" it to the State of its Original Purity and Reverence,
" by *Consecrations*, *Expiatory Lustrations*, and *Sacrifices* in
" Form, you may then promise yourselves that God will
" pardon your Impieties, and prosper you in all your Undertakings." The *Priests* were so elevated and encouraged by this Advice of the King's, that they presently open'd the Temple, clear'd it of all profane Impurities and Defilements, made ready their Holy Vessels, and laid their Sacrifices upon the Altar, according to the *Jewish* Manner. The King, in the mean time, sent Messengers through all his Dominions to summon the People up to *Jerusalem*, to the *Feast of Unleavened Bread*; which had been then a long time intermitted, through the impious Neglect of former Kings: Exhorting, and inviting the *Israelites* also to give over the Practice of their idolatrous Superstitions, and return to the Exercise of the True Religion, and to the Worship of the *True God*; promising them that they should have free Leave and Liberty to come and go, and to celebrate this Festival in common with his own People. *Hezekiah* told them, "That
" it was not for his own Sake, but for theirs, that he gave
" them this Invitation; and that they themselves should find
" the Comfort of it, if they follow'd his Counsel:" But when the *Israelites* heard of the Message, they were so far from giving any heed to it, that they had the Messengers in Derision, and treated the Prophets as spitefully too, for the good Office of advising them to return to their Duties; and foretelling them the Miseries that should befall them, without a timely
Humiliation

Humiliation and Repentance. And their Outrage did not stop here neither ; for they took several of the Prophets afterward, and put them to Death. At this Rate they went on from one Wickedness to another, and never gave over, till God in his Wrath avenged himself upon them for their Impiety, by delivering them up into the Hands of their Enemies, as will be seen in its proper Place. But there were great Numbers yet of the Tribes of *Manasses*, *Zabulon*, and *Issachar*, that had their Hearts touch'd with this Premonition of the Prophets, and that went in Throngs up to *Hezekiah* at *Jerusalem*, to worship.

When the Multitude was there gather'd together, the King went up to the Temple, together with the Princes, and the People, where he sacrificed, for himself, seven Bulls, seven Rams, and as many Goats ; and when he had first laid his Hands upon the Heads of the Victims, both the King, and the Princes, left the Execution to the *Priests* ; who cut the Throats of the Sacrifices, and burnt them whole ; the *Levites* standing in a Ring about them, singing Divine Hymns, and accompanying their Voices with Musical Instruments, in such Manner as *David* had prescribed to them of old, the rest of the *Priests* joining in the Consort. When this was over, the King and the People cast themselves prostrate with their Faces upon the Ground, and worshipped the Lord. He sacrificed after this, seventy Bulls, a Hundred Rams, and two Hundred Lambs ; bestowing also six Hundred Bulls, and three Thousand other Cattle as a Largeess for the Entertainment of the People : And when the *Priests* had done their Parts according to the customary Method and Order, the King himself made good Cheer, and communicated with the People, joining together in Praises and Thanksgivings.

The Feast of *Unleavened Bread* was now coming on, and in the time of their Preparations for the Feast of the *Passover*, they offer'd up a Course of other Sacrifices, for seven Days successively, and the King bestowed upon the People out of his own Bounty, two Thousand Bulls, and seven Thousands of other Cattle, over and above their own Number ; the Princes likewise, after *Hezekiah's* Example, superadding out of their own Liberality a Thousand Bulls, and a Thousand four Hundred other Beasts : Insomuch, that from the Days of *Solomon* to this particular Time, there was never such a Solemnity heard of.

So soon as this Festival was over, they made it their next Work to purge the whole Country, having first purify'd *Jerusalem* itself from the Abominations of their *Idols*. The King then

then appointed daily Sacrifices according to the Law to be supply'd out of his own Stores, and commanded the People to present the *Priests* and *Levites* with their Tenth and First-Fruits, that they might not be taken off by any common Business from their Attendance upon the *Altar*. By this Means they were abundantly furnished with all Sorts of Fruits and Provisions. The King also order'd the building of *Granaries*, and Store-Houses, for the common Use and Service of themselves, their Wives and Children; to be distributed in Proportion to their Shares: So that by these Degrees, the ancient Discipline came in some Measure to be restor'd.

Matters being thus settled, the King made War upon the *Philistines*, and over-ran their Country, and all their Cities, from *Gath* to *Gaza*, which he added to his own Territories. But the King of *Affyria*, in this mean time, sends a Message to him to demand the Tribute from him, which was formerly paid him by his Father, with a Menace, in case of Refusal, to take his Country from him; but *Hezekiah* did so absolutely depend upon the Goodness of God, the Conscience of his own Innocency, and the Veracity of the Prophet *Isaiah*, from whom he was sure to be forewarned of the Event of Things, that he gave no heed at all to the Menaces of the *Affyrians*. And so much for the Story of this King.

C H A P. XIV.

Salmanezzer takes Samaria; destroys the Kingdom of Israel; carries away Hosea, and all his People, Prisoners: And plants the Kingdom of Israel with a Colony of Chuthites.

* U P O N Intelligence given to *Salmanezzer* King of *Affyria*, that the King of *Israel* was enter'd into a secret Treaty with *So*, the King of *Aegypt*, to join in an Alliance against him; the *Affyrian* in a furious Indignation presently marches with his Army against *Samaria*: (This was in the seventh Year of the Reign of *Hosea*) and the City standing out against him; in the third Year of the Siege, and in the ninth of the present King, he took it by Assault, in the seventh Year of the Reign of *Hezekiah* King of *Jerusalem*. The Loss of this Place was the final Ruin of the Kingdom of *Israel*; the People

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ple was all transplanted into *Media*, and *Persia*, and *Hofea* the King taken with them alive : While the King of *Assyria* brought others from thence in Exchange, as far as *Chuthah*, a River of *Persia*, to Re-people the *Israelites* ; and so to plant in *Samaria*, and up and down that Country.

This Transportation of the *Ten Tribes* from the Place of their Abode, fell out to be about some nine hundred and seven and forty Year, from the coming of their Forefathers out of the Land of *Aegypt*, to their taking Possession of that Land before : Eight hundred Year from the Days of *Joshua* ; and two hundred and forty Years, seven Months, and seven Days after the Revolt from *Rehoboam* the Grand-child of *David*, to *Jeroboam* ; of whom we have spoken heretofore. This was the miserable End of that stiff-necked People, that would neither be subject to Laws, nor hearken to the Voice and Precautions of their Prophets ; though they foretold them, that their certain Destruction was at hand, unless they departed immediately from their evil Ways. Now the Rise of all these Calamities took its Date from that seditious Revolt from *Rehoboam*, in advancing a Servant over the Head of his Master ; who in Contempt of God, and his holy Laws, drew the Indignation of Heaven upon the People, by corrupting them into the Practice of the same Abominations, after his Example. But the Justice of God came home to him in his own Person too in its due Season.

The King of *Assyria*, in fine, ravaged with his Army, and domineer'd every where in *Syria*, and *Phœnicia* ; mention being also made of his Name in the History of the *Tyrians* : For in the Reign of *Elulæus*, as *Menander* has it in his *Annals*, (that were turn'd out of the *Tyrian* Language into *Greek*) he made War upon *Tyre*. His Words are to this Purpose. " This " same *Elulæus* reigned thirty six Years ; and upon a Revolt " of the *Gittæans*, he sent a Fleet thither, that reduced them " to their Obedience : And the King of the *Assyrians* sent out " an Army also against him, and invaded the whole Coun- " try of *Phœnicia* ; till upon the Conclusion of a Peace, he " march'd with his Troops back again. Some short time " after this Exploit, the Cities of *Sydon*, *Arce*, *Pale-Tyrus*, " and several other Towns went over from the *Tyrians*, to the " *Assyrian* King : Who taking it so heinously to see the *Ty-* " *rians* the only People that disputed his Authority and Pow- " er, he dispatched a Navy against them of sixty Sail, and " eight hundred Rowers, under the Conduct of the *Phœni-* " *cians*, which the *Tyrians* encounter'd, with only twelve " Vessels ; brake the whole Body, and took five Hundred of the

“ the Rowers Prisoners. The Success of this Encounter gave them a wonderful Reputation for their Skill and Ability “ in Naval Affairs.” The King of *Affyria*, upon this Affront, returns, and sets Guards along the River, and upon all Springs, and *Aquæducts* to keep the *Tyrians* from Water. The *Tyrians* were upon this Pinch for a matter of five Years, when they were forc’d to relieve themselves from Pits of their own digging.

This is what we find written of *Salmanezzer* in the Chronicles of the *Tyrians*. Now the New-comers in *Samaria* are called *Chuthites*, from a Country of *Persia*, of that Name, and from the River *Chuthah*, from whence they had their Original: There were five Nations of them, and they brought as many of their own Country Gods along with them; highly provoking the True and the Great God to Indignation against them, for the Worship they paid to these *Idols*: So that they were visited with so (a) dreadful a Plague, that the Place was well-nigh unpeopled with it; and finding no Relief from any humane Means, they were advised by the Oracle to have recourse to the Worship of the Great God; for their Case was desperate and hopeless without such an Application. The People immediately upon this, sent for Commissioners to attend the King of *Affyria*, with a Petition, that he would be pleased to send them some of the Priests that were carry’d away Captives with the *Israelites*. This being granted, and the Priests brought, as they desir’d, they had the Law of *Moses* read, with an Explication upon the Practice, and the Reason of their Religion and Discipline, which had so wonderful an Effect upon them, that they gave themselves wholly up to the Study and Exercise of it, and soon after this, the Pestilence ceased. Now the (b) People of that Country retain to this Day the Name of *Chuthites*, among the *Hebrews*: But the *Greeks* call them *Samaritans*. They are a People unfix’d, and changeable in their Opinions and Inclinations, accommodating themselves to the present Time and Occasion. So long as the *Jews* are prosperous, “ We are all of a Blood, “ they cry, and of the Lineage of *Joseph* ;” but if they happen to fall under any Affliction, or Adversity, “ Alas! say “ they, We have nothing to do with them, they are Strangers to us: We came a great way off, they say, into that “ Country,” and the like; but of this in its proper Place.

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FLAVIUS

(a) See 2 *Kings* c. xvii. v. 26. and *Bochart's Hieroz.* l. 3. c. 3. part 1.

(b) See *Vossius's Epistle to Colvius*, p. 394.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

Jewish Antiquities.

BOOK the TENTH.

[From the Year of the World 3224, to 3425.]

CHAP. I.

Sennacherib enters Judea with a mighty Army ; Conditions with Hezekiah for a Sum of Money to withdraw ; receives the Money, and breaks his Articles. He carries the War into Ægypt, and leaves the Siege of Jerusalem to Rabshakeh. The Prophet Iſaiah promises Hezekiah Assistance from Heaven.

IN the fourteenth Year of Hezekiah, King of the Two Tribes, Sennacherib the King of Assyria marched against him with a powerful, and a well-appointed Army ; and having taken all the Cities of Judah and Benjamin, by Assault, he was now advancing toward Jerusalem ; when an Embassy came to him with an Offer of Submission to his Power, and of paying him Tribute. Sennacherib gave the Embassadors Audience, and resolved immediately to let fall the War, and to treat upon the King's Terms ; promising with

* 2 Kings 18.

with the Solemnity of an Oath, that upon the Receipt of three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty of Gold, he would be gone with his Army, without attempting any Act of Hostility against him. *Hezekiah*, upon this Assurance, empty'd all the Treasuries, and sent him the Money, in Confidence of the Enemy's Remove according to his Oath, and that he might reign afterward without any Difficulty or Danger. The *Assyrian* took the Money; but broke his Word: For he march'd himself with his Troops against the *Egyptians* and *Æthiopians* and left *Rabshakeh* his Lieutenant-General, with *Tharata* and *Anacharis*, as Fellow-Commissioners with him, to carry-on the War against *Jerusalem*. Upon the drawing-up of their Army, they pitch'd their Camp within sight of the Walls of the Town; and by a Messenger, summon'd *Hezekiah* out to a Parley. *Hezekiah* was not willing to trust himself, and therefore sent out three of his particular Friends to supply his Place: That is to say, *Eliakim*, his Deputy-Governour; *Shebnah* and *Joah*, Keepers of the Records. Upon their coming out of the Town, and presenting themselves before the Officers of the *Assyrian* Army, *Rabshakeh*, staring them in the Face, bad them carry their Master this Message: † "That the great King *Sennacherib* would fain know what Confidence it is that he values himself upon, that he should dare to make any Difficulty of owning that great King for his Master; and to refuse Entrance to his Army into the City. What, says *Rabshakeh*, does he flatter himself with Hope of Relief from *Egypt*, as if the *Egyptians*, were in Condition to cope with the Army of my Master? Why certainly he must be worse then mad to imagine it, and to trust to a broken Reed, that will both deceive him, if he trusts to it, and run into his Hand, and wound him, if he lays any stress upon it: But, says *Rabshakeh*, you are to inform your Master, that this Expedition is not attempted without God's holy Will and Direction; who will as certainly give the King of *Assyria* Victory over *Hezekiah*, and his Subjects, as he hath already made him victorious over the *Israelites*." *Rabshakeh* deliver'd himself in *Hebrew*, being a Language that he was well skill'd in: But *Eliakim* fearing the Effect of such a Discourse, in a known Tongue, might have upon the Multitude, desired him rather, if he pleas'd, to speak *Syriack*. Now *Rabshakeh* very well understanding what the other was afraid of, rais'd his Voice, and continued his Discourse still in *Hebrew*, to this Purpose.

R. r 3

"Pray

“ Pray, says *Rabshakeh*, let your People hear and understand
 “ the Commands of my Master ; for it concerns them so to
 “ do, and to render themselves in season. It is the Bus’ness,
 “ I know, both of yourselves, and of your King, to seduce
 “ your People with vain and empty Hopes of defending
 “ themselves by Force : But if you have the Courage to put
 “ it to a Hazard, or any Sort of Pretence to beat-off this Ar-
 “ my from your Walls, I am ready to furnish you with two
 “ Thousand Horse, if you will only undertake to find Riders
 “ to them. But, alas ! you have not wherewithal to try the
 “ Experiment. If it be so, why are you then so long a de-
 “ liberating upon a thing you will be compell’d to do in the
 “ Conclusion ? Especially in a Case where you are safe, if
 “ ye do it willingly ; and run all the Hazards in the World,
 “ if you stay to be driven to it upon Constraint ; as the
 “ weaker must of Necessity yield at last to the stronger.”

* This was all spoken in the Hearing, as well of the Peo-
 ple, as of the Deputies ; and no sooner brought to the King’s
 Ear, but he immediately stript himself of his Royal Robes,
 and put on Sackcloth, after the Custom of the Country, in
 token of his Humiliation ; cast himself prostrate upon the
 Ground, and implor’d the Aid and Favour of Almighty God,
 being utterly hopeless of any Comfort elsewhere. He sent
 likewise some of his particular Friends, together with others
 of the Priesthood, to the Prophet *Isaiah*, to desire him that
 he would intercede with the Lord, by Prayers and Sacrifices
 for the common Safety, and for the Abatement of the Pride
 and Power of the Enemy, in Compassion to his People. The
 Prophet comply’d with the King’s Request, and succeeded so
 far in his Mediation, that he was authorized by the Oracle,
 to bid the King and his Friends be of good Courage, for the
 Enemy should be overcome without a Battle, and abandon
 his Design with Loss and Disgrace ; that his Stomach should
 be brought down ; and that the Hand of God should be up-
 on him, to his Ruin : That *Sennacherib* himself should mis-
 carry in his Egyptian Expedition, and upon that Disappoint-
 ment go to his own Home again, where he should fall by
 the Sword.

It happen’d upon this very point of time, that *Hezekiah*
 received Letters from the King of *Affyria*, with expostulatory
 Reasonings in them, “ What a Fool he was to imagine any
 “ Possibility under his Circumstances, of maintaining his Li-
 “ berty against the Power of a Prince that had already sub-
 “ jected

* 1 Kings 19. 1, & 2.

“ jected so many Warlike Nations to his Obedience; con-
 “ cluding with a Menace of putting Man, Woman and Child
 “ to the Sword, if they did not, without Delay, and of their
 “ own Accord, set open their City-Gates, and give them a
 “ free Passage for his Army.” *Hezekiah* did so absolutely de-
 pend upon the Truth and Power of God, that he laid no
 Stress at all upon this huffing Letter; but folded it up again,
 and laid it in the *Temple*, betaking himself still to repeated
 Prayers and Supplications, for the Safety of the City, till
Isaiah return’d with this Answer; “ That his Petition was
 “ heard, and that the Danger was over, for any Harm the
 “ *Assyrians* should do them upon that Undertaking. He told
 “ them likewise, that there were happier Times at hand,
 “ wherein they should live in Peace and Security, upon their
 “ own Lands and Possessions, without Fear of an Enemy.”
 In Process of Time the King of *Assyria* finding all his At-
 tempts to be frustrated, and nothing to succeed with him,
 he withdrew his Army, and went back again upon this Oc-
 casion. He had spent a great deal of time before *Pelusium*;
 and at last, when he had brought up his Platforms within
 a little of the Top of the Walls; and was upon the very
 point almost of giving the Assault, News was brought him,
 that (a) *Tirhakah* the King of *Æthiopia* was upon his March
 with a great Inforcement to assist the *Ægyptians*; and that
 he took his way through the *Desart*, with a Design to fall
 upon the *Assyrians* by Surprize. *Sennacherib* was so startled
 at this Report, that he immediately drew off his Army.
 (b) *Herodotus* calls this War of *Sennacherib*’s against the King
 of *Ægypt*, a War against the Priest of *Vulcan*, as being both
 a King and a Priest of that false God. “ Now this was the
 “ Reason (*says he*) of *Sennacherib*’s raising the Siege of *Pelu-*
 “ *sium*. The King of *Ægypt*, upon this Occasion, call’d to
 “ his God for Help; which being granted him, was fatal to
 “ the *Arabian*, by a Mistake, writing [*Arabian*] for [*Assyri-*
 “ *an*.] And, *says he*, in one Night there came such Troops
 “ of Rats into the Camp of the *Assyrians*, that they gnaw’d
 “ all their Bow-strings to pieces, and made useless several
 “ other Pieces of their Arms, even to the disarming of the
 “ *Assyrians*; who, upon this Disappointment, drew-off from
 R r 4 “ the

(a) *Tharsikes*, *Jos.* (b) See *Herodotus*, p. 163. Ed. *Steph.*
 1592. In the Translation of this Place, I follow *Gelenius*; both *Epi-*
phanius Scholasticus and the *Original Greek* being corrupted, as is shewn
 by *Jos. Scaliger* in his Notes upon the *Fragments of Berosus*, p. 45, 46.
 where he ingeniously supplies what is wanting.

"the Town." Now *Berosus*, a *Chaldee-Historian*, speaks of this King *Sennacherib*, and how he reigned over the *Assyrians*, and made War upon all *Asia* and *Ægypt*. † His Words are to this following Effect.

C H A P. II.

Sennacherib besieges Jerusalem: One hundred eighty five Thousand of his Men cut-off by a judicial Plague, the first Night. He quits the Siege, and goes home again; where he is murder'd by two of his Sons in the Temple of his Idol.

(a) *Sennacherib*, at his Return from the *Ægyptian War*, found his Army that he had left under the Command of (b) *Rabshakeh* almost quite destroy'd by a judicial Pestilence; which swept away, in general Officers, Tribunes, and common Soldiers, to the Number of one hundred eighty five Thousand Men, the first Night they sat down before the City. This dreadful Mortality put *Sennacherib* in such a Fright, partly, as it was a Stroke of Divine Vengeance, and partly for fear of the rest of his Army, that he made all possible haste back again, by great Marches, to his Palace at *Nineveh*; where, after a while, he was cut-off by his two eldest Sons, *Adramelek* and (c) *Sharezer*, in the very Temple of *Asascus*, which was his *Darling-Idol*. They fled upon it into *Armenia*; (d) *Esarhaddon*, the third Son, succeeding to the Government. And thus ended this Expedition.

C H A P.

† *Scaliger* fancies this to be an Interpolation, and that the Beginning of the following Chapter is not *Berosus's*.

(a) See *Scaliger's* Notes upon the *Fragment of Berosus*, p. 46. and *Vorstius's Dissertat. Acad.* 1.

(b) *Rapsakes*, *Jos.*

(c) *Selennares*, *Jos.*

(d) *Assarachoddas*, *Jos.*

C H A P. III.

Hezekiah falls Sick ; and has fifteen Years added to his Life. A League betwixt him and Balad the King of Babylon : Whereupon the Prophet Isaiah foretels the Israelites Captivity in Babylon, and the Calamities that were to befall Hezekiah and his Posterity. The Death of Hezekiah.

***H**ezekiah being now deliver'd beyond all Expectation from any further Apprehension of Trouble or Danger ; and being likewise thoroughly convinced that it was the only and immediate Hand of God that wrought his Preservation, as well by the *Plague* that destroy'd Part of the *Assyrian* Army, as by the *Terror* of that Judgment that frighted away the rest ; he betook to Vows and Thanksgivings for the Mercies he had receiv'd : And while his Thoughts were wholly taken up with the Honour and Worship of God, he was seiz'd with so grievous a Distemper that his Physicians, and the rest of his Friends, despair'd of his Life. In this Distress, nothing went so near the King's Heart, as to consider, that upon his dying without Issue, the Succession of the Family would be then at an End, and the Kingdom left without a Legitimate Heir. The Anxiety of this Consideration lay so heavy upon him, that he address'd himself to God with Supplications and Tears, only for the prolonging of his Life till he might have a Successor out of his own Loins, and not to take him out of the Number of the Living, till he might be the Father of a Son, to keep him alive in his Posterity. God took Compassion of him, and the rather, because he was not so much troubled for the Loss of the Advantages of a Kingdom, as for the want of an Heir of his own Body to govern it. Upon this, the Prophet *Isaiah* was sent to him with the comfortable Assurance, that in three Days his Disease should leave him, and that he should live fifteen Years longer yet, and the Kingdom descend at last to his own Son and Heir. When the Prophet had deliver'd this Message to the King according to his Order, the Disease was so desperate, and the News so surprising, that *Hezekiah* could not bring himself to depend upon

* 2 Kings 20. 1.

upon it without some Prodigy of a Token from *Isaiah*, in Confirmation of his Authority and Commission, and that he was sent from God upon this Errand. Now this is a common Course, when we meet with Difficulties out of the Reach of Hope and Reason, to bring about, or to comprehend, to get the Truth confirm'd to us by some extraordinary Evidence. The Prophet ask'd what Sign or Token would give him Satisfaction? So he propounded that the Shadow upon his Dial might go ten Degrees backward from the Place where it then stood. The King, finding this Miracle wrought, upon the Prayers of the Prophet, was restored presently to his Health; and went immediately up to the Temple, where he worshipped and paid his Devotion.

* It was about this time, that the *Affyrian* Empire happen'd to be dissolv'd by the *Medes*, of which we shall speak elsewhere. But *Balad* the King of *Babylon*, having sent Embassadors with Presents to *Hezekiah*, invited him into a League of Amity and Alliance. *Hezekiah* receiv'd the Commissioners with great Courtesy; gave them a Royal Entertainment, and so shew'd them his Treasure and his Armory, and whatever else he had that was magnificent and valuable, either in Gold or precious Stones, and in the End sent them back again well rewarded, to their Master. Upon this, *Isaiah* came to him, and ask'd him what those Men were, and whence they came? He told the Prophet, that they were sent from the King of *Babylon*; and that he had shew'd them all the Riches and Curiosities of his Palace, that they might gather from thence how great a Prince he was, and so possess their King upon better Grounds, with the Truth of the Matter. "Know then, says the Prophet to the King, that it will not be long before this Treasure of yours shall be carry'd to *Babylon*; several of your Posterity shall be unmann'd, and serve the Court of *Babylon*, in the Quality of *Eunuchs*. This you will find to be a Truth; for God himself hath foretold it." This Prediction went to the very Soul of *Hezekiah*. "Well, says he, though I cannot but be much troubled at the Thought of the Misery that attends my Family, yet since it is God's Pleasure that it should be so, I have no more to beg from Heaven, than that I may enjoy the small Remainder of my miserable Life in Peace." *Berosus* takes notice also of this *Balad* King of *Babylon*: But the Prophet *Isaiah*, who was so infallibly and

* 2 Kings 20. 12, &c.

and miraculously inspir'd in all he said, and so certain of the Truth of his Predictions, committed all his *Prophecies* to Writing, and left them to Posterity for all Men to judge of what he foretold, by the Event: And this was not his Bus'ness alone, but there were twelve more that did the same; and in all Cases of Event whatsoever, Good or Evil, the Accomplishment and the Prophecy agree exactly together. But we shall treat of this more particularly upon other Occasions. Finally, when *Hezekiah* had survived in Peace, according to what we have said already, he † dy'd in the five and fiftieth Year of his Life, and the nine and twentieth of his Reign.

C H A P. IV.

Manasseh the King of Judah, a wicked Prince. The King of Babylon ravages his Country, and takes him Prisoner: But upon his Conversion he is set at Liberty. His Life and Death. Amon his Son succeeds him, but is soon after cut-off; and his Son Josiah came next to the Throne.

† **M**anasseh the Son of *Hezekiah* by (a) *Hephzibah*, a Native of *Jerusalem*, succeeded his Father in the Government; but led a Life directly contrary to the Practices of his Predecessor. No Impiety 'scap'd him; but he made Choice of all Sorts of Abominations that had brought so many heavy Judgments upon the *Israelites*, for his Imitation and Example. He was so daring a Libertine, as to profane the holy Temple itself, and consequently the whole City, and every Corner of his Dominions, with the Tincture of the same Iniquity and Pollution. He began his Reign with the Contempt of God, and so proceeded to a barbarous and bloody Persecution of holy and good Men, dipping his Hands in the Blood of the very *Prophets* themselves: Insomuch that hardly a Day pass'd without putting some or other of them to Death, so that the very Streets of *Jerusalem* ran Blood. The Cry of these impious inhumane Outrages call'd so loud to Heaven for Vengeance, that God was highly incens'd at this

† 2 Chron. 33. 1.

† 2 Kings 21.

(a) *Achibas*, *Jos. Echibene*, *Rufinus*.

this audacious Course of Wickedness ; and sent *Prophet* after *Prophet*, both to the *King* and to the *People*, with Cautions to them to repent in Time, of their Neglect of God's Worship, and to return to their Duty, upon the peril of suffering the same Calamities for the same Sins that their Brethren the *Israelites* had suffer'd before them : But these were Discourses that they gave no Credit to, till in the Conclusion they found the Menaces follow'd with Effects, when it was too late to struggle with those Miseries, which by a seasonable Belief and Consideration, might have been easily prevented. But upon their persisting in this Train and Habit of Wickedness, God stir'd up the King of *Babylon* and *Chaldaea*, to make War upon them ; who sent an Army into *Judaea*, that over-ran and destroy'd the whole Country ; surpriz'd *Manasseh*, and carry'd him away in the Quality of a Prisoner, every Hour at Mercy. This miserable Prince came now by dear Experience to be sensible of his Fault, and upon that Reflection, earnestly besought God, only so far to soften the Hearts of his Enemies, as might move them to treat him with some Sort of Tenderness and Humanity. And God was not yet inexorable neither ; but in Pity, gave Ear to his Supplication : So that the King of *Babylon*, after some time, gave *Manasseh* his Liberty, and restor'd him to his former Government. Upon his Arrival at *Jerusalem*, by the Leave and Clemency of the Conqueror, he did all the good that was possible, to † atone for his former Miscarriages, even to the burying of them in Oblivion, being now quite another Man in his Inclination and Manners, and wholly intent upon the Advancement of Religion. For he purg'd the City, and consecrated the Temple afresh, making it his whole Bus'ness to express his Gratitude and Reverence toward God, and to preserve himself in the Blessing of his Favour all the Days of his Life. He took care also, both by his Example, and his Authority, to instruct the People in their Duties ; being conscious to himself, that his former Male-Administration went a great Way in the Misfortunes of the Publick. He caused an *Altar* to be erected, after the Prescription and Appointment of *Moses*, and offer'd daily Sacrifices upon it. And when he had restor'd Religion, and the Discipline of it, to its Original State and Purity, he made it his Bus'ness to fortifie *Jerusalem* ; repairing the old Walls, and encompassing them with new ones. He built several high and strong Towers, and furnish'd

† 2 Chron. 33. 14, &c.

nish'd all the Out-Works with Provisions of all Sorts. He was, in fine, so much alter'd for the better, that from the Instant of his Return to God, to the Day of his Death, he was look'd upon to be one of the happiest of Princes. * He dy'd at sixty seven Years of Age, in the five and fiftieth of his Reign, and was bury'd in his own Gardens. His Son *Amon*, which he had by *Emalsema* of the City of *Jabat*, succeeded him in the Government. This Prince following the loose Example of his Father's Youth, and indulging himself in the same wicked Liberties, was quickly call'd to an Account for his Miscarriages, by some of his familiar Friends and Domesticks; who cut him off in the four and twentieth Year of his Life, and the second of his Reign. The People did him Justice upon his Murderers, and laid his Body in the Monument of his Father; delivering up the Government to his Son *Josiah*, who was at that time a Youth of but eight Years of Age.

C H A P V.

Josiah's Zeal for the Extirpation of Idolatry, and the Establishment of God's Worship after the Example of King David.

† **T**HE Mother of *Josiah* was born in *Boscath*, her Name *Jedida*, and himself of a gracious, and an excellent Disposition; proposing the Example of *David* for the Rule and Model of his whole Life. ‡ In the twelfth Year of his Age, he gave an eminent Instance of an innate Piety and Justice, in the Reformation of the People from their erroneous Persuasions concerning *false Gods*, and in the gaining of them over to Reverence for the Religion of their Country. He repealed several of the Ordinances of his Forefathers; corrected whatever he found amiss; and apply'd as proper Remedies where the Case required any such Expedient, as the most consummated Wisdom and Experience could have supply'd. Where he found Matters well, he kept them so, and liv'd in a Conformity to what he approv'd: And all this he did, partly, out of an inbred Faculty of Choice and Judgment, and partly, upon the Admonition and

* 2 Kings 21. 18.

† 2 Kings 22. 1, 2.

‡ 2 Chron. 34.

and Advice of his Council; for so long as he kept to the Line of the Law in the Government of the Commonwealth, and in the Matter of Divine Worship, he was sure to be right, having so many Examples before his Eyes among his Apostate Predecessors that had been cut off and destroy'd, only for breaking those Measures. Wherefore he caused all the Groves to be cut down that were dedicated to *false Gods*; their Altars to be demolished; and all the Donatives that had been consecrated by their Ancestors to the Honour of a *false Worship*, to be *taken away*, and treated with Contempt and Derision: And this to be done, both in the City and all over his Dominions; by which means, the People were drawn from the Vanity of their Superstitions, to a Reverence for and Exercise of the True Religion; and to the Use and Custom of Burnt-Offerings, and other Sacrifices upon the Altar. He appointed also certain Magistrates, and Commissioners, for the Regulation of Manners, and the ordering of Matters in private Cases, that no less Care might be taken for the distributing of particular Justice, then for the Government of Life itself. He likewise dispatch'd Messengers thorough all his Dominions, with Orders to receive Contributions of Gold and Silver toward the Reparation of the Temple, from those that were willing to advance the Affair; but leaving all People at Liberty, that they might have no Cause of Complaint. The Money being collected, and brought in, the Care of the Menage and Expence was committed to *Amasiah*, the Governour of the City; *Shaphan*, the Scribe; *Joath*, the Recorder; and *Helkiah*, the High-Priest; with Orders immediately to enter upon the Work, and to provide Artificers, and all Materials necessary for the Reparation. This was the Rise to the Rebuilding of the Temple, and the Erecting of a lasting Monument to Posterity, of the King's Piety and Bounty.

Josiah, in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, order'd *Hilkiah* the Priest to have the Surplusage of the Gold and Silver that remain'd over and above the Charge of the Fabrick, to be cast into Cups, Chalice, Goblets, and other Vessels, for the Use and Service of the Temple; giving Order likewise, that all the Gold and Silver, remaining still in the Treasury, should be brought out, and apply'd to the same Purposes. † But the High-Priest upon removing the Gold, happen'd to discover the sacred Books of *Moses*, as they were deposited in the Temple, which he took out, and gave to *Shaphan* the Scribe

† 2 Kings 22. 8.

Scribe to peruse; who, upon reading them over, went to the King, and told him, they had executed all his Commands; but withal, that they had just now found the Books of *Moses*, which he read over to *Josiah*. Upon the reading of these Books, the King rent his Garment, and calling some of his particular Friends about him, with the Scribe himself, and *Hilkiah* the High-Priest, he sent them to the Prophetess *Huldah* the Wife of *Shallum*, a Man of great Eminence and Fame, to desire her Intercession to God on their Behalf, to implore his Mercy for him and his People: For it was much to be fear'd that some heavy Judgment would befall that People for their Ancestors Neglect, and Contempt of the Laws of *Moses*: And lest they should be forced away from their Native Soil, to live like Vagabonds, dispersed over the Face of the Earth, and end their Days in Misery, without obtaining such a Reconciliation to God. The Prophetess upon the hearing of the King's Orders and Instructions, bad them return him this Answer: "That the Sentence was already pronounc'd, and not to be recall'd, upon any Supplication or Intercession whatsoever: That the People were to be banish'd their own Country, and punish'd for their Disobedience, with the Loss of all the Comforts of human Life; and that this Judgment was irrevocable, for their Obstinacy in their superstitious Impieties, notwithstanding so many earnest Exhortations to a timely Repentance, and the Prophet's menacing Predictions of all these Judgments to come upon them, if they went on in their Wickedness. Now this unchangeable Decree is to convince them by the Event, that there is a just, and an overruling God; and that the Predictions which he deliver'd by the Mouth of his Prophets, are infallibly true, and the certain Indications of his holy Pleasure to Mankind: But however, tell the King, *says the Prophetess*, that out of a Tenderness to his Piety and Goodness, God would be yet so gracious as not to bring this Judgment upon the People in his Days; but that the Days of his Death shall be the Eve to their final Destruction."

* *Josiah*, upon the Report of this Answer from *Huldah*, sent Messengers up and down to all the Cities; commanding all the Priests and Levites, and Men of all Ages and Conditions, to come up to *Jerusalem*: And the first thing he did upon the Meeting, was to read the holy Books of *Moses* to them; after which, advancing himself upon a Place higher then

then the rest, in the middle of the Throng, he gave them an Oath of Obedience to the Laws and Precepts of *Moses*, and the Observance of God's holy Worship; which was taken by the whole Multitude, and not without great Alacrity, and an universal Consent. This sacred Oath was follow'd with Sacrifices, and Prayers to God for the Grace of his Favour and Blessing. In the next Place, he laid a strict Charge upon the High Priest, to take a particular Account of the Plate and Vessels in the Temple, and to cast out so many of them, as he should find to have been dedicated by any of his Ancestors, to the Worship of *Idols*. There were a great many Pieces of that Kind, that were all broken to Dust, and the Powder thrown into the Air: All the Priests being likewise put to Death, that were not of the Stock of *Aaron*.

Upon the perfecting of this Reformation in *Jerusalem*, the King took a Progress through his whole Dominion, where he destroy'd all the Relicks of *Jeroboam's* Superstition and Idolatry, and burnt the Bones of the *false Prophets* upon the very Altar that *Jeroboam* had set up, which we have said something of already, and of the Prophet's intervening with a Prediction, in the Hearing of all the People, at the very Time when *Jeroboam* was offering Sacrifice, that one of the Race of * *David*, *Josiah* by Name, was to do this; whose Prediction hath been made good by the Event, three hundred sixty one Years after the Thing was foretold.

And *Josiah's* Zeal did not rest here neither; for he sent, and went himself to several other *Israelites* that had made Shift to scape the Servitude and Bondage of the *Assyrians*, to persuade them at last to give over their superstitious hankering after foreign Religions, and betake themselves to the Worship of the Great God of their Fathers, according to the Rites and Customs of their Country, and him only to serve. And the King rested not here neither; but he caused a strict Search to be made in all Towns and Villages for the Discovery of any Remainers of *Idolatrous Practices*, that might be conceal'd, even to the very Figures of the Horses over the Porch of the Temple, that their Forefathers had dedicated to the Sun; and so for what other Monuments soever, to which the Ignorance of the common People had ever ascribed Divine Honour, *Josiah* caused them all to be taken away and destroyed.

† After the purging of the whole Nation in this Manner, he calls all the People together up to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the

* 1 Kings 30. & 2.

† 2 Chron. 35.

the Feast of *Unleavened Bread*, otherwise called the *Passover*, and gave the Multitude out of his own Store, thirty Goats, a Thousand Lambs, and three Thousand Oxen. The Heads of the Priests contributed likewise to the Priests upon the same Occasion, two Thousand six Hundred Lambs: And so the Chief of the *Levites* gave to their Tribe five Thousand Lambs, and five Hundred Bullocks: And this prodigious Number of Victims was offer'd up in Sacrifice according to the Laws of *Moses*. The Priests had the Conduct of the Solemnity; and the Precedency in their Example to the People. Now from the Time of *Samuel the Prophet*, to that Day, there had never been so solemn a Festival; and the Reason of it was this, that every Thing was done according to the Direction of the Law, and the Prescriptions of ancient Custom. *Josiah*, after this blessed Regulation, enjoy'd his Government in Peace, Honour and Plenty: And we are now about to give the Reader an Account how he came to his End.

C H A P. VI.

Josiah opposes Pharaoh-Nechoh. An Egyptian kills him with an Arrow. His wicked Son Jehoahaz comes after him; who is carry'd away Prisoner into Egypt, where he dies: And Pharaoh sets up Eliakim in his Place, by the Name of Jehoiakim.

(a) **P**Haraoh-Nechoh, the King of *Ægypt*, marched with a powerful Army toward *Euphrates*, against the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that had overturn'd the *Assyrian Empire*; with a Design to make himself Master of *Asia*. * When he had advanced as far as (b) *Megiddo*, a Town under the Jurisdiction of *Josiah*, *Josiah* absolutely refused him any Passage against the *Medes* thorough his Country. *Pharaoh*, upon this, sent a *Herald*, to give *Josiah* to understand, that he had no Thought of any Hostility toward him; nor any Design, but to make a running March of it toward *Euphrates*; desiring him withal, not to put him upon any Necessity of making his Way by Force, which was a Thing much beside his Intention. This Message of the *Ægyptian* had so little Effect upon *Josiah*, that he persisted in the Denial of his Passage:

S f Which

(a) *Nehaoss. Jos.*

* 2 Kings 23. 29.

(b) *Mende. Jos.*

Which look'd as if he had been driven upon this inexorable Stiffness by the Impulse of a Fatality that improv'd this Denial to his Ruin. For as he was in the Head of his Army, and riding up and down to give Orders from one Wing to another, an *Egyptian*, with an Arrow, quickly put an end to the Eagerness he had for that War: For finding himself to be shot, and impatient of the Pain, he commanded his Army to retire; himself returning to *Jerusalem*, where he dy'd of the Wound. He was bury'd with a mighty Pomp, in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors, at nine and thirty Years of Age, and in the one and thirtieth of his Reign: The People mourning for him several Days, with great Anxiety of Sorrow and Lamentation. The Prophet *Jeremiah* wrote a passionate Elegy upon this Occasion, which is yet extant at this Day; the Prophet plainly foretelling the Approach of the *Babylonian Captivity*, and the Calamities also of our Times; committing his Predictions to Writing for the Information of Posterity. And *Jeremiah* was not the only Prophet neither, that foretold the Miseries of this terrible Revolution; but *Ezekiel* also left behind him in Writing two Books of Prophetical Presages upon this Subject. These two Prophets were both of the Sacerdotal Race: *Jeremiah* living at *Jerusalem* from the thirteenth Year of the Reign of *Josiah*, to the Time of the Destruction of the Temple and City: Of which we shall speak farther in its proper Place.

After the Death of *Josiah* (as is said already) his Son *Jehoahaz* took the Government upon him in the three and twentieth Year of his Age, and kept his Court at *Jerusalem*. He was a Man of an impious, and an immoral Conversation, and his Mother's Name was *Hamutal*. The King of *Egypt*, upon his Return from the War, sent for *Jehoahaz* to come to him, to *Hamath*, a City of *Syria*; where he put him in Fetters, and deliver'd up the Government to *Eliakim*, his Elder Brother by the same Father: But changing his Name for *Jehoiakim*, and imposing a Tax upon the Country, of a hundred Talents of Silver, and one Talent of Gold; by which Means *Jehoiakim* became his Tributary. As for *Jehoahaz*, he carry'd him along with him into *Egypt*, where he departed this Life, after he had reign'd three Months and ten Days. *Jehoiakim*'s Mother's Name was *Zabida* of (a) *Ramah*. This Prince had the Character also of a spiteful, ill-natur'd Man, without either Reverence for God, or Tenderness for Man.

CHAP.

(a) *Abuma. Jos.*

C H A P. VII.

Nebuchadnezzar defeats Pharaoh, and makes Jehoiakim his Tributary; who is foretold, by the Prophet Jeremiah, the Miseries that are to befall him.

(a) **I**N the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim's* Reign, (b) *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon* advanced with a mighty Army to *Carchabesa*, a Place bordering upon *Euphrates*; with a Resolution to make War upon *Pharaoh* (c) *Nechoh*, who at that Time had all *Syria* under his Command. Now the *Ægyptian* very well understanding that the *Babylonian* was no contemptible Enemy, took the Field with a strong and numerous Army, and so marched to the *Euphrates*, with a Resolution to oppose him: * Where the two Armies engaging, the *Ægyptian* was forc'd to give way with the Loss of many Thousands of his Men. But the *Babylonians* getting over the *Euphrates*, subdu'd the whole Country of *Syria* as far as to *Pelesium*; *Judæa* only excepted. In the fourth Year afterward, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the eighth of *Jehoiakim*, the *Babylonians* brake in furiously upon *Judæa*, threat'ning them with all Extremities, unless they would content themselves with the Condition of *Tributaries*, as the rest of the Inhabitants of *Syria* were. Upon this Menace, *Jehoiakim's* Heart fail'd him, so that he submitted to purchase his Peace with a Sum of Money; and for the Space of full three Years, he made due Payment of his Contribution: But the Year following, upon the Credit of an idle Rumour, that the *Ægyptian* was advancing in an Expedition against the King of *Babylon*, *Jehoiakim* refused to pay him his Tribute any longer; but quickly found himself miserably disappointed in his Expectation, for the *Ægyptian* durst not look the *Babylonians* in the Face: Which was no more then the Prophet *Jeremiah* had many a Time foretold, and warn'd him of; and that he would find the *Ægyptian* a broken Reed to trust to. He presaged likewise the Fate of *Jerusalem*, and that it was suddenly to be destroy'd by the *Babylonians*, and *Jehoiakim* himself to be made a Prisoner. But these were Forebodings that no Body

S f 2

laid

(a) *Verslius*, in his Second *Exercit. de LXX Annis Captivitatis*, tells us that *Josephus*, in what follows to the End of this Book, is to be read with great Caution. See *Grotius* upon the 5th of *Daniel*, to this Purpose.

(b) *Nebuchodonosor*.

(c) *Nechoh*, *Jos.*

* 2 Kings 24.

laid any Strefs upon, and so no Body was the better for them: Nay, on the contrary, from the highest to the lowest, the Generality of the People look'd upon them with Contempt. Not but that there were some again that exhibited formal Accusations against him to the King, and would have had him punish'd as a Mover of Sedition. The Cause, in fine, was brought before the Council; and the Majority were for putting him to Death: But the Reason of Things is not always determin'd by a Plurality of Voices: So that some that were better advis'd then others, were rather for discharging him the Court, and diverting the Blow; "For *Jeremiah*, "they said, was not the only Man that had foretold these "Calamities to the City, but *Micah* had said as much as "that came to before him; and so had several others, "without being call'd to Account for it by the Government: "Nay, they were rather had in Honour and Esteem for their "Predictions, as the Prophets of the Lord." By this soft way of Reasoning upon the Matter, the Council was wrought upon to change their Minds, and to make void the Sentence. The Prophet put all his Predictions in Writing; and upon a Day of Fasting, when the People were met together in the Temple, in the ninth Month of the fifth Year of the Reign of *Jehoiakim*, he read the Book to the Congregation; wherein was contained the whole History of what was to befall the Temple, the City, and the People. The Princes, upon the hearing of this Book, took it away from the Prophet, commanding both himself, and his Scribe *Baruch*, to be gone immediately, without letting any Body know where to find them. They carry'd the Book then to the King, who order'd his Secretary to take and read it to him, with his Friends about him. The King was so transported upon the hearing of it, that he tore the Book, and threw it in the Fire, and order'd *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* to be immediately brought to him, and punish'd for it: But they were already slipt out of the Way.

C H A P. VIII.

Jehoiakim receives Nebuchadnezzar into Jerusalem. His Perfidy and Cruelty. He puts Jehoiakim, the Father, to Death; and Jehoiakin, his Son, is made King of Judah in his Stead.

IT was not long after this, that *Jehoiakim*, being affrighted with so many dismal Predictions, receiv'd the King of *Babylon* with his Army into the City; for as to his own part, he reckon'd himself secure, and so never troubled his Head, either for keeping him out, or preparing for a War: But the *Babylonian*, upon this Admittance into the City, brake his Conditions, and put the Flower of the Youth of *Jerusalem*, together with the King himself, to the Sword; commanding his Body to be cast into the Fields, without the Walls of the Town, and constituting his Son *Jehoiakin* King, both of the City and Country, in his Father's Stead. He carry'd away a matter of three Thousand Men of Note and Quality, Captives to *Babylon*; in which Number was the Prophet *Ezekiel*, being at that Time a Youth. This was the End of King *Jehoiakim*, who liv'd six and thirty Years, and reign'd eleven; and his Son *Jehoiakin* succeeded him. His Mother's Name was *Nehushta*, of *Jerusalem*; and the Time of his Reign was three Months and ten Days.

C H A P. IX.

Nebuchadnezzar, contrary to Faith, makes Jehoiakin, his Mother, and the most eminent of his Friends, all Prisoners.

IT was not long before the King of *Babylon*, upon second Thoughts, came to repent the setting of *Jehoiakin* upon the Throne; for thought he, this Young Man will never forget, or forgive, so perfidious a Practice upon the Life of his Father, and consequently lie upon the Catch for any Occasion of Tumult or Discontent, that may be improv'd to the gratifying of his Revenge. Upon this Consideration, he sent

S f 3

away

* 2 Kings 24.

away an Army to besiege *Jerusalem*. Now *Jehoiakin* being a just and an easie Prince, had not the Heart to see the City run the Risk of being utterly destroy'd for his Sake; and therefore upon a Treaty with the King's Deputies for the delivering up of the City, upon Condition that neither the Town itself, nor the Inhabitants should suffer any Sort of Damage; the Agreement was ratify'd, and his Mother and Kindred deliver'd-up as Hostages to the King's Commissioners, for the Performance of Articles: But before a Year was out, the King of *Babylon* breaking his Faith with them, commanded his Officers to secure all the Youth of the City, and all Sorts of Artificers, and to bring them to him bound and fetter'd; which they did, to the Number of ten Thousand eight Hundred thirty two Persons, wherein was *Jehoiakin* himself, his Mother, and his Kindred; who by the King's Command were all kept in Custody.

C H A P. X.

Jehoiakin made a Prisoner. Nebuchadnezzar set up Zedekiah in his Place, upon Condition not to side with the King of Ægypt. Zedekiah falsifies, and Nebuchadnezzar besieges Jerusalem. The King of Ægypt marches to his Relief. Nebuchadnezzar rises; gives him Battle; Routs him, and then returns to the Siege. Zedekiah's Obstinacy against all the Councils and Predictions of Jeremiah.

* *Jehoiakin* being now a Prisoner, the King of *Babylon* advanced *Zedekiah*, his Father's Brother, to the Government in his Place; tying him up by an Oath neither to attempt any Innovations in that Country; nor directly or indirectly to join with, or to assist the *Ægyptians*. He was one and twenty Years of Age when he enter'd upon the Command; and he and his Brother *Jehoiakin* were Sons of the same Mother. He had little or no Regard, either for Honour, or for Virtue; and his Companions were altogether as impious and extravagant as himself: Beside that this Looseness of Manners in his Days, was become *Popular*; and the Corruption, *Epidemical*: Insomuch that the Prophet *Jeremiah*

* 2 Kings 24. 17.

miah was often at him with earnest Intreaties to change his Course of Life, and to betake himself to the Love and Exercise of Piety and Justice; without laying so much stress upon what his Courtiers, or the *false Prophets* told him; a lewd Sort of People, that abus'd him in their Promises and Predictions, when they told him the *Babylonians* should never trouble *Jerusalem* again; and that whenever they encounter'd, the *Aegyptians* should have the better of them: For this was all false he told him, as would appear by the Event. *Zedekiah* could not for the present but acknowledge this Discourse of the *Prophet* to be reasonable and true, and that it was for his Interest so to believe it; but when he came afterward to be menag'd by ill Company and Councils, that could wind and turn him as they pleas'd, all that the *Prophet* said before went for nothing.

It was at the same Time that *Ezekiel*, being then at *Babylon*, foretold the Destruction of the *Temple*, and sent the Prediction of it to *Jerusalem*. Now the two *Prophets* agreed exactly in the taking of the Town by Force, and in carrying away *Zedekiah* Captive: But the Thing, and the only Thing that stuck with *Zedekiah* in the Belief of the Prophecy, was this; *Ezekiel*, foretold that *Zedekiah* should not see *Babylon*: And *Jeremiah* affirmed that the King himself should carry him Prisoner thither. This seeming Inconsistency, or at least Diversity of Expression, gave *Zedekiah* some Sort of Colour to doubt the Truth of all the other Circumstances wherein they agreed; though the following Events made good every thing that had been foretold, as we shall shew more properly in another Place.

† After an Alliance of eight Years standing betwixt the two Kings, *Zedekiah* shamefully brake his Contract, and went over to the Interest of the *Aegyptians*; making no doubt at all, but those two Powers in Conjunction, might be able to crush the King of *Babylon*: But the *Babylonian*, upon the first Inkling of this Treachery, marched his Army directly toward *Zedekiah*; laid his Country desolate; forced his Castles and strong Holds; and so advanced straight forward to the Attack, even of *Jerusalem* itself. The *Aegyptian* being given to understand how hard his Friend and Ally *Zedekiah* was put to it, advanced presently to his Relief, with a Resolution to attempt the raising of the Siege. Now the *Babylonian*, upon Intelligence of his March and Design, did not think fit to wait his coming; but chose rather to draw-off himself, and give

† 2 Kings 24. 20.

give him Battle : Which he did, and so terrible a Rout withal, that he beat him quite out of *Syria* at that one Blow. The Siege being quitted, or rather respited, upon this Occasion, the *false Prophets* held *Zedekiah* in hand with twenty Delusions ; as, How foolish a thing it was for him, or his Subjects, to apprehend any Danger from the *Babylonians*, or to fancy any such thing as the *Babylonians* forcing, and transporting the *Hebrews* from their Native Habitations, and carrying them away Captive to *Babylon* : Whereas it was rather to be expected, on the other hand, that their Prisoners that were already exported, should be call'd back again ; and all the Plate and Treasure that the King had carry'd away, restored to the Temple. But * *Jeremiah*, on the contrary, told the King quite another Story, in a flat Contradiction to that of the *false Prophets* ; positively charging them with Imposture and Delusion, and affirming that there was no Good to be expected from the *Aegyptians* ; but that they should be first overcome, and the *Babylonian* Army be then brought back again to besiege *Jerusalem* ; and that as many of them as should survive the Sword and Famine, should be carry'd away Captives ; their Houses pillag'd ; their Goods taken away ; the Temple and City plunder'd, and laid at the Mercy of Fire and Sword, without any Distinction of *sacred* or *prophane*. “ We are condemned, *says the Prophet*, to serve these People “ and their Posterity for seventy Years ; and the *Medes* and “ *Persians*, at the seventy Years end, shall deliver us from “ that Bondage, by the utter Extinction of the *Babylonian* “ Empire : After which Time, being set at Liberty by their “ Assistance, we shall return hither again, rebuild the Temple, and restore the City to its former State.” These Words of the Prophet wrought much upon the greater Part of the People ; but the leading Men, and the licentious, atheistical Part of the Multitude, look'd upon all the Prophet said, but as the Discourse of a Mad-Man, and treated him accordingly. As *Jeremiah* was going toward *Anathoth*, the Place of his Birth, and a matter of twenty Furlongs from *Jerusalem*, he had the Fortune to be met withal upon the Way by a certain Magistrate that laid hold of him, and took him into Custody upon a Pretext that he was a Deserter, and going over to the King of *Babylon*. The Prophet said there was no such Matter, and that he was only going to the Place where he was born ; but the other would not believe him, and so carry'd him away to the Ministers of State and Justice ; where,

* Jer. 25. 29, & 37.

where, after the Formality of Examination and Torture, he was set aside as a Malefactor condemn'd to die : And in this Condition of Misery, he continu'd for some Time.

* but in the ninth Year of *Zedekiah's* Reign, the tenth Month, and the tenth Day of that Month, the King of *Babylon* came once again with his Army to *Jerusalem* ; and laying Siege to it, try'd all the Ways in the World, for a matter of eighteen Months, to master it, either by Art, or by Force ; but it still held out against not only a powerful Enemy before it, but against a raging Pestilence and Famine also in the Bowels of it : *Jeremiah* being in Prison all this while, and crying out to the Multitude to set open the Gates, and receive the *Babylonians* into the City ; for they had no other way in Nature to save themselves, their Families, and the Town, from a certain and an inevitable Ruin ; telling them withal, that those that stay'd in the City must expect to perish, either by the Sword, or by Famine ; whereas those that fled out to the Enemy would save their Lives ; but the Princes, in the Depth of their Extremity, were yet so far from giving Ear to the Prophet's Prefage and Advice, that they represented him to the King, as a violent hot-headed Man, and a Mutineer ; a Discourager of the People with his *idle Stories* of Misery and Desolation ; suggesting that the *Garrison* was hearty and resolute enough to defend the Place to the last Extremity, till he came with his Forebodings of Slavery and Destruction, and took off the Edge of their Zeal and Courage. The King in his own Nature was not apt to be fierce, or bitter ; but standing, upon the pinch of Necessity, in some Awe of the great People about him, he did not think it safe to disoblige so many Men of Power and Interest : And so rather then cross them, he left them at Liberty to do with the *Prophet* what they thought fit. So soon as they had gain'd that Point, they went in all haste to the Prison ; took out the *Prophet*, and let him down by a Rope into a nasty Pit, where he was up to the Neck in Mudd, with an Intent to choak him : But as he was in this Condition, a Favourite-Servant of the King's, an *Æthiopian* born, went and told *Zedekiah* how they had treated the *Prophet* ; and giving his own Opinion in the Case, that his Great Men and his Friends, had not done well in the Aggravation of his Misfortune, by exposing him to a Death, so much more grievous then that which he was reasonably to expect in his Chains. Upon this Discourse of the Favourite, the King heartily repented his leaving the *Prophet* to the Discretion of his Enemies, and so order'd the *Æthiopian* to

* 1 Kings 25. Jer. 29.

to take thirty Men out of his Family; such as he could trust, with Ropes, and whatever he should find necessary for the saving of him, and to join with them in the getting of him out of the Pit with all speed possible. The Servant did as he was order'd, and set the *Prophet* at Liberty; who was, soon after this, brought privately to the King, and had this Question put to him, *Whether or no he could procure him from Heaven any present Relief under his miserable Circumstances?* The *Prophet* answer'd him, "that he could; but that People would "neither believe him, or follow his Counsel: for all your "pretended Friends, *says he*, are my mortal Enemies. They "look upon me as a false Wretch, and are at this Instant in a "Conspiracy to destroy me: And where are those Impostors "now, that fool'd the People into a Belief that they were out "of Danger of the *Babylonian*? So that to tell you the very "Truth of Things may be as much as my Life is worth." The King, upon this, promised the *Prophet* with an Oath, that he would neither take away his Life himself, nor suffer any of his People to do it. *Jeremiah* took his Word and Honour for it, "and advised him by all means to deliver-up the "City into the Hands of the King of *Babylon*. This was the "only Way in the World, *he told him*, to be safe in his own "Person, to avoid the imminent Danger he was in; to prevent the Burning of the Temple, and the laying of the City "level with the Ground: And if he went any other Way to "Work, he was to tell him, in the Name, and by the Direction of God himself, that all the Calamities that should "ensue upon his Miscarriages, with the utter Ruin of himself, his Family, and his People, should be laid at his Door." The King then told him, that he had a great Inclination to take his Counsel for the common Good; but he was afraid lest some of his Friends that were already gone over to the *Babylonians*, should accuse him to the King, and put him in danger of his Life. But for any thing of that, the *Prophet* bad him set his Heart at rest; "for if he deliver'd-up the City, neither he himself in his Person, nor his Wives, his Children, "or the Temple itself, should suffer any thing." After these Words, the King dismiss'd the *Prophet*, with a Charge not to make any Words; no, not so much as to the Princes themselves, of what had pass'd in this Conference: But if any Body should come to have a Hint that there had been such a Meeting, and enquire into the Business, it might be pretended that the *Prophet* came to move the King for his Liberty. The *Prophet* did as he was order'd, and gave that Answer to all People that ask'd him his Business with *Zedekiah*.

C H A P. XI.

Jerusalem taken. The Temple, Palace and City pillag'd and burnt. Saraiah put to Death. Zedekiah's Eyes put out, and himself carry'd Prisoner to Babylon. The Succession of High Priests. Gedaliah, Nebuchadnezzar's Deputy Governour. The Treachery of Ishmael. The Egyptians overthrown, and carry'd Captives to Babylon. The History of Daniel, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego. Daniel highly preferr'd for expounding of Dreams. The Death of Nebuchadnezzar.

† IN the mean time, the King of *Babylon* went on vigorously with the Siege ; his Works were finish'd, and his Towers carry'd up so high as to command the Town, and beat the Defendents from the Walls ; and at this rate they were provided quite around the City for a general Assault ; and the Defence of the Place was carry'd on with as much Bravery as the Attack ; having Plague and Famine to contend withal, within the Town, as well as Enemies, and other Difficulties without. They stood firm, in short, against all Stratagems and Machines ; opposing one Invention to another, as if the Dispute had been matter of Skill and Art, as well as Force ; the Besiegers Business being to take the City, and the Safety of the Besieged consisting in eluding or diverting the Plots and Endeavours of the Enemy. This Contest lasted eighteen Months ; but in the End, for want of Meat within the Town, and of Numbers to maintain it, against the Multitudes of Men, and of Weapons without the Town, they were brought to the last inevitable Necessity of delivering it up. It was taken, in the eleventh Year, and the ninth Day of the fourth Month of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, by the Commanders to whom the Care of the Siege was committed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who at that Time was at *Reblatha*. If the Reader should be curious to know the Names of the Officers ; there was *Nergelear*, *Aremantus*, *Emeger*, *Nabofaris*, and *Echarampsaris*. The City was taken about Midnight. The Captains, with the rest of the Soldiery, went into the *Temple* ; which King *Zedekiah* perceiving, he took his Wives, Children, Commanders and Friends, and they slipt all away together by

† 2 Kings 25.

by a narrow Passage toward the Defart: But the *Babylonians* getting Intelligence of this Escape, by some false Brethren, they made after them early the next Morning, and overtook and surrounded them at a Place not far from *Jericho*. *Zedekiah's* Friends and Companions, in his Flight, seeing the Enemy advancing toward them, quitted their Master, and ran several Ways to make the best shift they could for themselves; The King being in a manner quite abandon'd, with his Wives and Children, and a small Remainder of his Company fell into the Hands of the Enemy; who presently carry'd them to the King. *Nebuchadnezzar* no sooner had him in his Eye, but he call'd him all the faithless, perfidious Names that he could think of. "Did not you promise me, *says he*, to manage the Power and Authority that I put you in Possession of, for my Advantage and Behoof; and am not I well requited, do you think, for making you a King in your Brother *Jehoiakim's* Place, by your employing of the Credit and Interest that I gave you to the Ruin of your Patron and Benefactor? But that God is Great and Just; who, for the Punishment of your Treachery and Ingratitude, hath now made you my Prisoner." When the King had laid upon him this Load of Reproaches, he immediately caused his Children and his Friends to be put to Death before his Face, and in the Sight of the rest of the Captives; commanding *Zedekiah's* Eyes to be put out, so soon as this Execution was over, and so to be carry'd away in Chains to *Babylon*. This way of Proceeding has verity'd the two Prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*; which *Zedekiah* made so little account of, by reason of some Semblance of a Contradiction betwixt them; the former foretelling, that he should be taken *Captive*, and carry'd to *Babylon*, speak with the King himself, and see him Face to Face: But *Ezekiel's* Prediction was, that he should be carry'd away to *Babylon*, and should not see him; which he could not do there, when he was brought *Blind* thither.

This may serve to convince, even the most Ignorant, of the Power and Wisdom of God, and of the Constancy of his Counsels, through all the various Ways of his Operations: And it may likewise shew us, that God's Foreknowledge of Things is certain, and his Providence regular, in the ordering of Events; beside that it holds forth a most exemplary Instance to us, of the Danger of our giving way to the Motions of Incredulity and Folly, to take from us the Means of discerning the Fatalities that threaten us.

This was the End of the Race of *David*, after one and twenty Kings in Succession, in the Space of five Hundred and

and fifteen Years, six Months and ten Days ; including the twenty Years Reign of *Saul*, who was of another Tribe.

Nebuchadnezzar, after this great Victory obtained, sent *Nebuzar-Adan* his Commander-in-chief, to *Jerusalem*, with Orders to pillage the *Temple*, and burn it ; to do the like to the *Palace* ; and after the laying of the City all level with the Ground, to carry away the People Captive to *Babylon*. In the eleventh Year of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuzar-Adan* put his Instructions in Execution ; taking away out of the Temple all the Vessels of Gold and Silver ; *Solomon's* great Laver with the *Brazen Pillars*, and their Chapiters ; with the *Golden Tables* and *Candlesticks* : And after this general rife, he first set the Temple a-fire ; and after that, he laid the Palace, and the City in Ashes. This pass'd on the first Day of the fifth Month ; the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, and the eighteenth Year of the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Temple was burnt four hundred and seventy Years six Months and ten Days from the building of it ; one Thousand and sixty two Years six Months and ten Days from the *Israelites* coming out of the Land of *Ægypt* ; one Thousand nine hundred fifty Years six Months and ten Days from the Deluge, and three Thousand five hundred and thirty Years six Months and ten Days from the Creation of the World. As to the Computation of Years, in what Compass of Time, What, and When, every thing was done, we have already given an Account of it in Order.

Upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Transportation of the People, *Nebuzar-Adan* took these Prisoners with him. There was the High-Priest *Saraiah* ; and after him, *Sepheniah*, who was the next Priest in Dignity ; three Head Keepers of the Temple ; the first Eunuch of the Bed Chamber, with seven of the King's Friends, beside the King's Secretary, and other Men of Note, to the Number of Sixty ; which were brought all together to the King who was then at *Reblathis*, a City of *Syria*. The King caused the Heads of the High-Priest, and the great Men, to be struck off in that City ; but the Multitude of the Prisoners, together with *Zedekiah* himself, they carry'd to *Babylon* ; and *Jehozadack* the High-Priest to be taken bound, along with them ; which *Jehozadack* was the Son of *Saraiah* that was put to Death, as is said already.

Having now gone through the Royal Line, and the Succession of them from Father to Son, in Order, it will be convenient to observe the same Method with the High-Priest, who

who from time to time in a continu'd Succession under those Kings exercised the *Sacerdotal Office*. The first *Pontifex* after the Building of Solomon's Temple was *Zadok*. After him, came his Son *Ahimaz*; and after *Ahimaz*, *Azariah*; and so forward; *Joram*; (a) *Ifus*, *Axioramus*, *Phideas*, *Sudeas*, (b) *Julus*, *Jotham*, *Urias*, *Nerias*, *Odeas*, *Saldumus*, *Elcias*, *Sarcæas*, and *Jehosadoc*, who was carry'd away to *Babylon*. All these handed down the *Pontificate* in a continu'd Succession in their Families from Generation to Generation,

* Upon the King's coming back to *Babylon*, *Zedekiah* was committed to Prison; and in the Prison he dy'd, and had afterward the Honour of a royal Sepulchre. The holy Vessels that he took out of the Temple, he dedicated to his *Idols*; allotted Habitations to the People in *Babylon*, and set *Jehozadack* at Liberty. Now *Nebuzar-Adan*, the General that brought away the People Prisoners, left the Multitude, and the Deserters, under the Command of *Gedaliah*, the Son of *Abikam*, an eminent Person, both for Generosity and Justice, who allotted his Prisoners such a Proportion of Ground to improve, and live upon; paying such a certain Tribute to the King. The Prophet *Jeremiah* was also discharg'd of his Imprisonment; and the King having given Order to the Governour to take a particular Care of him, *Gedaliah* mov'd it to the Prophet to go along with him to *Babylon*; for it was but Reason the King should be at the Charge of his Journey: Or if he did not like that Place, let him pitch upon any other, and he would write to the King about it. The Prophet's Answer was, "That he had no mind to remove at all, but rather stay where he was, and take his part in the miserable Ruins of his Native Country." *Nebuzar-Adan* being inform'd how the Prophet stood affected, gave *Gedaliah* a strict Charge to see him well provided for; made him several considerable Presents himself, and so left him, and returned to *Babylon*. † *Jeremiah*, upon this, made Choice of *Mizpah* for the Place of his Abode; having first obtained of *Nebuzar-Adan*, *Baruch's* Liberty, as well as his own, whom he took for his Companion. This *Baruch* was the Son of *Neriaah*, a Person nobly born, and perfectly well skill'd in the Language of his Country.

The Burning and the Sacking of *Jerusalem*, and the Return of the *Babylonians* into their own Country, was by this Time

(a) *Ifus* and *Axioramus* are fictitious Names, as Bishop *Mountague* has shewn in his *Apparatus*.

(b) The same learned Prelate reads *Joel* and *Oseas* for *Odeas*, and *Sallum* for *Saldum*. See *Apparat*. 6.

* Jer. 52. 11.

† Jer. 40.

time made known to all the Deserters that had left the City in the Time of the Siege; and so they gather'd together from all Places in Throngs to *Gedaliah* at *Mizpah*. The principal Men among them were *Johanan*, the Son of *Careah*, *Jazaniah*, and *Saraiab*, with some others: And beside these, there was *Ishmael*, a Person of Royal Blood; but otherwise false and malicious to the high st Degree. This Man, in the Time of the Siege, fled to *Bathal* the King of the *Ammonites*, for Sanctuary, where he continued ever since. Upon the Application of these People to *Gedaliah*, he gave them an Invitation to continue there, and to plant; for they might live quietly and at ease, without any Danger from the *Babylonians*; binding himself by an Oath to stand by them, and assist them, if any Man should offer to give them any Molestation or Trouble. "Now, *says he*, do but you resolve among yourselves what Town or Place you would settle in, and you shall have some of my People along with you to assist you in preparing and fitting up Habitations for you; only you must take care not to slip the Season of providing for the next Vintage and Harvest, that you may not want Corn, Wine, or Oil next Winter for your Subsistence." When he had given them this Encouragement and Assurance, he left every Man at his Liberty to dispose of himself where he himself pleased.

The Report of *Gedaliah's* generous Humanity and Tenderness toward the Fugitives that apply'd themselves to him for Refuge, gain'd him so great a Reputation with all the Neighbour Nations, that they came trooping to him from all Parts, and quickly made up a considerable Plantation; for they had Land assign'd them in Propriety, upon Condition only of paying a certain Acknowledgment to the King of *Babylon*. *Johanan* and the rest of the great Men had a very high Esteem for the Goodness and Courtesie of *Gedaliah* to the Planters, and therefore advertis'd him in Friendship and Respect, that there was a Conspiracy carry'd on against him, betwixt the King of the *Ammonites*, and *Ishmael*; and that *Ishmael* was to do the Execution with Secrecy and Treachery; and being a Member of the Royal Family, to make himself Head of the *Israelites* by that Means. Now the ready way to secure *Gedaliah* against this Practice, would be for them privately to dispatch *Ishmael*; which, with his leave, they would undertake to do; for they were afraid, if this Mischief were not timely prevented, it would prove the Ruin of all the *Israelites* in the Conclusion. *Gedaliah* told them, "That he could not believe it possible for any Man to be so barbarous

“ rous, and ungrateful, that lay under so many Obligations
“ to the contrary ; neither could it enter into his Head,
“ that a Man who was never known to do any such thing
“ under the Provocation of his Necessities, should now be
“ in a Plot to destroy that Person himself, whom by all the
“ Tyes of Honour and Hospitality he was obliged to defend
“ and preserve, though with the Hazard of his own Life, if
“ it should have been attempted by any other Man whatso-
“ ever.” But to make short, he told them however, “ That
“ supposing the Information to be true, he had much ra-
“ ther lose his own Life then to take away the Life of any
“ Man that had committed himself to his trust.” *Johanan*
and his Companions finding that all they had said was to
no purpose, upon this Declaration of *Gedaliah's* went their
way.

Some thirty Days after this Discourse, *Ishmael* with ten
of his Friends gave a Visit to *Gedaliah* at *Mizpah*, where they
were received and treated with all the Freedom and Respect
imaginable. The Cups went round till *Gedaliah* and his
Companions were dull and heavy-headed ; and the other
Party observing it, took the Opportunity of falling upon
them, and without any Difficulty kill'd the Master of the
House, and all the rest of his Guests. It was now in the
dead of the Night ; and all the People, as well Soldiers as
others, carelessly secure, and asleep : So that they made the
same Havock in the Streets, and elsewhere, as they had done
at *Gedaliah's* just before ; destroying and murdering all they
could find, whether *Jews*, or *Babylonians*, without any Dis-
tinction. The next Day there came up to the City a Troop
of about fourscore Men out of the Country with Presents for
Gedaliah ; knowing nothing as yet of the *Massacre* of the last
Night. So soon as *Ishmael* saw them, he call'd them in to
Gedaliah, shut the Doors upon them, and cut their Throats
in the Palace, causing the Bodies afterward to be thrown in-
to a Pit where they might lie conceal'd. There was not a
Man of all that Number that escap'd, save only some few
that promis'd to make Discovery of Goods, Cloaths, and
Corn, that were hid under Ground, if they would but re-
prieve them for so long. Some of them, I say, were spar'd
upon the Hope of this Discovery ; but for the common Peo-
ple of *Mizpah*, the Women and the Children, they were all
carry'd away ; and among the rest, the Daughters of *Zede-
kiah*, which *Nebuzar-Adan* had left, under the Care of *Ge-
daliah*. *Ishmael* went away presently with the News of this
Exploit to the King of the *Ammonites* ; but *Johanan*, with
the

the rest of the leading Men, hearing of this bloody Execution at *Mizpah*, and the Death of *Gedaliah*, took it so heinously, that they drew every Man his Soldiers together, and join'd in the Pursuit of *Ishmael*, whom they overtook at the Fountain of *Hebron*. The first Sight of the Pursuers joy'd the Hearts of the Prisoners that *Ishmael* was carrying away with him; for they knew them presently to be Friends, and went over immediately one and all to the Party of *Johanan*: But *Ishmael* with only eight of his Companions fled to the King of the *Ammonites*. *Johanan*, in the mean time, with the People he had taken from *Ishmael*, *Eunuchs*, Women and Children marched to a Place that is called *Mandra*, and there they stay'd one Day, bethinking themselves of going into *Ægypt*, lest the *Babylonians*, in a Rage for the Murder of their Governour, should in revenge fall upon them; but however, for their better Security, they took up a Resolution to consult *Jeremiah* what Course to steer: So they put the Question to him; with an Oath to do whatever he should advise them to. The Prophet promis'd them to do what he could for their Satisfaction; and upon the tenth Day after this, God appeared to him, and bad him go and tell *Johanan*, and the rest of the Commanders, "That
" if they continued where they were, he would assist, and se-
" cure them against any Harm from the *Babylonians*, whom
" they were so much afraid of; but if after this Premonition,
" they should rather go into *Ægypt*, let them look to
" themselves, and expect the same Fate and Judgment that
" had befall'n their Brethren before them." This was the Message the Prophet deliver'd them by God's express Direction; though they could hardly believe it to be the Will of God, that they should continue where they were: But took it rather for an Invention of the Prophet's in favour of *Baruch*, his Disciple, and to expose them to the Wrath of the *Babylonians*: So that *Johanan* and the rest of the People, in contempt of God's Word by his Prophet, went away into *Ægypt*, and carry'd *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* along with them. When they were come thither, it was revealed from Heaven to the Prophet, that the King of *Babylon* should bring an Army into *Ægypt*, and he commanded *Jeremiah* to tell the People as much; and that *Ægypt* should be taken, where Part of them should be kill'd, and Part carry'd away Captives to *Babylon*; which came to pass accordingly. For in the fifth Year after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he made an Inroad into the *Cælo-Syria*; and upon subduing it, carry'd the War

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forward

forward to the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*; and when he had subjected them too, he made a furious Incurſion into *Egypt*, kill'd the preſent King; ſet up another in his Place: And the *Jews* that he found there were carry'd away a ſecond Time Priſoners to *Babylon*.

This was the miſerable State of the *Hebrews*, as we have the Story, who were twice carry'd away beyond the *Euphrates*; for the *Ten Tribes* were firſt tranſported by the *Aſſyrians* out of *Samaria* in the Reign of *Hoſeah*: And then the other *Two* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the King of the *Chaldeans*, and the *Babylonians*, upon the taking of *Jeruſalem*. Now *Salmaſſer* tranſplanted the *Chuthites* into the Country of the *Iſraelites*, out of the Heart of *Media* and *Persia*; and they were called *Samaritans* from the Name of the Place into which they were tranſported: But the King of *Babylon* carry'd away the other *Two Tribes*, without introducing any other in their Stead: And this was the Reaſon that *Judæa*, with *Jeruſalem*, and the *Temple*, lay wholly abandon'd for the Space of *ſeventy Years*. The Time betwixt the Captivity of the *Ten Tribes*, and the *Transmigration* of the other *Two*, was one hundred and thirty Years, ſix Months, and ten Days.

* *Nebuchadnezzar* appointed a very ſtrict and ſelect Choice to be made, out of the Youth of the *Jews*, both for Birth, Vigour and Beauty, and ſeveral of them, the Relations of King *Zedekiah*; appointed alſo the beſt Tutors that could be had, for their Inſtruction: Divers of them to be caſtrated according to the Practice of that Country upon the handſomeſt Boys of conquer'd Nations. He ſent them their Meat from his own Table, and took great Care to have them inſtructed in the *Chaldean Diſcipline*, and *Learning*; wherein they advanced very much in a ſhort Time. There were four of *Zedekiah's* Relations in the Number, whoſe Names were *Daniel*, *Ananias*, *Miſhael*, and *Azariah*: But the *Babylonians* changed their Names, and called *Daniel*, [*Belteſhazzar*;] *Ananias*, [*Shadrach*;] *Miſhael*, [*Meſhaſh*;] and *Azariah*, [*Abednego*.] The King had a wonderful Tenderneſs for them all, both in regard of the Sweetneſs of their Diſpoſition, and the extraordinary Pregnancy of their Underſtanding. *Daniel* look'd upon that voluptuous way of Feeding to be too delicate for People in their Condition, and therefore they went to *Aſchanes* the *Eunuch* that had them in Charge, and deſir'd him rather to make uſe of thoſe Delicacies that the King ſent them from his own Table for the Service of himſelf, and his Family,

* Daniel 1.

Family, and if they had but Pulse, or Dates, or any ordinary Food that had no Life in't, it would serve their turn every jot as well; for those Delicacies went against their Stomachs, and a plainer Diet would please them better. The *Eunuch* told them that he would gratifie them with all his Heart; but if they should grow lean and thin, upon such a heartless way of Feeding, or look perhaps less *amiably* upon it, and appear in a less agreeable Habit of Health and of Colour, he was afraid the King might come to have some Suspicion of the Matter, and take Offence at it; which might be as much as his Life was worth; especially when the rest of their Companions, that fed better then they did, should be observ'd to look better too. They found the *Eunuch* not so cross as he might have been, and so press'd him to make the Experiment, only for ten Days; and after that Time, if he found the Change did not so well agree with them as their former Allowance, and that they should not keep their Health, their Colour, and the same Habit of Body, after that Trial, that they had before, he might bring them back again to the King's way of Entertainment. The *Eunuch* was prevail'd upon to make Trial of it, and when he found them so far from being the worse for the Alteration, that they mended upon it, in the Disposition both of their Bodies, and of their Minds, he made no longer a Scruple of complying with their Desires; but gave them what they demanded, and kept the King's Allowance to himself, which agreed so well with *Daniel*, and his *Friends*, that comparatively they seem'd to be better provided for then the rest, and all their Faculties kept in better Tune for either Study, or Labour; being neither surcharg'd, or surseited with Variety; nor effeminated with the Luxury of pleasuring the Palate. By this temperate frugal way of Menage, and Discipline, their Spirits were kept clear and active, as appeared by their wonderful Improvement in the *Hebrew*, as well as the *Chaldean Learning*; but of *Daniel* especially, who had gotten such an Insight into their Arts, that he took upon him the expounding of Dreams, and had many Times Visions of his own to work upon.

† Some two Years after the Destruction of *Ægypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had a wonderful *Vision*, and a Revelation from God in his Sleep, of the Meaning of it. But when he came afterwards to rise from his Bed, he had quite forgotten it: so he presently sent for his learned Men, as *Chaldeans*, *Magi*,

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and

and *Prophets*, and told them that he had had a strange Dream; but it was now utterly out of his Head, and therefore required them to tell him what it was, and what was the Signification of it. They made him answer, That as to the first Part of his Proposition, it was a Thing not to be done; but if he would be pleas'd to tell them the *Dream*, they would be answerable to give him the Interpretation of it. The King in a Rage commanded them, without any more ado, to tell him his *Dream*, or they should die for't; but they could not undertake it, they said; and so they were all order'd to be put to Death. When *Daniel* came to understand that the *Wise-Men* were all to be put to Death, and to consider that no Body knew whose Turn it might be next, he went to *Arioch* the Captain of the King's Guard, to learn what the Crime was they were condemn'd for: So the Captain told him, that the King had a *Dream*, which he himself had forgotten, and that they were to die because they could not tell him what it was. *Daniel* made answer, That if he could but get them a Reprieve only for one Night, he would not despair of giving him the Satisfaction he requir'd; for he had some Hope that God would that very Night be prevail'd upon to enable him to do it. The Captain gave the King an Account of this Discourse and Proposal; and thereupon the Execution was respited, only to try what Good was to be done upon that Experiment. *Daniel*, with his *Companions*, went into his *Bed-Chamber*, and spent that whole Night in Prayers to God for the Means of resolving the Question, and for the delivering those People from Death, that were now fallen under the King's Displeasure, by laying before him the Particulars of the last Night's Dream, which was now slipt out of his Memory. God was pleas'd, upon this Intercession of *Daniel*, both in Compassion to the Miserable, and out of Tenderness for the Prudence of *Daniel's* Mediation, to make known, not only the *Dream* itself, but the *Signification* of it; to the end that he might communicate the whole Matter to the King. *Daniel* was so transported with this *Revelation*, that he got up early in the Morning; gave his Brethren a Word of Comfort, being now brought to the last Point of Desperation, and thinking of nothing but Death; bad them cheer-up, and hope the Best, for that all Things were now secure. When they had given God Thanks together for his fatherly Care and Pity over them, *Daniel* went to *Arioch* by Peep of Day to carry him to the King, with Assurance that he should now have all the Particulars laid before him, of his late *Dream*.

Upon

Upon *Daniel's* Admittance to the King, he first told him, "That it was not any overweening of his own Wisdom, as if he knew more then the *Chaldeans*, and the *Magi*; or any Design of Reproach upon them, for not being able to resolve a Question which he could unriddle. It was not any thing of this, *says he*, that made me engage in this Matter; for I am not a Person to pretend to more Skill and Understanding then my Neighbours: But it is purely the Work of God, in Pity to the Miserable, and in Mercy to my Prayers, for the Lives and Safety of myself and my Friends, that hath now laid open this *Dream* to me, and explain'd the Meaning of it. I have not been so solicitous for the Safety of myself and my Companions under your Displeasure, as for your Honour and Glory; in case of putting so many good and worthy Men to Death, contrary to Right and Justice, and only for not being able to do a Thing, which it is utterly impossible for Flesh and Blood to do; or for any but a supernatural Power to accomplish.

"You were bethinking yourself what would become of the Empire of the World when you were gone, and who should succeed to it. Now the *Dream* you had was a kind of a Resolution upon that Enquiry; for God shew'd you in your Sleep those that were to rule after you. You dreamt you saw a large Image, or Statue, standing upright; the Head was Gold; the Shoulders and Arms, Silver; the Belly and the Thighs, Brass; the Legs and the Feet, Iron. You saw then a Stone broken-off from a Mountain, that fell upon this Image, overthrew it, and brake it so small, that the Dust of the Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron, was as light as Chaff, and carry'd away by a Blast of Wind to the furthestmost Parts of the Earth: The Stone growing so great, all this while, that it lay like a Mountain upon the Face of the Earth. This was your *Dream*, and I come now to the Interpretation of it. By the Golden Head is signify'd Your Self, and other Kings of Babylon before you: The two Hands and Shoulders portend that two Kings shall destroy your Empire; and afterward, their Empire will be subverted by another King coming from the West in Armour of Brass; and he is to be subdued afterward by another in Iron; which, in the Nature of it, is stronger then Gold, Silver, or Brass, and not to be resisted." *Daniel* gave an Interpretation also of the Stone, which I shall pass over in this Place; for it is my Business to write of Things past, and not of Things to come. But for the Satisfaction of the Inqui-

sitive into the dark Events of Things, I shall only recommend unto them the Book of *Daniel*, as we have it in sacred Writ.

Nebuchadnezzar, in great Admiration, acknowledg'd this to be his *Dream*; and falling upon his Face, ador'd *Daniel* like a God, and appointed *Divine Honours* to be done him: And this would not serve neither, without giving him the *Name* of his God, [*Belteshazzar*;] and so he made him Ruler of the whole Province, joining several of his Kindred with him in the same Commission; this Promotion was follow'd with such an Envy upon *Daniel*, and his *Relations*, that it had like to have cost them all their Lives, by a Disgust the King took upon this following Occasion.

* *Nebuchadnezzar* the King made an *Image* of Gold, sixty Cubits in Height, and six in Breadth, and placed it in the great Plain of *Babylon*. He called together, upon the Dedication of it, the Princes, the great Men and Officers, out of all his Dominions; making *Proclamation*, that immediately upon hearing the Sound of a *Trumpet*, they should all fall down and worship this *Image*; and that whoever refused it, should be cast into the *fiery Furnace*. Upon the sounding of this *Trumpet*, accordingly, all the People fell down and worshipp'd; save only *Daniel*, and his *Relations*; who refusing to do it, out of a Reverence to the Laws of their Country, were inform'd against, and cast into the Fire; but by a merciful Providence, and beyond all human Imagination, their Lives were preserv'd: As if the Flame itself had been conscious of the Injustice of the Sentence, and suspended the very *Nature* of its consuming Quality in favour of the Innocent; for they were not so much as scorch'd with it: As if God, in his gracious Providence, had made their Bodies proof against the Flames. But the Thing that most recommended them to the King's Tendernefs and Esteem, was the miraculous Proof of God's Love and Goodness to them in their Justification; for upon this Ground the King had a great Honour for them ever after.

† It was not long before *Nebuchadnezzar* had another *Dream*, as surprizing as the former; which was, that "being driven away from his Kingdom, he lived *seven Years* among the *Beasts* of the Forrest, and was afterward restored to his former Dignity and State." The King put the Question once again to the *Magi* upon this Vision also; but *Daniel* was the only Person, again, to expound the *Meaning* of it: And according

* Dan. 3.

† Dan. 4.

cording to his Prediction, it succeeded in the Event ; for “ after seven Years of his Life spent in an insociable Solitude, “ and no Creature all this Time daring to make any Attempt “ upon his Government, God was prevail’d upon to re-in- “ state him in the Exercise of his *kingly Power*.” Let no Body blame me for delivering the same Reports in my Writings, that I find in ancient History ; for I have anticipated all those Cavils in the very Beginning of this Work, by making a publick Profession to do the Part only of a faithful Translator of the Story out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, and to deliver every thing honestly as I find it, without making it more or less than in Truth it is.

Nebuchadnezzar, in fine, was a Prince very industrious, and much more fortunate than any of his Ancestors. He departed this Life in the three and fortieth Year of his Age. *Berosus*, in the *third Book* of his *Chaldean History*, makes mention of it in these Words : (a) “ *Nabuchodonozor* the Father, “ says he, understanding that a certain great Officer of his, to “ whom he had committed the Government of *Ægypt*, *Cælo-* “ *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, was fallen-off from his Allegiance, “ and not being in a Condition of Body himself to bear the “ Fatigues of the War in his own Person, he sent his Son “ *Nabuchodonozor*, with Part of his Army, to reduce him to “ his Obedience. He found him out ; fought, and overcame “ him, and so brought back the revolted Provinces to their “ Duty. The Father, in the mean time, was taken away by “ a Sickness at *Babylon*, in the (b) one and twentieth Year of “ his Reign. The Young Man was no sooner informed of “ the Death of his Father, but he took immediate Care for “ the settling of his Affairs in *Ægypt*, and the rest of the “ Provinces ; recommending to some particular Friends the “ Charge of conveying his Prisoners, *Jews*, *Syrians*, *Phœni-* “ *cians*, and *Ægyptians* to *Babylon*, with the Army and Bag- “ gage ; while he himself, with a small Retinue, took his “ Way thither over the *Desart*. The Government was re- “ serv’d for him in the mean while, by the *Chaldeans*, and by “ the great Men, among them, in his Absence, secured till his

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Return.

(a) In *Josephus* he’s call’d *Nabuchodonosoros* ; but *Jos. Scaliger* (in his Notes upon this *Fragment* ; at the End of his Book *de Emendat. Temp.*) shews from *Ptolemy* and *Eusebius*, that the Name should be *Nabopollassoros*. See *Vorslius’s Exercit. 2. de lxx. annis Captivitatis*, &c.

(b) It should be the *Nine and Twentieth*, as *Scaliger* has inform’d us in his Commentary upon this Piece. See *Vorslius’s Exercit. 2. de lxx. annis Captivitatis*.

“ Return. So that when he came to enter upon the Administration, he was establish’d in the full Possession of his
 “ *Paternal Empire*. The first Thing he did was to make a
 “ commodious Distribution of his Captives into Colonies,
 “ and after that, to adorn and illustrate the *Temple of Belus*,
 “ and other religious Places with Spoils of War. He re-
 “ paired and enlarged the ancient Edifices of the City ; and
 “ raised Works upon the Banks of the River, to prevent all
 “ Approaches that Way. He erected three Walls, or Re-
 “ trenchments, within the Bounds of the City, and as many
 “ without ; all *Brick Work* : And when he had fortify’d the
 “ Town after this remarkable Manner, he beautify’d the Gates
 “ with a Curiosity of Frontispiece like the finishing of the
 “ *Temple-Work* : And advanc’d another Palace contiguous
 “ to that of his Father’s, with all possible Art and Magnifi-
 “ cence ; but the Particulars are too many, and would be too
 “ long for this Place. There is only one Thing that I can-
 “ not but take notice of ; which is, that this spacious and
 “ stately Fabrick was finish’d in fifteen Days. (a) In this
 “ Building, there were vast Stones supported upon Arches,
 “ that look’d like Mountains hanging in the Air ; and they
 “ were planted on the Top with several Sorts of Trees, in a
 “ Complement to the Queen, who being a *Median*, had a pas-
 “ sionate Desire to see some artificial Resemblance of the Gar-
 “ dens and Rarities of her own Country.” *Megasthenes*, in
 the *fourth Volume* of his *History of India*, speaks of these
Garden-Works, and sets forth this King, both for his Enter-
 prize and for his Performances, to have been much superior
 to *Herculus* himself ; having subdu’d the (b) greatest Part of
Libya, and likewise *Ibenia*. *Diocles* makes mention of this
 King in the *second Book* of his *Persian History* ; and so does
Philostratus, in the Account he gives of the *Phœnicians* and
 the *Indians* ; telling how this Prince, in the Days of *Ithobal*
 King of *Tyre*, maintain’d a Siege of thirteen Years against
 that Town : And this is all I can find among the Historians
 concerning him.

C H A P.

(a) See *Scaliger’s Notes* upon the *Fragment of Berosus*, and *Cunæus de Rep. Hebræorum*, l. 1. c. 15.

(b) The Translation follows *Scaliger’s* Correction of the Place.

C H A P. XII.

Evil-Merodach succeeds Nebuchadnezzar and discharges Jehoiakin. The Royal Line of Babylon down to Belshazzar. Cyrus and Darius besiege him in Babylon. Daniel expounds a Vision to him. Babylon taken, and Belshazzar in it. Darius makes Daniel his particular Favourite. Daniel's wonderful Deliverances, Visions, and Predictions.

* **A**fter the Death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (a) *Evil-Merodach* his Son succeeds him; who set *Jeconiah* (or *Jehoiakin*) the King of *Jerusalem*, at Liberty; honour'd him with many Presents; took him into a particular Trust and Confidence, and made him the chief Governour of his Palace at *Babylon*. His Father indeed had broken his Faith shamefully with this *Jeconiah*, in making him a Prisoner after he had so frankly deliver'd up himself, his Wife, Children and all his Relations upon Honour, only, for the saving of his Country from utter Ruin, as is said already.

Evil-Merodach dy'd in the eighteenth Year of his Reign. His Son (b) *Niglifar* succeeded him; and when he had reigned forty Years, the Kingdom fell by Succession to his Son *Labfardochus*, who kept it only nine Months; and after his Death, it went to *Belshazzar*, by the *Babylonians* called *Naboandel*.

(c) *Cyrus* the King of the *Persians*, and *Darius* the King of the *Medes*, made War upon this Prince; and while they lay before *Babylon* there appear'd to *Belshazzar* a wonderful, and a prodigious *Vision*. As he was at Supper in a large *Eating-Room*, with his Courtiers and his Concubines about him, and a magnificent Ostentation of *Silver-Vessels* and Plate for the Service of his Table, he call'd, in a Frolick, for the *sacred Vessels* also out of his own *Temple*, which *Nebuchadnezzar* deposited there, upon rifling the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*; though he never had the Confidence to put them to any prophane or private Use. *Belshazzar* was now warm in his Cups; and entertaining himself, and his Company, with prophane Extravagancies

* 2 Kings 25. 27. & Jer. 52. 31. (a) *Abilamaroodachos. Jos.*

(b) *Niglifaros, Jos.* See *Scaliger's* Notes upon the Fragment of *Berosus*, p. 14, 15, &c. and *Vorslius's Exercit. 4. de Voce Sefach.*

(c) How *Josephus* confounds the last Kings of *Babylon*, may be seen in *Vorslius's 4. Exercit. de Voce Sefach.*

vagancies of Speech against the Majesty of the *True God*; when in the Height of his Jollity there appear'd a *Hand*, writing certain Syllables upon the Wall, which put the King into such an Agony of Terror, that he presently call'd a Counsel of his cunning Men and Chaldeans (a Sort of Quack-Fortune-Tellers among those Barbarians, that value themselves upon a Faculty of resolving Cramp-Questions, and unriddling Dreams) to find out the Meaning of the Words that were there mark'd upon the Plaster. They laid their Heads together, and upon Advice, and Consideration, frankly declar'd that they understood nothing of the Matter. Upon this the King, in an Anxiety of Thought and Surprize, caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd all over his Dominions, with Promise of a *Golden Chain*; the Privilege of a *Royal Purple Robe*, and the *third Place of Rule in his Kingdom*, to any Man that should give him the Interpretation of that Writing. Upon this Proclamation, the Wise-Men gathered together more and more, in a Strife, who should unfold this Mystery; and all to no manner of Purpose in the Conclusion.

While the King was labouring in a Torment of Mind and Astonishment, under these Disappointments, his Grandmother went to him and told him; that for his Comfort, there was a certain Jew among the Prisoners that *Nebuchadnezzar* brought away with him upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, who was look'd upon to be a Man of great Wisdom and Foresight, and so wonderfully skill'd in the solving of nice Difficulties and Questions, as if he spake by the Direction of a Divine Spirit. She told him also that *Nebuchadnezzar* made use of him for his Interpreter in the like Cases, when no body else was able to resolve him: Wherefore she desir'd the King by any means to send for *Daniel*, and to examine him about that Writing, and give him Encouragement to speak the Truth, let it be never so much against him; if it were but to dash the Ignorance of other Pretenders. Upon this Advice, *Belshazzar* caus'd *Daniel* to be sent for; professing indeed that he had heard of the Sagacity and Understanding of that Man; and that he took him to be the most likely Person in the World to divine the Truth of a Matter, which no body else could guess at. So upon *Daniel's* being brought, the King put him the Question, with an Assurance that all the Promises in his Proclamation should be made good to him, upon his Solution of it; which would make him famous all over the World, wherever it should come to be known, that he had these Honours done him for his Wisdom.

Daniel excus'd himself from the receiving of any Gifts or Honours;

Honours; for *Wisdom*, says he, is a Divine Faculty, and not to be corrupted or prophan'd with *Bribes*; but to be ever ready to serve those that stand in need of it. "This Writing, says he, is a foretelling to you that your Death is at hand; for you should have taken Warning by the Judgments that befel your great Ancestor for his Contempt of God, and have apply'd yourself to a Course of Life within the Compass of Religion, Modesty, and Moderation. You know very well that *Nebuchadnezzar* was banish'd the Society of Mankind, and condemn'd to the Life and Condition of a Beast; but that afterward it pleased God upon his earnest Prayers and Repentance, to restore him to the Conversation of Men, and to the Exercise of his former Government; which infinite Mercy and Providence of God he adored, and celebrated afterward all the Days of his Life: But for your Part, says *Daniel*, You are so far from being wrought upon by this Example in your Family, that you blaspheme God to his Face, and take a Pride to ly prophaning the Vessels of his holy Altar, in your Debauches with your Harlots; by this lewd Course of Impiety, you have drawn the Wrath of God upon your Head; and the Intent of this Writing is only to shew what End you are to come to. *MENE*, which is as much as *Number*, signifies that the Days both of your Life, and of your Reign, are number'd; and that you have but a very short Time to live. *TEKE L* (or Weight) gives to understand, that your Reign is weighed in the Balance, and drawing to a Conclusion. *PERES*, or a Fragment, portends that your Kingdom shall be divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*." The King could not but be mortally cast down with this Interpretation; but was yet so just and generous as to make good to *Daniel* all that he had promis'd him, though the Foreteller of his Ruin; considering with himself, that it was not the Prophet's Fault, but his own unhappy Fatality, that he could tell him no better Tidings: Neither would he deny but *Daniel* had done the Part of a just and a good Man, in letting him know the Truth of Things, though never so deplorable in the Event.

† It was not long after this, when both himself and the City fell into the Power and Possession of *Cyrus*; for *Babylon* was taken in the seventeenth Year of the Reign of *Belshazzar*, who is said to have been the last King of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Family. Now *Darius* was sixty two Years of Age at the Subversion of the Empire of *Babylon*, with the Assistance of *Cyrus* his Kinsman; which *Cyrus* was the Son of *Astyages*, though known among

† Dan. 6.

among the *Greeks* by another Name. He took the Prophet *Daniel* along with him into *Media*, and had him in great Honour and Estimation ; for he made him one of the three Chief Governours that had three hundred sixty more under them, according to the Original Constitution of *Darius*. Now *Darius* had so great a Tenderneſs, and Reverence for *Daniel*, that he conſulted him upon all Occaſions as an *Oracle*, and would hardly reſolve upon any Matter of Moment without his Advice ; but it fell out with *Daniel*, as we find it in the Caſe of other Princes Favourites : The Conſident that is moſt in Credit never fails of drawing upon himſelf the Envy of all the reſt. Now *Daniel* was ſo well aware of theſe *Court-Tricks*, and kept ſo ſtrict a Guard upon himſelf, that there was no laying hold of him. As to the Matter of Money and Bribes, he had a Soul ſo much above any Temptation of that Kind, that he made a Conſcience of receiving even a lawful Acknowledgment for a good Office : But this did not hinder his Enemies yet from joining in a Practice againſt his Life ; and the Manner of it was this.

It being obſerv'd that *Daniel* pray'd to God conſtantly thrice a Day, his Adverſaries, to entrap him, bethought themſelves how they might improve that Practice of his to his Ruin. So they applied themſelves to *Darius*, in the Name of his Council and State Officers, and upon their Advice and Requeſt, that he would be pleaſed ſo far to indulge his People, as to paſs an Ediſt, only for thirty Days, that whoſoever ſhould preſume to aſk any Thing of God or Man within that Compaſs of Time, ſhould be caſt into the *Lions Den*. The King was ſo ſhort-ſighted, as not to ſee thorough the Malice of this Contrivance, and that the very Propoſal ſtruck at the Life of *Daniel* : ſo that *Darius* aſſented to the Motion ; promiſ'd a Confirmation of it, and order'd the Publication of the Decree, as the Act of himſelf, and his Council. The Dread of this Decree put all People into a general Damp and Silence for fear of being ſurprized into a Tranſgreſſion : Saving only *Daniel* himſelf, who went on ſtill in his daily Courſe of worſhipping God, in the publick View of the World, as it was his Cuſtom to do ; without ever heeding the Decree. This way of Proceeding furniſhed his Enemies with the Opportunity of a Pretence that they had long waited for : Which immediately they laid hold of ; for giving the King to underſtand that *Daniel* was the only Man that in Contempt of his Royal Proclamation, worſhipped contrary to the Tenor and Direction of the Decree : And that “ he did not do this, “ out of Piety neither, but out of a Spirit of Contradiſtion in “ defiance

“ defiance to the Authority of the Edict.” The Envy of *Daniel*’s Enemies was the more outrageous, upon the Apprehension they had that the King’s Personal Indulgence for him might incline him to pass over the Affront: So that they press’d him with Clamours and Outcries not to be resisted, for Justice upon the Malefactor ; and nothing would serve them, but *Daniel* must be immediately thrown into the *Lions Den*. *Darius* was forc’d to yield to the Violence of these Importunities ; but told *Daniel* for his Comfort in this Extremity, that rather than so good a Man should perish, God would yet work some Miracle for his Relief: So *Daniel* was cast into the *Lions Den*, and a great Stone laid at the Mouth of the Den, which the King seal’d with his own *Signet*, and so went his way to his Palace. He pass’d that Night fasting and waking ; for the Trouble of his Mind for *Daniel* would not suffer him either to eat, or sleep : But early in the Morning he got up, and went to the *Den*, where he found every thing as he left it, and the *Seal* untouch’d. He call’d upon *Daniel* then by his Name, at a Grate that look’d down into the *Den*, to know if he were living or not ; to which *Daniel* made this Answer, that he was *safe* and *well* : In which Instant, the King order’d him to be taken out again ; But *Daniel*’s Enemies would not allow this Deliverance however to be the Work of a peculiar Providence, and would needs face the King down that the *Lions* Bellies were full, and so they let him alone for want of Appetite. The King was so incensed at the Spite and Malignity of these People, that he order’d as much Meat to be given the *Lions* as they could get down, and when they would eat no longer, to turn *Daniel*’s *Accusers* in among them. If they do not worry them, says the King, ’tis because their Bellies are full ; but if they do, it must be allow’d to be a Divine Providence that preserv’d *Daniel*. In short, the *Lions* tore them to pieces, every one of them, as if it had been in a starving Hunger : or rather, as if the Brutes themselves were become the Ministers of God’s Justice upon the Workers of Iniquity.

After this Execution done upon the treacherous Complotters against *Daniel*, *Darius* publish’d a Decree through his whole Empire ; commanding his People to acknowledge the God of * *Daniel* to be the *Only True*, and *Almighty God* ; and at the same Time multiply’d Honours upon the Prophet himself, in Preference to all the rest of his Friends and Favourites : Now *Daniel*, by this way of Conduct having gain’d the universal

* Dan. 6.

versal Esteem of a Person highly in Favour both with God and Man : He erected a stately Fabrick at *Echbatan*, the *Capital* of *Media* ; a Work every way wonderful, as well for the Structure and Strength of it, as for the Beauty. The Building is still to be seen, and looks as fresh, and as firm at this Instant, as if it had been finish'd but the Day you first saw it ; without any Decays of Time or Age to be seen upon it : Whereas it fares with other *Ædifices*, as with human Bodies ; Time wears them out, and disfigures them. This *Tower* is famous for being the *Royal Monument* of the Kings of the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Parthians*, to which Use it is still apply'd ; and the Place likewise committed to the Custody of a *Jewish Priest* to this very Day. There are some other Passages in the History of *Daniel*, which are yet more admirable, and particular, and not to be passed over in Silence. He had this singular Blessing attending him, over and above his excellent Gift of *Prophecy* ; that he liv'd in a high Degree of Reputation both with King and People ; and at his Death, left an immortal Memory behind him, to his everlasting Honour. For we find by his Writings that are yet extant, and in daily Use and Reading, that beyond all Question, God admitted him into express Colloquies, and revealed to him not only the Sum, and Substance of Things to come (as was usual to other Prophets) but the very Time when such, or such an Event should come to pass. And whereas other Prophets were more exercised in the Foreboding of Calamities, and consequently drew upon themselves Envy and Ill-will, both from Princes and People ; *Daniel*, on the contrary, made Friends of both, by the good Things he told them which they took delight to hear. And then for the Certainty of the Event, all Mortals are agreed upon it, that he spake from the Dictate of an infallible Spirit ; as may be abundantly gather'd also, from the Writings which this great Prophet hath left behind him.

“ It fell out, *says he*, as I was taking the Air one Day, with
 “ some of my Companions at *Susa*, the *Metropolis* of *Persia*,
 “ that we were surpriz'd all on a sudden with an *Earthquake*.
 “ My Friends ran away in a Fright, and left me alone, gro-
 “ veling upon the Ground, in a Consternation upon that Ac-
 “ cident. While I was in that Posture, some Body, methought,
 “ came and jogg'd me, and bad me rise, and take good No-
 “ tice of Things ; for I should see wonderful Revolutions that
 “ would befall my Country-men, several Ages to come. Up-
 “ on my arising, I saw a large *Ram*, with several *Horns*, and
 “ the last Taller than the rest : Turning my Face then toward
 “ the

“ the *West*, I saw a *Goat* that pass’d thorough the *Air*, and
“ encounter’d the *Ram*; struck him down twice, and tram-
“ pled him under his Feet. After this, there arose a *large*
“ *Horn* out of the *Forehead* of the *Goat*; and when that came
“ to be broken, there sprang up *four more* instead of it; poin-
“ ting toward the *four Quarters of the Heavens*. *Daniel* writes
“ also, that from one of them came forth a *little Horn*, which,
“ upon growing up, should wage War with the Nation of
“ the *Jews*, and destroy *Jerusalem* itself; suppress the *Cere-*
“ *monies of the Temple*, and all *Sacrifices*, for the Space of
“ 1296 Days.” This was the Vision that, as * *Daniel* writes,
he saw at *Susa*, which was first shewed by a Revelation from
God; and then interpreted after this following Manner. “ By
“ the *Ram*, was designed the Kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Per-*
“ *sians*: By the *Horns*, the succeeding *Kings* there; and the
“ *last* of their *Kings*, by the *last Horn*, as transcending all the
“ rest for *Wealth* and *Power*. By the *Goat* was signified some
“ King of *Greece*, that should give *two Overthrows* to the *Per-*
“ *sians*, and subdue that Empire. By the *great Horn* upon
“ the *Forehead* of the *Goat*, was meant the *first* of their *Kings*;
“ and by the budding out of *four Horns* more, pointing to
“ the *four Winds*, was to be understood the *Successors* to those
“ *Kings*, and the *Partition* of their *Dominions*, after the Death
“ of the *first*, tho’ Strangers to the Blood; but that however
“ they should reign for several Years: And in Process of
“ Time, out of these should come a *King* that would make
“ War upon the *Jewish Nation*, and their *Laws*, and utterly
“ extinguish the Form of the *Commonwealth*; Pillage the *Tem-*
“ *ple*; and prohibit any *Sacrifices*, or *Worship* in it for three
“ Years.” Which Calamity came to pass under *Antiochus E-*
piphanes, as the Prophet had foretold so many Years before.
He wrote several wonderful Things also about the *Roman Em-*
pire, and what a Desolation they should make of our People:
All which he received by *Divine Revelation*, and transmitted
in Writing to Posterity, to stand as a Testimony upon Record,
of the Agreement betwixt the *Presage*, and the *Event*. This
may serve to establish a Veneration for that Man’s Memory,
whom God was pleas’d to honour in so particular a Manner:
And likewise to confound the impious Doctrine of the *Epi-*
curæans, that will not allow of any ordering or over-ruling
Providence to interpose in the Government, or Preservation
of the Universe; but will have the whole Course of sublun-
ary Affairs to be only a Huddle of Contingencies, without
either

either Care or Counsel. Now if it were as they vainly imagine; the World without a supreme *Governour* or *Moderator*, would be such another Fancy as that of a *Ship*, at the Mercy of the Winds and Waves, without a Pilot; which must of Necessity miscarry: Or, as a *Chariot* among Crags and Precipices, without a Driver, that perishes under its own Weight. So that when I consider the Predictions of *Daniel*, I cannot forgive the Ignorance and Irreverence of those People that make it their Profession to decry *Providence*, as if God took no Care of us; for how is it possible there should be such a Correspondence betwixt a Thing foretold at one Time, and fulfilled so many Ages after, if, according to their Opinion, every Thing were left to Hap-hazard? But what I have found in Writing, I do here deliver in Writing, just as I found it; leaving every Man still to the Liberty of his own Opinion.

The End of the first Volume.
